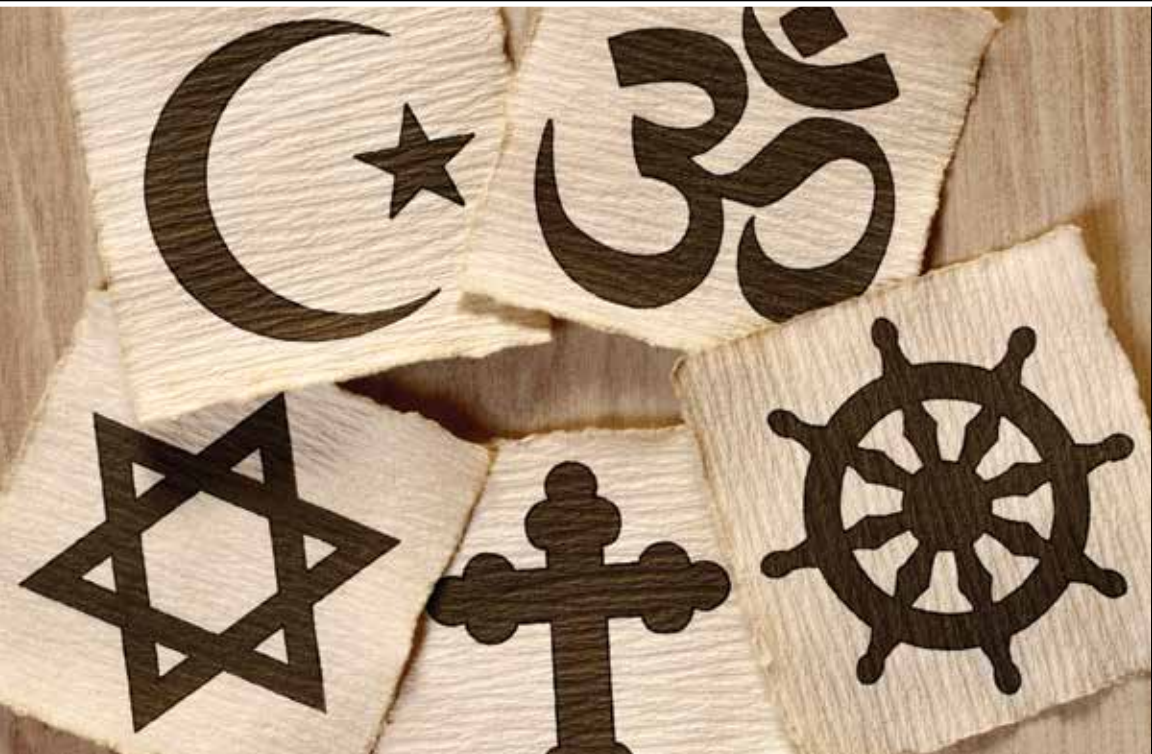




# PRINCIPLED PLURALISM: *Report of the Inclusive America Project*

June 2013 • Washington, D.C.



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*The ideas and recommendations contained in this report should not be taken as representing the views or carrying the endorsement of any individual panel member, or the organization with which he or she is affiliated, except where a participant has specifically appended his or her name to a section of the document. The organizations cited as examples in this report do not necessarily endorse the Inclusive America Project or its aims.*

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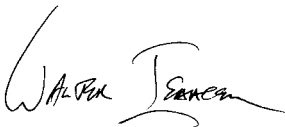
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# LETTER TO THE READER

Dear Aspen Friends and Partners,

From the days of our founders, American constitutional democracy has been committed to protecting the right of all Americans to practice their faiths in freedom and security. I am proud that Secretary Madeleine Albright and Professor David Gergen are leading the Inclusive America Project, which addresses recent challenges to this ideal of respect for our diverse faith traditions, and, in the report that follows, makes concrete recommendations to guarantee the future vitality of religious pluralism. The Inclusive America Project exemplifies the Aspen Institute's mission to foster values-based leadership and address critical social concerns. Its work will help strengthen our nation's social fabric and increase our resilience in the face of adversity. I hope that you will be inspired by what you read here, and will join us to make religious inclusiveness an individual, community, and national priority.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Walter Isaacson". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Walter" and last name "Isaacson" clearly distinguishable.

Walter Isaacson  
President and CEO, The Aspen Institute  
May 24, 2013





Steve Johnson/The Aspen Institute

# INTRODUCTION

The idea for the Inclusive America Project came from conversations with thought leaders, NGO representatives, and others. They recognized that the rich diversity of America in our religious affiliations and traditions is a vital component of the lived American constitutional guarantee of the free exercise of religion. The Framers gave the First Amendment precedence for a reason, and by valuing religious pluralism, we pay tribute to their vision.

The Justice and Society Program undertook to examine this issue in March 2011 at a day-long conference, “America the Inclusive,” in partnership with Chicago-based Interfaith Youth Core. Encouraged by the high level of enthusiasm exhibited by participants in the initial conference, we decided to launch the Inclusive America Project (IAP), a high-level nonpartisan project focusing on five key sectors: youth development organizations, higher education, media, religiously affiliated organizations, and government agencies.

With former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright and Harvard Kennedy School Professor David Gergen serving as co-chairs, we brought together a distinguished panel of leaders in these five sectors for full-day meetings at the Aspen Institute’s Washington, DC offices in December 2012 and April 2013. This report is the product of several months’ conversation between the panelists about the current status and future prospects of religious pluralism in America. It represents an ongoing commitment by task force members and the Aspen Institute to ensure that a positive approach to diversity remains an essential contributor to the vigor and health of our country.

There are many people to be thanked for their work on this report, but most important are Co-Chairs Albright and Gergen, the members of our Distinguished Panel, and our generous donors. I would be remiss if personal thanks did not go to Walter Isaacson, President of the Aspen Institute, for encouraging us to explore the contemporary role of religion in America; Joseph DeMott, for long hours of hard work and considerable talent as our consultant; Michael Green, our Associate Director at the Justice and Society Program; and Marty Budd and Eboo Patel, for believing in the value of this project from its very inception.

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Meryl Chertoff". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style.

Meryl Justin Chertoff  
Director, Justice and Society Program, The Aspen Institute  
May 24, 2013

# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

## Introduction

The American idea is rooted in a belief that people from varied religious and ethnic backgrounds can unite to create a single nation: *E Pluribus Unum*. That is no easy task. As history bears witness, identity differences can easily become a source of social tension, discrimination, and conflict; many minority groups in the United States have faced periods of bigotry and outright persecution. Despite these failings, our country has retained a commitment to its founding propositions of equality and liberty under a common flag. Rather than allowing our differences to break us apart, Americans have harnessed the energy and knowledge of people who hail from every corner of the earth to build a nation that is both indivisible and strong. The Inclusive America Project (IAP) recognizes, however, that past accomplishments do not guarantee future success, especially in a population that is—as is ours—both highly religious and increasingly diverse.

IAP is an initiative of the Aspen Institute's Justice and Society Program. Chaired by Dr. Madeleine Albright and Professor David Gergen, the project has brought together a distinguished panel of leaders from religious communities, youth organizations, media outlets, NGOs, and government agencies. The recommendations in this report reflect an ongoing commitment by task force members and by the Aspen Institute to ensure that diversity remains an essential contributor to the vigor and health of our country. Accordingly, we have focused on three interrelated goals: 1) to encourage respect in the public sphere for the religious identity of individuals and groups; 2) to foster positive relationships and informed dialogue between people of different spiritual orientations; and

3) to forge partnerships among religious and other organizations in service to the common good.

## **Religious Pluralism And Social Cohesion**

Religious pluralism in a free society requires both respect for individual differences and support for actions that contribute to the well-being of all; the absence of the first leads to repression and of the second to anarchy. The challenge for democracy is to ensure that the exercise of personal freedom does not detract from—but in fact adds to—an overall sense of national unity. America’s great achievement is that we have generally been able to do this.

Recent survey data, cited in the essay by Professor David E. Campbell that is featured in this report, show that a healthy majority of Americans value religious diversity and that, more often than not, we believe that people who do not share our religion can still be good citizens. In their book *American Grace*, Campbell and Professor Robert Putnam link these positive attitudes to the prevalence of interfaith relationships in our culture. Many of us participate in social or professional networks that help us to know more about—and to feel positively toward—people of faiths other than our own.

It would be a mistake, however, to assume that religion is not a potentially explosive source of division in U.S. society, as it has been and remains in many countries overseas. Public sentiment can be swayed by events, and we can already see troubling anecdotal evidence of bigotry and hate in online discussion forums and other media. Even the generally reassuring survey results indicate that a significant percentage—equal to tens of millions of Americans—believe that religious diversity is harmful.

## **Looking Ahead**

As we venture further into the twenty-first century, we are aware of additional challenges—many fed by globalization—that pose a significant threat to national cohesion. These include a growing divide between

religious and non-religious Americans that is characterized by the use of stereotypes, a lack of civility, and bitter debates about what actions and language are appropriate in the public square. This divide is compounded by the rise of secularism and a growing correlation between political affiliation and religious identity. The perception is created, on one side, that religious doctrines are driving national policy, and on the other, that public institutions are at war with religion. Neither perception is accurate and both are unhealthy.

At the same time, some members of religious groups perceive obstacles to full and equal participation in American society; they may feel harassed by law enforcement authorities, unfairly treated by the media, misunderstood by their fellow citizens, and denied positions of influence within their communities.



Steve Johnson/The Aspen Institute

High-profile religious conflicts abroad have fueled these domestic divisions and may continue to do so. The possibility of future incidents on U.S. soil—comparable to the April 15, 2013 bombings at the Boston Marathon—adds to the danger. The consequence is a tendency for some people and groups to seek security through isolation from the majority, contributing further to a climate of suspicion and creating a barrier to the kind of routine social interactions that build trust.

A third challenge is demographic. If present trends continue, by 2050, almost one in five Americans will be foreign-born; for the first time, a majority of our citizens will be able to trace their heritage to Africa, Latin America, or Asia. This shift will be accompanied by a further increase in the number of Americans who identify with minority religions and also by more variety among practitioners of the Christian faith. It is an open question whether this enhanced diversity will be recognized as a source of cultural richness or resented as a symptom of social splintering and a sign that our national identity is becoming blurred.

## The Inclusive America Project

As participants in the Inclusive America Project, we believe that there is an urgent need for U.S. leaders at all levels and in all sectors to replace the barriers that may drive Americans apart with bridges that will enable us to preserve both the unity of our nation and the freely chosen religious identity of every citizen. We recognize that religious differences exist, are substantive, and can be neither ignored nor glossed over.

However, we do not concede that differences necessarily breed conflict; properly navigated, they can be a source of creativity, depth, and resilience. The United States has generally done an admirable job of ensuring a baseline of religious tolerance; yet the future demands that we seek to move beyond mere tolerance to informed respect, and that we manage our religious differences in ways that contribute to the common good.

To this end, the IAP panel members have developed specific strategies for making progress. Drawing on their knowledge and many years of experience, they have put forward a menu of commitments intended to spur action in five areas of civic life: youth development, higher education, the media, religiously affiliated organizations, and government.

Their recommendations include:

- The directors of youth organizations should foster a more inclusive sense of what it means to be an American by developing appropriate ways to help young people understand how religious beliefs contribute to the mosaic of our society.
- Institutions of higher learning should 1) make the study of religious diversity a priority; and 2) strive to create campus environments that promote honest and respectful exploration among students of the variety of religious beliefs.
- Efforts should be made to help religious leaders communicate positive stories about their faith communities and to assist them in attracting positive media attention—both on and off-line—to those narratives; in addition, more educational opportunities should be available to journalists seeking to report accurately on issues that affect the public's perception of particular religions and their adherents.

- Religiously affiliated organizations should join in educational, civic and other cooperative projects that serve common goals, while also standing together in opposition to any form of religiously motivated discrimination, hatred or violence.
- Clear guidelines should be developed to encourage legally viable and socially productive engagement between governments and religiously affiliated organizations; also, training programs should be offered to help public officials and religious leaders better understand the needs and responsibilities of one another.

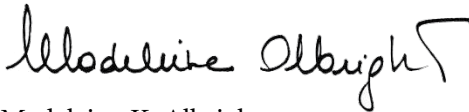
Taken together, the IAP proposals are a summons to key institutions to make engagement with religious diversity a clearly understood policy objective and a regular practice. We see this not as a one-time charge, but as a continuing mandate, recognizing that changing circumstances will demand flexibility, persistence, and innovation. Harnessing religious diversity as a source of social cohesion is an important part of broader efforts to promote national unity. In our view, IAP's work dovetails with other programs that share this goal, such as the Franklin Project, a new Aspen Institute initiative that aims to create one million opportunities for large-scale civilian national service every year.

Because America's religious diversity requires ongoing attention, IAP does not end with the publication of this report. Many members of our distinguished panel have pledged to participate directly in the "action steps" required to implement our ideas, and to report on the results. Meanwhile, the Aspen Institute's Justice and Society Program will be guiding a process of assessment and consideration of next steps. In addition, the Justice and Society Program has developed a proposal through which the Aspen Institute would facilitate dialogue between faith communities and government agencies. The purpose of these dialogues would be to build trust between religious leaders and government officials and to launch joint initiatives based on that trust. One test of democracy is whether the people and the government see themselves as being on the same side. We hope that the public-private partnerships formed through this project help ensure that our nation is always able to pass that test.



## Conclusion

For more than 200 years, the United States has derived strength from the ability of citizens to live and worship freely. This combination of religious liberty and diversity can be a combustible one, but it can also provide the foundation for unique and lasting achievements. In the past, our country has endured—without succumbing to—plagues of bigotry and persecution. In the present, we are struggling with the divisive impacts of globalization, which tempt many to seek security, even isolation, within the boundaries of their own faith communities. In the future, we risk deeper and potentially disastrous fragmentation if we do not remain true to our heritage as a diverse people united around certain core values—including respect for the rights and dignity of every human being. Members of the IAP Distinguished Panel are under no illusion that our recommendations will be sufficient to transform today’s complex reality, but we hope that, in combination with the efforts of others, we can help our country move in the right direction. That is vital, not only for our own well-being, but because America’s standing as a free, inclusive, and united society remains a unique symbol of what can be aspired to and achieved around the world.



Madeleine K. Albright  
Chair, Albright Stonebridge Group  
May 17, 2013



David R. Gergen  
Co-Director of the Center for Public Leadership;  
Professor of Public Service,  
Harvard Kennedy School  
May 17, 2013

# PANELIST RECOMMENDATIONS

## YOUTH DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATIONS

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Eboo Patel, Ph.D., *Founder and President, Interfaith Youth Core*

Judith J. Pickens, M.Ed., *retired Senior Vice President of Program & Youth Development Services, Boys & Girls Clubs of America*

Wayne Firestone, *President, Genesis Prize Foundation; former President, Hillel*

S.A. Ibrahim, *CEO, Radian Group; Founder, Ibrahim Leadership and Dialogue Project*

## Introduction

Our society's increasing diversity and the growing interconnectedness of today's world make effective engagement with religious diversity a critical skill for the coming generation. Youth development organizations provide a natural opportunity for young people to explore one another's backgrounds and identities in a safe, positive setting. Programs that address religious diversity in a constructive manner can help young people understand how others' religious beliefs contribute to the mosaic of American society, fostering a more inclusive sense of what it means to be an American. Such interactions help young people to see identity differences as enriching rather than divisive, and should be woven into youth development activities.

***Effective engagement with religious diversity [is] a critical skill for the coming generation.***

## Principles and Recommendations

**The positive engagement of religious diversity should become a priority and a practice across the youth development organizations sector.**

This principle stems from our shared belief that children of all backgrounds should be loved and valued. Achieving this objective does not necessarily require new programs, but calls for an increased intentionality about how issues of religious diversity are engaged during existing activities. Building on the presence of diversity training that already exists (e.g., race, gender, etc.), there is a way to build on religious diversity. In order to achieve this goal, we recommend that youth development organizations take the following steps:

- 1) **Conduct an internal needs assessment.** Our nation's great social and cultural diversity, as well as the wide range of services provided by youth development organizations, preclude any one-size-fits-all prescription for discussing religious diversity with young people. We encourage each youth development organization to evaluate what its unique situation calls for. Regional or national organizations should poll local chapters in order to find out where programs that address religious diversity would be most useful, and should seek out proven models for constructively engaging religious diversity that may already exist, perhaps even within their organizations. Several examples of best practice models in this area, identified by panelists, are presented below.
- 2) **Identify and scale up effective practices.** Initially, it may make sense for youth development organizations to pilot new programmatic elements that engage religious diversity only in a few select communities. However, as the most effective practices are identified and refined, their scope of influence should be increased. This could involve spreading a model within an organization or advocating its adoption by other groups active in the field. While being sensitive to the needs of different communities, youth development organizations should provide incentives that will gradually make effective engagement of religious diversity a norm throughout the sector.

- 3) **Train staff members about how to create inclusive environments for religious diversity.** Whether or not a youth development organization chooses to explicitly address religious diversity as part of its programming, it should ensure that staff members who directly interact with young people are able to create an environment in which all religions are respected and valued. Staff should be trained so they are comfortable with issues of religious diversity. Staff inclusion training should include a focus on religion.



*Image from the Imagine a World Without Hate™ video and action campaign, celebrating the 100th anniversary of the Anti-Defamation League. <http://www.adl.org/imagine>.*

## Examples

### **Anti-Defamation League, A World of Difference Institute Peer Training Program**

The ADL's Peer Training Program empowers young people to assume leadership roles in efforts to create respectful and inclusive schools and communities. Peer Trainers learn how to effectively respond when they hear racial slurs, name-calling, and put-downs in the hallways, lunchrooms, and classrooms of their schools. The program begins with a 2-3 day initial anti-bias training for the peer trainers and program coordinators. After this training, the entire group of peer trainers continues to develop leadership and facilitation skills at weekly meetings. Finally, peer trainers put their skills into action by delivering anti-bias workshops for their classmates and younger students. The program's success has been

confirmed by Yale and Princeton researchers in a 2011 academic study, which concluded that Peer Trainers “were significantly more likely to talk about and stand up against bias” and “serve as models of tolerance in their school.”

### **Seeds of Peace Maine/Syracuse Programs**

In 2000, Seeds of Peace adapted its internationally recognized conflict resolution and youth leadership program to launch its first domestic project, focused on intercommunal tensions in Portland, Maine, and in 2011 it expanded this program to Syracuse, New York. Both Maine and Syracuse Seeds begin their experience with a two-week session at the Seeds Camp in Maine followed by year-round local programs that enable them to develop strong relationships built on mutual trust, and the skills needed to engage others in their schools and communities to promote religious and cultural understanding.

In December 2012, Maine Seeds and Portland community members conducted an event called Holidays of Holidays, where Muslim, Christian, Buddhist, and Jewish Seeds presented their particular holiday traditions, celebrating the diversity of Portland with music, art, and dialogue. Among the group were native-born youth, along with Seeds from Somali, Chinese, Ethiopian, Iraqi, and Ghanaian refugee and immigrant families.

### **YMCA of Greater St. Louis**

Since 2011, select Teen Leaders Clubs and the Campus Y at Washington University of St. Louis have organized, publicized, and participated in a number of activities to promote a better understanding of the rich diversity of faiths found in the St. Louis metro area. High school and college students from these YMCAs have taken part in interfaith projects for the annual Martin Luther King, Jr. Day of Service, through which they explored how YMCA Character Values align with core faith values about social justice. At one selected Y, participants in the Teen Leaders Club took part in a panel discussion that included teens representing Christian, Hindu, Muslim and Orthodox Jewish faiths. Participants shared basic tenets of their faiths, as well as the joys and challenges they encounter as they practice their faiths. A tour of different houses of wor-

ship followed. Through these interfaith opportunities, young adults at the YMCA are encouraged to appreciate religious diversity by understanding their neighbor's values and working side-by-side for a better society.

### **Boys & Girls Clubs of America's Youth for Unity National Program**

Through a comprehensive set of resources, the Youth for Unity national program aims to promote and celebrate diversity while combating prejudice, bigotry and discrimination. Youth for Unity features age-appropriate programming for youth ages 6 to 12, teens, and parents; training and resources for Club professionals; and a leadership awards program. All after school activities include a theme, topic, learning goals, an estimated time for completion, materials needed, any special preparation, key learning points, an important words glossary, a wrap-up, and additional resources. The program builds the capacity of local Clubs, families, and communities to help individuals appreciate themselves as unique and special, understand diversity in society, recognize bias and unfairness, and take personal leadership in confronting bias.

### **Action Step**

The Youth Development Organizations group is eager to participate in Phase II of the Inclusive America Project. We commit not only to offering recommendations to our broader sector, but also to modeling the positive engagement of religious diversity. To that end, to the extent that resources allow, we commit to:

- 1) Develop interfaith education modules for use within youth development organizations;
- 2) Identify select segments of our networks to pilot this module;
- 3) Evaluate the effectiveness of the programs based on the module;
- 4) Hold a convening to spread the lessons learned and the best practices developed from this experience across the broader sector.

## HIGHER EDUCATION

Martin Budd, *Co-Chair, National Outreach and Interfaith Committee, Anti-Defamation League*

John J. DeGioia, Ph.D., *President, Georgetown University*

Robert M. Franklin, Ph.D., *President Emeritus, Morehouse College*

Heidi Hadsell, Ph.D., *President, Hartford Seminary*

David Little, Th.D., *retired Professor of the Practice in Religion, Ethnicity, and International Conflict, Harvard Divinity School*

### Introduction

On April 29, 2010, Jewish and Muslim students at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee clashed during an event celebrating the 62nd anniversary of the founding of the state of Israel. Several members of the Muslim Students' Association confronted Jewish students about Israel's treatment of Palestinians, and some scaled a rock-climbing wall to display a Palestinian flag on top of it. When a Jewish student attempted to

throw the flag in the trash, one of the Muslim students struck him and was subsequently arrested by campus police.

***Constructive engagement of religious diversity on campus helps prevent prejudice, ignorance, and conflict, and also mobilizes students around common values.***

Just one weekend earlier, at the University of Illinois, an evangelical student involved with the group Interfaith in Action spearheaded an initiative to package meals for survivors of the catastrophic earthquake that had hit Haiti a few months before. In a single weekend, over 5,000 volunteers from every walk of life, faith, and philosophical tradition assisted in packaging meals in an abandoned Hobby Lobby on the west side of Champaign. In less than 12 hours, more than 1,000,000 meals

were packaged for shipment to Haiti, where they were protected by the 82nd airborne division and distributed by the Salvation Army.

These two events illustrate the range of outcomes that are possible when young adults from different religious and ethnic backgrounds converge on a university campus. On the one hand, college students' energy and intellectual curiosity, combined with their lack of life experience, can make them susceptible to narratives of conflict and division, and even vulnerable to recruitment by hate groups or extremists. On the other hand, college students—from both religious and nonreligious belief groups—are generally eager to learn about others' perspectives and take action to benefit their communities. Constructive engagement of religious diversity on campus helps prevent prejudice, ignorance, and conflict, and also mobilizes students around common values.

In addition, since religious belief and practice is, for many, an essential part of the human experience, universities have a major interest in advancing the study of religious diversity. This is especially true for American universities, since coexistence and cooperation among multiple communities (racial, cultural, political, etc.) is essential to the American project. In today's interconnected world, even institutions with a particular sectarian focus and a religiously homogenous student body cannot ignore addressing diversity as part of a well-rounded educational experience.

## Principles and Recommendations

**Institutions of higher education should address religious diversity in two ways: interpersonal and academic. The former involves fostering a campus atmosphere that promotes constructive relationships, as well as honest and respectful exploration of similarities and differences, among students of various belief groups; the latter involves making the study of religious diversity an academic priority.** We recommend that colleges and universities take the following steps:

- 1) **Engage in a public discussion about religious diversity.** Colleges and universities should commit to articulating and posting on their websites the elements of their missions, identities, or traditions that define their approach to religious diversity. Once American colleges and universities have publicly stated these reasons, there will be a clear justification for subsequent work and commitments in this area.



A mechanism should be created to facilitate a discussion among institutions of higher learning about religious diversity. This would make it easy for colleges to share their reasons for pursuing religious diversity and exchange information about their efforts: successes, failures, and questions. It would also consolidate generally available resources on both the interpersonal and academic levels.

- 2) **Encourage interfaith engagement among students.** Colleges and universities should adopt policies that encourage the various religious groups represented on their campuses to get to know one another. An important first step is the incorporation of religious diversity curricula into faculty/staff training and First Year Orientation programs, alongside discussions of race, gender, and sexual orientation. Additionally, administrators should encourage structured interactions among different on-campus belief groups. For example, various belief groups could hold open houses for members of other groups with the goal of expanding students' knowledge of other religions and beliefs and sparking constructive dialogue.
- 3) **Promote academic study of religious diversity.** Given that protecting religious freedom and encouraging religious tolerance are indispensable ways of coping with religious diversity in the modern United States, there is an urgent need to raise the level of understanding in higher education regarding just how controversial and complex these subjects are in the real world. College and university students need an adequate understanding of the Constitution's twin guarantees of free exercise and non-establishment. Seminarians need to study religious diversity, too, because ordained ministers (rabbis, priests, imams, etc.) in a pluralistic society must have the skills to interface with one another and engage their congregations' interfaith activities. Offering more courses and encouraging research on such topics would increase the amount of academic attention devoted to the subject of religious diversity in domestic and world affairs.



Adrienne Baker Vitt/Interfaith Youth Core

*College students pose for a photo at Interfaith Youth Core’s Interfaith Leadership Institute in Atlanta, GA in January 2013. IFYC’s Interfaith Leadership Institutes teach hundreds of college students across the country about religious pluralism and interfaith cooperation each year.*

## Examples

**A number of colleges and universities with a range of religious affiliations (or none at all) have publicly expressed their approach to religious diversity:**

- a) Southwestern University (United Methodist, Georgetown, TX)

“Consonant with the educational mission of The United Methodist Church, our United Methodist heritage, and Southwestern University’s Core Purpose... We are a meeting place for differing religious beliefs and practices as well as spiritualities, and we encourage, and are committed to providing institutional support to a diversity of such traditions, and we understand that an enlightened model of religious diversity also encourages the presence and perspective of humanists, agnostics, and atheists.”

b) University of Iowa (Public Institution, Iowa City, IA)

“Religious history, religious diversity, and spiritual values have formed a part of The University of Iowa’s curricular and extracurricular programs since the founding of the University. In order to advance religious diversity on campus, the University makes reasonable accommodations for students, staff, and faculty whose religious holy days coincide with their work schedules and classroom assignments. As a public institution, the University neither promotes any particular form of religion nor discriminates against students, staff, or faculty on the basis of their religious viewpoints.”

c) Bethel College (Evangelical Christian, St. Paul, MN)

“Christianity in the twenty-first century cannot avoid confronting the questions posed by the diversity of religions. Since the Christian life cannot be lived in a socio-cultural nor religious vacuum, it is no longer sufficient that Bethel graduates know only what their Bible says or how to live Christian lives.”

**Institutions of higher education across the country are taking concrete steps to foster positive interfaith interactions and inclusive campus environments:**

a) The President’s Interfaith and Community Service Campus Challenge (Government program)

The President’s Interfaith and Community Service Campus Challenge was launched as a response to the report of the inaugural White House Faith Council, which recommended scaling or strengthening interfaith programs on 500 campuses. In 2010, President Obama sent a letter to the presidents of colleges and universities across the country inviting them to launch or strengthen large-scale, high-profile volunteer programs that brought people from diverse faith and philosophical identities together to serve others. To date, over 500 campuses have communicated interest in the program and approximately 350 have launched or strengthened such programs. Campus leaders gather annually in Washington at a convening organized by the Faith Office to share best practices and celebrate achievements. Senior officials such as Valerie Jarrett and Arne Duncan have spoken at these events.

b) Luther College (Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, Decorah, IA)

For the 2009 academic year, Luther College asked all first year students to read Eboo Patel's *Acts of Faith* before arriving on campus. All freshmen discussed the book in a classroom setting as part of Luther's required two-semester sequence for incoming freshmen. In addition, students participated in interfaith dialogues during First Year Orientation and throughout the course of their first semester. As a result of this project, many students became active in various interfaith peer groups on campus and participated in campus-wide interfaith service events.

c) Georgetown University (Roman Catholic, Washington, DC)

The Georgetown University Office of Student Life administers a Muslim Interest Living Community (MILC), the goal of which is to create a supportive living environment for Muslims and non-Muslims with an interest in Islam. It provides a supportive environment in which students can live out certain core aspects of their faith. For example, women's and men's living areas are separated, providing female Muslim students with a living space where they can remove their headscarves without worrying that men might see them. In the midst of the college "drinking culture," the MILC provides students with a community that socializes without alcohol. One resident, who was raised Catholic and lived in the MILC her sophomore year, noted the importance for both Catholic and Muslim students to have a space in which to "live out their faith" and help each other uphold their values together.

**The following institutions have prioritized the study of religious diversity through the creation of research programs, study tracks, and academic centers:**

a) Harvard University (No religious affiliation, Cambridge, MA)

The Pluralism Project: World Religions in America is a two decade-long research project to engage students in studying religious diversity in the United States. Directed by Dr. Diana Eck, the project explores particularly the communities and religious traditions of

Asia and the Middle East that have become woven into the religious fabric of the United States in the past twenty-five years.

- b) The Henry R. Luce Foundation (Private grantmaking institution, New York, NY)

In an effort to correct deficiencies in academic scholarship and training regarding the place of different religions in global politics and U.S. foreign policy, the Luce Foundation has, since 2005, awarded eighty-seven grants to schools of international affairs. Programs develop research and curricula for equipping policy specialists in diplomacy, development, relief work, human rights, and journalism with appropriate expertise. The emphasis is interdisciplinary, bringing social scientists together with experts in religion, and interactive, fostering contacts among scholars, policymakers, and religious practitioners.

## Action Step

As members of the Higher Education group, we pledge to take action to advance these recommendations in the field of higher education. Specifically, we will personally present these recommendations to relevant guilds and associations, including: The Association of American Colleges and Universities; The Association of American University Professors; The Association of Theological Schools; The Council of Independent Colleges; the Luce Foundation; and the Connecticut Conference of Independent Colleges.

In addition, we each commit to bringing these recommendations to the attention of at least three peers or former colleagues who hold influential positions in the field of higher education.

Finally, we wish to make ourselves available as resources for college administrators seeking to implement these recommendations in their own institutions. Interested parties are encouraged to contact us to find ways to work together on issues of religious diversity in higher education.

## MEDIA

Maria M. Ebrahimji, *Executive Editorial Producer, CNN; Co-Editor, “I Speak for Myself: American Women on Being Muslim”*

Richard J. Mouw, Ph.D., *President, Fuller Theological Seminary*

Paul Brandeis Raushenbush, *Senior Religion Editor, The Huffington Post*

Nadia Roumani, *Co-Founder and Director, American Muslim Civic Leadership Institute*

Rabbi David Saperstein, *Director, Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism*

## Introduction

On August 5, 2012 a lone gunman attacked a Sikh Temple in Wisconsin, killing six people and wounding four others. In the initial reporting, there was frustration in the Sikh community that the beliefs and history of their religion were not being portrayed accurately. There was a parallel concern among the media that qualified spokespersons from the community were difficult to identify. The combined challenge created a sense of confusion among the American public about who Sikhs really are. It took the active participation of Sikhs themselves—first on social media and blogs, and then through mainstream media outlets—to articulate and report a more substantive and helpful description of the faith, its history, and its adherents.

***Many American religious groups frequently express frustration at being misrepresented by the media and misunderstood by the broader society.***

The Sikhs are not an isolated example. Many American religious groups frequently express frustration at being misrepresented by the media and misunderstood by the broader society. Moreover, religious leaders and communities engaged in interfaith and positive pluralistic endeavors feel their work goes underreported, leaving the broader American society unaware of the good work being done by religious organizations.

Helping the media to be more accurate in its portrayals of religious communities, while also empowering religious communities to tell their own stories, is an important step to creating a more inclusive America. Criticizing the media has long been a standard response among American religious groups that feel misrepresented. Many have relied on their own long-standing print media outlets and, in response to inadequate coverage from the general media, have established alternative electronic and digital media outlets to serve their own communities. The former strategy has had some limited success; the latter excels at reaching members of the religious group but does little to change the views of outsiders.

## Principles and Recommendations

**In order to address perceived misrepresentations of religious groups in the media and to more fully portray the scope of interfaith tolerance and cooperation, our goal is to empower religious communities to articulate and disseminate compelling stories about themselves, and to better prepare the media to cover America's diverse religious communities.**

We recommend the following:

- 1) Provide self-storytelling resources and education.** Media organizations are hungry for good stories. Religious and community organizations should work to acquire the resources necessary to improve their communities' respective storytelling capacities to disseminate to the general media. This would result in more impactful stories, good op-ed writing, and positive and impactful use of social media.

Journalists and other media professionals can serve as resources, giving talks or seminars to faith groups about their work in the media, ways to obtain coverage about religious life by various media outlets, and what information from the religious communities makes for or adds to a good general media story. Basic media training manuals can be created for interfaith organizations and faith groups.

Religious communities need to learn, as well, to use the internet more effectively to make positive pluralistic voices and religious beliefs readily available online. There are a variety of ways to accomplish this. For instance, workshops can be held in which storytellers of all kinds—reporters, filmmakers, television producers, bloggers, and webisode creators—teach members of religious minority groups effective storytelling techniques and innovative methods for disseminating positive stories. Several examples of best practice models in this area, identified by panelists, are presented below.

- 2) **Encourage workshops and/or courses for journalists interested in reporting on religion.** Such workshops could include panels featuring religious leaders, journalists, and policy makers. They could also be used to unveil research on reporting (or misreporting) of religion in America and work to help respective parties understand why this is so and how to address weaknesses in coverage, providing take-aways on how to engage effectively with and report on a variety of religious communities.
  
- 3) **Create opportunities for religiously engaged Americans to learn about and participate in the media.** The effort to improve our public discourse on religion should include not only those who affiliate themselves with a particular faith, but also students and scholars of religion, and people who have experience working with faith communities or doing interfaith work. One way to increase the media participation rate of these Americans is through the creation of privately funded scholarships, fellowships, or internship programs to recruit them for general media experience. Another method is outreach efforts aimed at speaking about journalism and highlighting opportunities to national student religious organizations, such as Catholic Student Associations, Intervarsity Christian Fellowship, Hillel, Muslim Student Associations, and Interfaith Youth Core. Such efforts would increase awareness and interest in journalism from a more religiously diverse range of candidates.





Courtesy Harpreet Kaur/CNN iReport

*In the aftermath of the shooting at the Sikh gurdwara in Oak Creek, WI, a medical student at UT-Tyler named Harpreet used CNN iReport to publish a message about her Sikh American identity. Her post, available at <http://ireport.cnn.com/docs/DOC-825228>, received over 26,000 views.*

## Examples

### Self-storytelling resources:

#### a) Project Interfaith's *Ravel Unravel* campaign

*Ravel Unravel* started in July 2010 with the goal of having interviewers capture 150 videos of community members of diverse beliefs and cultures in the Omaha, Nebraska metropolitan area. Participants were filmed answering questions about their religious or spiritual identity, stereotypes of that identity, and how that identity is received within the Omaha community. The project blossomed into a much larger exploration of the tapestry of religious and spiritual identities that make up our community and world. With hundreds of personal videos online and simple methods for uploading and

viewing, Ravel Unravel is an opportunity for people to share their religious or spiritual identity, confront stereotypes, and learn about the great diversity within religions and belief systems.

b) CNN iReport

iReport invites viewers to report their own news stories and access stories posted by other news viewers. CNN's producers are able to draw from the most compelling, important, and urgent iReports and incorporate them into CNN's news coverage. The goal is to utilize viewer input to paint a more complete picture of the news. Religious Americans can use this resource to broadly disseminate stories without screening or editing by media personnel. For example, after the shooting at the Sikh house of worship in Wisconsin, Valarie Kaur, Director of the Groundswell movement and a Sikh American, used iReport to broadcast a call for Americans to combat prejudice against religious minorities.

c) American Muslim Civic Leadership Initiative

The AMCLI, housed at the University of Southern California's Center for Religion and Civic Culture, has graduated over 100 Muslim civic leaders from across the country in the past five years. AMCLI empowers its fellows, who hold leadership roles in the nonprofit and public sectors, with a range of skills, including the art of storytelling. Working with experienced trainers such as the Ariel Group, Bend the Arc, and Harvard professor Marshall Ganz, AMCLI provides emerging leaders with the tools they need to effectively articulate their respective values, purpose, and vision in a compelling and inspiring way. Sharing their stories as a cohort helps build a dynamic ecosystem of interconnected Muslim leaders in the nonprofit and public sectors, and prepares these leaders to communicate effectively with non-Muslim organizational allies and the general public.

**Workshops and courses for journalists who cover religion:**

The Poynter Institute's News University

The Poynter Institute's online university for journalists offers more than 250 low-cost training courses, including significant content

on religion reporting. One course, “Religion, Culture and Society: Getting Beyond the Clichés,” helps journalists identify challenges and common pitfalls in reporting on religion, and find resources that help shape in-depth reporting on issues of religion in contemporary society. Another course, “Covering Islam in America,” teaches reporters essential facts about Islam and Muslims, provides information about Islam in the U.S., and offers strategies for improving coverage of Muslim Americans.

### **Opportunities for religiously engaged Americans to participate in the media:**

#### Lilly Scholarships in Religion for Journalists

The Lilly Foundation funds Religion Newswriters Association scholarships of up to \$5,000 each that allow journalists to take courses in religion or spirituality at any accredited institution of higher education. The scholarships seek to improve religion reporting by improving journalists’ knowledge of relevant subjects, resulting in reporters who are more sensitive to the impact of faith in society and/or more attuned to the role that spirituality plays in their personal lives.

### **Action Step**

As panelists for the media group, we are excited to collaborate on a pilot initiative that incorporates many of the suggestions outlined in this section of the report, while simultaneously leveraging our individual skills and strengths. We pledge to organize a two-part training event that will include 1) a training for media professionals to learn about religious communities across America, and 2) a training for leaders of religious communities on story-telling and media engagement. Afterwards, participants in both trainings will be brought together for a networking event.

We are committed to exploring other ways to advance the objectives outlined in this report. Interested parties are encouraged to contact us with additional recommendations and other successful examples.

## RELIGIOUSLY AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS

Abraham H. Foxman, *National Director, Anti-Defamation League*

Imam Mohamed Magid, *President, Islamic Society of North America*

Manjit Singh, *Co-Founder and Chairman, Sikh American Legal Defense and Education Fund*

Jim Wallis, *President and CEO, Sojourners*

### Introduction

Religiously affiliated organizations (RAOs) represent a very large share of American social capital. Across America, RAOs educate children, feed the hungry, care for the sick, shelter the homeless, and promote social justice.

While disparate in beliefs and practices, RAOs share many values, such as opposing violence, alleviating poverty, safeguarding religious freedom, and protecting human dignity. By standing together, RAOs strengthen the fabric of society, contribute to human flourishing, and make communities more resilient.

RAOs contribute to society in a variety of ways. Some initiatives are conducted by a single religious group, others by a coalition; some aim to serve the needs of a particular congregation, others to serve the general public; some address local needs, others national issues. There are important and worthwhile projects in all of these categories. Yet, in light of the two divergent movements that our society is experiencing—one toward increasing religious diversity, the other toward increasing secularism—we draw attention to initiatives that unite Americans from multiple faith traditions.

***RAOs share many values, such as opposing violence, alleviating poverty, safeguarding religious freedom, and protecting human dignity.***

## Principles and Recommendations

Cooperation amplifies RAOs' ability to influence society and builds mutual understanding between members of different faith traditions. We stand together against religious persecution, while at the same time recognizing the need for each of us to maintain theological integrity. We condemn the use of violence and the language of hate. **We call on RAOs to commit to joint initiatives with other faith communities to advance the common good.**

We recommend the following:

- 1) **Build relationships.** In order for RAOs to form effective partnerships, positive relationships and strong lines of communication must be established. To facilitate this process, religious leaders from different faith traditions should become familiar with each other. Leadership retreats and conferences provide a chance for religious leaders to get to know one another, learn about each other's communities, and develop mutual respect.
- 2) **Identify issues of mutual concern.** RAOs should identify areas where their interests coalesce with the interests of other faith communities. Numerous interfaith partnerships aimed at addressing common goals already exist. For many, performing community service together is preferable to hosting religious services together. Joint activities include tutoring, meal packaging, disaster relief, park clean-ups, house building, and hurricane relief (notably after Katrina and Sandy). Going forward, RAOs should work together to ameliorate conditions that contribute to youth marginalization and disaffection.
- 3) **Stand together.** Rooted in relationships and motivated by mutual concerns, RAOs should support each other when one group is confronted with violence or expressions of hatred. Responses by religious leaders who are not members of the targeted group are especially helpful in correcting false stereotypes and opposing offensive anti-religious activity. Those engaged in such efforts should attempt to leverage relationships in their particular faith community.



Keith L. Darby/United States Navy

*Volunteers preparing meals at the Holy Apostles Soup Kitchen, which serves more than 1,000 hot nutritious meals every weekday to the needy in the Chelsea section of Manhattan, NY.*

## Examples

### Refugee Resettlement

Over the past five years, more than 60,000 ethnic Nepalese refugees (mostly Hindu) from Bhutan (a Buddhist nation) have been quietly resettled in the USA by a variety of RAOs. These include the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society, United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, Church World Service, World Relief, Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service, and Episcopal Migration Ministries.

Dave Robinson, Deputy Assistant Secretary of the U.S. State Department, recently stated: “Faith-based organizations play an important role in American civic life and culture. They foster the values that underpin our respect for the policies and legal frameworks that protect refugees... across the globe. We believe in working together across creeds, traditions, and faiths to uphold our common humanity. And we depend upon faith-based organizations to help carry out relief and resettlement programs that are funded by the U.S. government... Six of the nine voluntary agencies involved in the U.S. Refugee Admissions Program

are faith-based. These organizations, in turn, have networks that stretch across America and into thousands of cities and communities. This highly effective web of churches, synagogues, mosques, and temples makes sure that refugee children are enrolled in schools; that parents are able to find jobs; and that families have homes, food, and health care.”

### **Responses to Hate Speech Ads**

When ugly anti-Islam ads began appearing in New York City and Washington, DC subway facilities, people of faith spoke out. Rabbis for Human Rights, United Methodist Women, Sojourners, and others placed counter ads that condemned hate speech and encouraged positive interfaith relations, referencing the commandment, “Love thy neighbor.” These ads provided a positive message, received significant international press, and resulted in outpourings of support from around the world. Simple and affirming acts, particularly in situations of religious conflict, strike deep and responsive chords in people—religious and nonreligious alike.

### **Sikh Community Outreach**

Each Thanksgiving for the past 14 years, the Sikh American community of Tracy, California, has hosted a campaign to distribute winter coats to the needy. The most recent giveaway resulted in the distribution of 3,500 coats, the most ever. The distribution is made in partnership with a local community center in Modesto and with family shelters in Stockton. This project is a positive example of a religious community partnering with other institutions to serve the common good.

### **“Welcome the Stranger” Campaign**

The Evangelical Immigration Table (EIT), the largest group of evangelicals ever convened on the issue, has helped to change the conversation about comprehensive immigration reform. Its Evangelical Statement of Principles has garnered more than 150 signers representing a broad

range of evangelical leaders – from Focus on the Family to Evangelicals for Social Action. Recently, EIT brought 300 church leaders to Capitol Hill, and organized 91 meetings with members of Congress, including 63 Republicans. The group’s efforts have had a clear impact. South Carolina Senator Lindsey Graham has publicly stated that he will back comprehensive immigration reform because he has the support of the evangelical community.

### **“Shoulder to Shoulder” Campaign**

In 2010, controversies raged over the decision to build a Muslim community center a few blocks from Ground Zero in New York City and a threat to burn copies of the Qur’an in Florida. In response, nearly 40 senior religious leaders from various faith communities convened at the National Press Club in Washington. The Shoulder to Shoulder campaign released a powerful joint statement decrying anti-Muslim rhetoric and held a press conference that was broadcast live by C-SPAN and CNN, and covered by multiple national and international media outlets.



## GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

Michael J. Gerson, *Senior Advisor, ONE; Visiting Fellow, Center for Public Justice*

Michael Leiter, *Senior Counselor at Palantir Technologies; former Director, National Counterterrorism Center*

Brie Loskota, *Managing Director, Center for Religion and Civic Culture, University of Southern California*

### Introduction

In the summer and fall of 2009, the H1N1 (“swine flu”) virus swept across the United States, reaching pandemic proportions by October and prompting the government to launch a national vaccination campaign. Religious leaders were identified as playing an important role in spreading information about the virus and how to avoid infection, and faith communities were identified as key vaccine distribution points.

***[Partnerships between public agencies and faith communities] can address issues from health and hunger to natural and manmade disasters.***

Partnering with a variety of faith communities increased the government’s capacity to inform and protect the American people during this public health crisis. Both the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and the Department of Homeland Security played key roles in raising awareness among faith leaders via the development of a “toolkit” for faith leader preparedness and response, and via an ongoing series of engagement confer-

ence calls. Through these calls, the government was able to promote specific strategies, highlight what was working in local communities, and answer questions from faith leaders. These calls reached over 5,000 leaders nationwide, and over 10,000 toolkits were distributed.

This example illustrates how public entities and religious groups work together effectively to address social issues. An inherent tension has existed historically and will always exist when government agencies and

faith communities collaborate, due to constitutional and first amendment constraints. Yet when such collaboration is done competently, it can successfully address a variety of issues, from health and hunger to natural and manmade disasters.

There are a number of barriers to the formation of effective partnerships between public agencies and faith communities. First, government officials are often wary of such partnerships due to uncertainty about constitutional issues and because of concerns about public opposition and controversy. Second, the leaders of many government agencies do not know how to work comfortably and effectively with members of faith-based organizations or do not understand how to connect this body of work to their larger policy and programmatic goals. Those that do desire to engage with faith communities may lack adequate resources allocated for this purpose. Finally, religious leaders often lack knowledge about how government agencies work and how partnerships can be formed.

## Principles and Recommendations

**As a matter of law and policy, government agencies should seek partnerships with faith communities to serve the common good.** Among other projects, such partnerships should include mutual liaison arrangements, the co-development and implementation of community service programs, and measures to encourage multifaith cooperation and prevent official discrimination.

This area is fraught with nuance and difficulty because there is such a wide range of religious communities in the United States. As government agencies go through the learning process, they should develop standards to guide their partnerships with faith communities, based on past interactions and input from various religious groups.

The following recommendations focus on addressing existing barriers to constructive government engagement with faith communities:

- 1) **Develop clear guidelines on engagement between governments and faith-based organizations.** These guidelines should draw on past experience, legal precedents, and current thinking. They would

provide a reliable set of standards for public officials to follow, reducing the uncertainty that often prevents effective partnerships from taking shape. We recognize that some of this thinking is being undertaken by the President’s Office of Faith-Based and Neighborhood Partnerships, located both in the White House and in key agencies across the federal government. But much more needs to be done, including the creation of guidelines that would:

- Describe the contours of appropriate engagement
- Require that government agencies be open to working with a wide range of religiously affiliated groups
- Establish a “help line” function for public officials to obtain guidance on how to engage faith-based organizations
- Establish a process to develop and distribute a list of best practices for engagement
- Identify means to eliminate inconsistency in policies and procedures used by various government agencies when engaging with religious organizations

**2) Improve government officials’ religious competency.** Government agencies that deal directly with the public should have staff members who are well-versed in all of the faith traditions represented in the populations with which they interact. Hiring and training practices should produce officials who have expertise in their agency’s subject matter, are knowledgeable about the American religious landscape, and understand how to work with faith communities. Senior government officials should build relationships with networks of religious and faith leaders before an incident or need for collaboration arises.

**3) Offer resources to educate representatives of religious communities about how government operates.** The leaders of faith communities need to understand how government agencies function, what legal constraints they are under, and how partnerships with them can be formed. This should be made more available, and govern-

ment agencies should create a method for sharing necessary information with citizens and organizations interested in partnering with them.

**4) Take criticism seriously and address it publically and completely.**

There have been a number of well-publicized negative stories about government dealings with faith communities, from the tragic raid of the Branch Davidian compound by the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms in 1993 to the NYPD's use of training materials with anti-Muslim stereotypes in 2010 and a U.S. Army presentation that compared ultra-orthodox Jews to groups like the Ku Klux Klan and Al-Qaeda in 2013. When such incidents occur, government agencies should acknowledge any errors that have been made and redouble efforts to build trust with the communities involved.



Muflehun/www.muflehun.org

*In October 2011, an American Muslim non-profit called Muflehun partnered with the Loudon County Sheriff's Office and several federal agencies to pilot workshops at a local mosque that educated parents about the full spectrum of internet based predators that target their families.*

## Examples of Successful Partnerships

**The Department of Homeland Security’s Center for Faith-Based and Neighborhood Partnerships has successfully partnered with faith communities in six major U.S. cities to help citizens prepare for, respond to, and recover from disaster.**

In Los Angeles, the DHS Center for Faith-Based and Neighborhood Partnerships successfully partnered with the city government, USC Center for Religion and Civic Culture, LA Emergency Preparedness Foundation, and a host of civic groups to coordinate disaster relief efforts with leaders from a very broad range of religious groups (including Roman Catholic, Evangelical Christian, Latino Protestant, African Methodist Episcopal, African American Baptist, Sikh, Muslim, and Reform Jewish). After enlisting the participation of these groups, the Center conducted ongoing gatherings to learn about their disaster relief work and inform them about the workings of LA’s Emergency Management Department (EMD).

The Center then identified “incident commanders” among these faith leaders, each of whom committed to taking training courses about how to effectively coordinate their communities’ efforts with the EMD. Plans for increasing disaster preparedness through training, enhanced emergency communications, and coordinated contributions were also put in place. By creating new networks between religious groups and emergency management, and developing infrastructure and training protocols to enhance the sustainability of such efforts, the Center has positively impacted LA’s capacity to cope with disaster.

**The Department of Agriculture’s Summer Food Service Program works with faith communities to distribute summer lunches to children in need.**

Each summer, the USDA partners with state agencies and local organizations to address the problem of child hunger. Schools, local government agencies, faith-based and nonprofit community organizations, and residential and non-residential camps use federal funds to provide free meals and activities to eligible low-income children. In 2012, USDA’s partners served 144 million summer meals at 38,800 sites, feeding approximately 2.3 million children on a typical summer day.

### **Sub-section on National Security**

National security is not the focus of IAP, but it must be acknowledged that recent years have seen significant outreach by national security officials to religious communities.

#### **Connections with a broad range of religious communities are an important part of countering violent extremism.**

Building trust and positive relationships with religious communities holds concrete benefits for government agencies. Communities are often in a position to report suspicious behavior by isolated individuals; for example, American Muslims provided law enforcement authorities with the initial tip in more than one third of all thwarted domestic terror attacks by Muslim extremists since 2001. Government officials must take care not to act in ways that deter individuals from reporting suspicious activities, and should provide tools and resources to help communities build resilience against recruitment by violent extremists.

In one example of an effective security partnership, federal and local government partnered with faith organizations to inform parents about the full spectrum of online threats that target their families, from sexual predators to violent extremists.

The Department of Homeland Security, Federal Bureau of Investigation, and National Counterterrorism Center worked with the local sheriff's office, the All Dulles Area Muslim Society (ADAMS) Center, and an American Muslim non-profit organization called Muflehun to deliver two Internet safety briefings to parents and community members at the ADAMS Center. Over 100 people, eager to learn tips for protecting their children from online threats, attended these sessions and gave strongly positive reviews of the workshops.

***Building trust and positive relationships with religious communities holds concrete benefits for government agencies.***

**There have been missteps in government agencies' dealings with the American Muslim community in the past decade. Improving government officials' religious competency has helped repair the relationship in certain instances.**

Government actors involved in a July 2011 arrest of two Pakistani American imams in Miami credited government-provided training about religious minorities for helping them understand how to carry out the operation without offending or harming innocent believers. FBI agents were careful to conduct the arrest at a time when it would disturb the local community as little as possible, and they made sure not to defile the mosque or disrespect the worshippers in any way—they even removed their shoes before entering to make the arrest. The special agent in charge of the case called other local Muslim leaders just minutes after making the arrest so that they would not be caught off guard when the news broke.

**There is no guarantee that building a more pluralistic society will decrease terrorism committed by Americans against other Americans.**

Building a more robust, inclusive public square where all Americans can fully participate is an important effort to be undertaken regardless of its potential to impact domestic terrorism. That it may help serve to shrink the pool of isolated and aggrieved individuals susceptible to being lured into committing acts of violence and enable our society to be more resilient in the face of violence only adds to its importance. When Americans prove that people of all religions can live and work together in peace and prosperity, we undermine the basic extremist narrative of “us vs. them.”

However, working toward a more pluralistic and inclusive America is not a substitute for direct intervention with individual actors who are in the process of planning violence, nor is it a substitute for law enforcement efforts to thwart attacks.



# The Challenges of Religious Diversity

David E. Campbell, Ph.D.

*Professor of Political Science, University of Notre Dame*

The United States is often, and rightly, celebrated as a religiously diverse nation, where people of different faiths—including those who profess no religious faith—have built a vibrant society that combines high levels of religious devotion, diversity, and tolerance. However, there is no guarantee that religious tolerance will endure, as evidenced by contemporary incidents of misunderstanding, hostility, and even violence directed toward members of some religious groups in America. Furthermore, America's past is a sobering reminder that religious diversity can spark conflict. Many religious groups have suffered their share of religious bigotry, including Jews, Catholics, Mormons, and Jehovah's Witnesses. While some of that past hostility lingers, today other groups bear the brunt of interreligious antagonism, perhaps most notably America's Muslim population. Furthermore, a rising number of secularists—whether they be atheists, agnostics, or people who disclaim any tie to organized religion—often clash with religious believers in the public square.

***If America is to remain religiously tolerant, the nation cannot be complacent.***

If America is to remain religiously tolerant, the nation cannot be complacent. Diversity of all types can result in social tension, perhaps especially religious diversity, as religious differences often seem irreconcilable. Change brings uncertainty and, for some, even a sense of threat. Only by recognizing the challenges brought by religious diversity will Americans be prepared for them.



## BACKGROUND: DIVERSITY AND DYNAMISM

It is well known that America is a highly religious nation, at least when compared to other economically advanced liberal democracies. While, by any measure, America's overall level of religiosity pales in comparison to nations such as Indonesia or Jordan, the United States is a far more religious nation than its international peers. For example, according to the World Values Survey, 36 percent of Americans report attending religious services once a week or more. That compares to weekly attendance rate of 7 percent in France, 8 percent in Germany, 12 percent in Holland, 14 percent in Australia, and 17 percent in Britain. Even Canada—a country that shares a border with the United States—has a lower rate of weekly religious attendance, 25 percent.<sup>1</sup>

### *Diversity*

America stands out, not only for its high level of religious belonging, belief, and behavior, but also for its remarkable degree of religious diversity. Within the United States, there are a staggering number of religious denominations and a growing number of congregations that do not identify with a denomination at all. While most Americans describe themselves as Christian, Christianity comes in many different forms—from Pentecostalism to Catholicism.

In addition, America is home to a growing number of adherents to faiths outside of the Christian tradition. America's religious diversity is also geographic, as different religious groups are concentrated in various parts of the country: evangelicals in the South, Lutherans in the Midwest, Mormons in the Mountain West, Catholics in the Northeast and Southwest, Muslims in Michigan, and orthodox Jews in New York. In some parts of the country, there are relatively few religious believers of any stripe.<sup>2</sup>

America's combination of high religiosity and high religious diversity

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1 The statistics are derived from the latest wave of the World Values Survey (2005-2007). Data from the World Values Survey can be found at <http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org>

2 For more details on the regional religious diversity of the United States, see the U.S. Religious Landscape Survey of the Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life: <http://religions.pewforum.org>

would seem to invite conflict. There are myriad examples around the world where religious differences have led to tension, social disharmony, and even violent mayhem—think Belfast, Baghdad, and the Balkans. Nor, historically, has America been immune to religious conflict. In the nineteenth century, especially, there were many violent clashes between members of different religious groups.

Today, however, religious diversity has not prevented most Americans from getting along with people of most other religions. In “Faith Matters,” a nationally representative sample of the American population was asked, “Can a good person not of your faith go to heaven, or attain salvation?” (This was asked only of people who had indicated a belief in God.)<sup>3</sup> Overwhelmingly, they said yes, regardless of their own religious background. Eighty-nine percent of all Americans believe that people of other faiths can go to heaven.<sup>4</sup>

***An overwhelming majority of Americans say that religious diversity “has been good for America.”***

Similarly, an overwhelming majority of Americans—no matter their religious background or intensity of religious commitment—say that religious diversity “has been good for America.” Eighty-six percent of the most secular Americans see the virtue of religious diversity, compared to 74 percent of the most highly religious. As further evidence of Americans’ comfort with religions other than their own, 80 percent of the population believes that “basic truths can be found in

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3 The figures quoted here all come from the Faith Matters survey, conducted by Robert Putnam and David Campbell, which is discussed in *American Grace: How Religion Divides and Unites Us* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2010). Faith Matters is a nationally representative survey of 3,108 respondents first interviewed in 2006. The same respondents were re-interviewed in 2007 and 2011. For more details on the methodology of the survey, please consult Appendix 1 of *American Grace*.

4 This includes 97 percent of Catholics, 93 percent of mainline Protestants, 82 percent of Black Protestants, and 81 percent of Evangelical Protestants. To test the limits of this all-inclusive heaven, Christian respondents were asked a follow-up question specifying that this hypothetical good person is not a Christian. Among Catholics and mainline Protestants, the numbers barely budged, as 87 percent of the former and 73 percent of the latter said that even non-Christians were welcome in heaven. Among Black and evangelical Protestants, the numbers dropped more, but a majority of both groups do not see Christianity as a prerequisite for heaven. Fifty-nine percent of Black Protestants say a non-Christian can go to heaven, while 55 percent of evangelicals do. Note that the numbers reported here are slightly different than those found in *American Grace* (see page 534), as these are from 2011 and the book reports data from 2007. The differences between 2007 and 2011 are small.

many religions,” compared to 7 percent who say that there is very little truth in any religion and 13 percent who believe that only one religion (presumably their own) is true. Americans are also comfortable with people who claim no religious belief. Eighty-nine percent of Americans believe that someone who does not have a religious faith can be a “good American.”<sup>5</sup>

These examples of Americans’ acceptance of—and tolerance toward—people of other faiths can be read in different ways. To some, they are laudatory reflections of an ecumenical spirit. But to other observers, they suggest that many of America’s religions are losing their distinctiveness. Since the vitality of many religious groups lies in their distinctiveness,<sup>6</sup> any “blurring” of religious boundaries risks weakening Americans’ commitment to their own faith, and thus to the contributions that religion makes to America’s social fabric. Some observers have even argued that to diminish religious distinctiveness is to lessen the ability of religion to be “prophetic” and thus call people to sacrifice on behalf of great causes, including the social reform movements of the past that were inspired by religious ideals.<sup>7</sup>

### *Dynamism*

Alongside diversity, the second signal feature of American religion is its dynamism. In the United States, new religions are frequently born, others are imported from abroad through immigration, and still others are reinvented. Amidst this religious “creative destruction,” Americans frequently switch religions, as up to forty percent of all Americans change their religious affiliation at least once over the course of their lives. In the United States, it is common to speak of religion as a “preference” rather than an ascribed and thus nearly indelible characteristic. In such a fluid environment, Americans not only switch between religions, but increas-

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5 Putnam and Campbell, *American Grace*, chapter 15.

6 Roger Finke and Rodney Stark, *The Churching of America, 1776-2005: Winners and Losers in Our Religious Economy, Revised and Expanded Edition* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2005).

7 E. J. Dionne, *Souled Out: Reclaiming Faith and Politics After the Religious Right* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2008); Ross Douthat, *Bad Religion: How We Became a Nation of Heretics* (New York: Free Press, 2012).

ingly they opt out of religion altogether. For many religious groups, this high degree of religious “flux” makes it difficult to maintain their traditional beliefs and practices, and to ensure that they are passed along to subsequent generations. As noted below, America’s religious fluidity is both a cause and consequence of interfaith marriage, which can also weaken the religious devotion of either spouse and/or their children.

Importantly, the dynamism of American religion has also included periods of ebbs and flows in the nation’s overall level of religiosity. Contrary to the popular image of religion being in perpetual decline—e.g., “America has turned away from God”—the reality is that over the course of American history, religion writ large has experienced both booms and busts. While the current era has been a bear market for America’s religion, history suggests that today’s bust could become tomorrow’s boom.

## CHALLENGES

As noted, one challenge brought by religious diversity is the blurring of religious boundaries. This may seem counter-intuitive, as the softening of religious distinctions has contributed to Americans’ religious tolerance. However, in an environment where most Americans believe that virtually all religions lead to the same place, those Americans with a sincere belief in the certainty of their own faith stand out. For those with strong religious convictions, the challenge is to live harmoniously in a religiously pluralistic nation, and thus among people with a different worldview. For those Americans who endorse the view that many roads lead to the same heaven, the challenge is to recognize that believing in one’s own faith does not automatically mean hostility toward other religions. Many Americans with a deep faith in their own religion nonetheless recognize the good in other faiths. For example, according to the 2011 Faith Matters survey, 79 percent of Americans who describe themselves as strong believers in their own religion believe that “there are basic truths in many religions.” Strong religious believers ought not to be marginalized by those who believe differently, or have no religious belief at all.

***One challenge brought by religious diversity is the blurring of religious boundaries.***

## *Secularism and the Rise of the Nones*

A second challenge is the aforementioned growth in secularism or, more specifically, the growth in the percentage of people who report no religious affiliation. The single biggest change in American religious landscape in the last twenty years—and arguably one of the biggest changes in all of American society—has been the dramatic increase in the percentage of Americans who have no religious affiliation, or “the rise of the nones.” From the 1950s to late 1980s, the percentage of Americans who report “none” as their religious affiliation was in a steady state of about 6 percent of the population. Then, in the early 1990s it began rising, until today 20

### ***One third of all young Americans report no religious affiliation.***

percent of Americans now identify as nones.<sup>8</sup> To put that in perspective, more Americans today are nones than mainline Protestants. The growth of the nones is even more pronounced among the Millennials (ages 18-29). Roughly one third of all young Americans report no religious affiliation. For now, the growth of nones shows no sign of slowing, and has even been accelerating over roughly the past half-decade.<sup>9</sup> At some point it will presumably hit a ceiling, but only time will tell what that ceiling might be.

There are multiple challenges posed by the rise of the nones. For those Americans who are religious, the “nones” are often mischaracterized as ardent secularists or atheists who completely reject religion, and are thus overtly hostile to it. While, certainly, there are such people (more on them below), the bulk of the nones are better described as unmoored from organized religion. Importantly, most nones are not atheists. In fact, only about a quarter say that they definitely do not believe in God. Furthermore, many nones have not completely disconnected from religion. Roughly half say that they pray at least occasionally, 25 percent say that they have “very often” experienced God’s love, and 10 percent even report attending religious services monthly or more. While few

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8 Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, “Nones” on the Rise: One-in-five Adults Have No Religious Affiliation (Washington, DC: Pew Research Center for the People and the Press, October 9, 2012). <http://www.pewforum.org/Unaffiliated/nones-on-the-rise.aspx>

9 For further discussion of the acceleration of the nones’ growth in the last half-decade, see the epilogue to the paperback edition of *American Grace*.

Americans use this label themselves, they are often described by scholars as “the spiritual but not religious”—they do not feel an affiliation with any organized religion but still feel a connection to the divine. Roughly one-half of nones are actually “liminals,” meaning that they have an ambiguous religious identity.<sup>10</sup> At one point in time they will describe themselves as nones, whereas at another they will report a nominal religious affiliation, suggesting that they are more ambivalent about religion than hostile to it.<sup>11</sup>

Therefore, contrary to the rhetoric of some polemicists, the growth of the nones does not mean that one in five Americans is antagonistic toward religion or religious people. Rather, they are more like political independents who do not identify with a particular political party. And their emergence does not mean that America is inexorably moving toward outright secularization; the nones have not completely abandoned religion. Remember that American religion is dynamic, periodically reinvigorated by religious awakenings. Ironically, however, harsh and misinformed rhetoric about the non-religious population may become a self-fulfilling prophecy. The nones are unlikely to return to religion if they do not find it welcoming.

While *most* of the nones are not completely alienated from religion, *some* are. Recent years have seen a growth—both in size and prominence—of secularists who overtly, and vocally, reject religion. While this nascent movement does not yet have a single label, some describe themselves as atheists, others as agnostics, while others prefer terms like humanists, skeptics, or freethinkers. Whatever their label, secularists do not always find the public square a hospitable place. In many American communities, secularists feel they must stay “in the closet,” as they fear being shunned by neighbors, friends, and family. They are often caricatured in political rhetoric as unpatriotic and a threat to the Republic, inflaming tensions between religious and secular Americans. At the same time, some secularists traffic in ridiculing the beliefs and practices of religious people, which is hardly conducive to social harmony and mutual respect.

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10 These numbers all come from the 2011 Faith Matters survey.

11 Chaeyoon Lim, Carol Ann MacGregor, and Robert D. Putnam, “Secular and Liminal: Discovering Heterogeneity Among Religious Nones,” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 49, no. 4 (2010): 596–618.

### *The New Face of Religious Diversity*

The growth of the nones is not the only way that the nation's religious landscape is being reconfigured. Among religious adherents, there has also been a growth in what might be called “non-Judeo Christian” faiths, such as Muslims, Buddhists, Hindus, and Sikhs. While, at the present time, these groups are still a relatively small share of the U.S. population, they are growing in size. And because their practices are unfamiliar to many Americans, they can be conspicuous. Being conspicuous, they are often met with suspicion—Muslims especially.

While Muslims are often stigmatized because of violence committed by terrorists who claim to be acting in the name of Islam, it is important to note that an association with terrorism is not the whole story of anti-Muslim sentiment. Muslims were viewed negatively before September 11, 2001, because they have been perceived as “outsiders.”<sup>12</sup> Other religious groups who are also thought to be outsiders, such as Buddhists, face similar opprobrium. Nor are these sentiments limited to eastern religions. Mormons—a faith born in America—also face a negative perception that is comparable to Muslims, Buddhists, and other religions of eastern origin.<sup>13</sup>

This is not meant to be an exhaustive list of religious groups that face suspicion. Rather, these illustrative examples teach us that faiths unfamiliar to most Americans are least likely to be perceived positively.

### *Religious and Political Tensions*

Perhaps the biggest challenge facing interreligious harmony lies in the increasing overlap between religious and political tensions. The nation's politics are increasingly polarized along ideological lines, especially among elected officials. However, while ideological polarization receives a lot of attention, *religious* polarization receives far less, and yet is also problematic. In this context, “religious polarization” refers not only to the tendency

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12 Kerem Ozan Kalkan, Geoffrey C. Layman, and Eric M. Uslaner, “‘Bands of Others’? Attitudes Toward Muslims in Contemporary American Society,” *The Journal of Politics* 71, no. 3 (July 1, 2009): 847–862.

13 David E. Campbell, John C. Green, and J. Quin Monson, “The Stained Glass Ceiling: Social Contact and Mitt Romney’s ‘Religion Problem’,” *Political Behavior* 34, no. 2 (2012): 277–299.

of some religious groups to affiliate with one party over another—that has long been a feature of American politics—but also the connection between partisanship and negativity toward particular religious groups.

For example, growing evidence indicates that the rise of the “nones” is largely a reaction to the political environment. The emergence of the “religious right” movement within conservative politics, and within the Republican Party in particular, has led a growing number of Americans with moderate-to-liberal politics to deny

an association with religion. To them, “religion” connotes conservative politics; since that is not their politics, they do not want to be associated with religion.<sup>14</sup> This backlash to the religious right is self-reinforcing: the more the political left, and the Democratic Party, is associated with secularism and anti-religious rhetoric, the more the political right, and the Republican Party, will be associated with strident anti-secularist language.

As a consequence of the increasing overlap between religion and party, there is religious stereotyping and antipathy on both sides of the political spectrum. Many political liberals have long been shown to harbor negative perceptions of evangelicals.<sup>15</sup> Similarly, many political conservatives are suspicious of atheists, and others who are not religious.

Evangelicals and atheists do not exhaust the sources of religious-political tensions. Attitudes toward Muslims are sharply divided along partisan lines, as Republicans have a far more negative perception of Muslims than Democrats.<sup>16</sup> In fact, party preference is the strongest predictor of

***Perhaps the biggest challenge facing interreligious harmony lies in increasing overlap between religious and political tensions.***

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14 Michael Hout and Claude S. Fischer, “Why More Americans Have No Religious Preference: Politics and Generations,” *American Sociological Review* 67, no. 2 (April 1, 2002): 165–190.

15 Louis Bolce and Gerald De Maio, “A Prejudice for the Thinking Classes: Media Exposure, Political Sophistication, and the Anti-Christian Fundamentalist,” *American Politics Research* 36, no. 2 (March): 155–185.

16 E.J. Dionne and William A. Galston, *The Old and New Politics of Faith: Religion and the 2010 Election* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 2010).



attitudes toward Muslims—stronger even than religious affiliation or strength of religious commitment.<sup>17</sup>

Attitudes toward Mormons also have a partisan inflection; they are viewed more positively by Republicans than Democrats. The partisan split on views toward Mormons was no doubt amplified by the presidential candidacy of Mitt Romney, a devout Mormon. While Romney’s religion did not turn out to be a major factor in the 2012 presidential race, in the wake of the election Democrats and Republicans have sharply different perceptions of Mormons; in contrast, there were no partisan differences in the assessment of Mormons as recently as 2006.<sup>18</sup>

The point here is not to cast aspersions on one side of the political spectrum or the other. Rather, the conclusion is that religious and political tensions are increasingly in a feedback loop with one another—fostering further antipathy and making it increasingly difficult to find common ground. Religious and political divisions are volatile enough on their own. Mixing them together is especially combustible.

## IS THERE HOPE?

The evidence for religious tensions is clear, but the sheer dynamism of the American religious landscape suggests that change will come. American religious history is the story of religious groups moving from the margins to the mainstream. Most notably, Catholics and Jews were once marginalized but today are met with broad acceptance. While, as with mutual funds, “past performance is no guarantee of future results,” history demonstrates that religious divides that once seemed deep and intractable can be bridged.

Americans, in fact, do a lot of bridging across religious lines. The growth of religious polarization in American politics over the last generation is only half the story of Americans’ religious diversity. Over precisely the same period of time that the American political landscape has become

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17 For more details regarding the connection between partisanship and attitudes toward Muslims, see the epilogue to the paperback edition of *American Grace*.

18 For more discussion on attitudes toward Mormons, see David E. Campbell, John C. Green, and J. Quin Monson, *Seeking the Promised Land: Mormons and American Politics* (Cambridge University Press, Forthcoming).

riven by religion, religious Americans' personal relationships have ceased to be divided by religion. While Americans are often segregated by race, and increasingly by class, they frequently have religiously integrated social and family relationships. Most Americans have neighbors, close friends, and family members who have different religious beliefs, including adherence to no religion. A good example of bridging can be found in today's Millennials—those ages 18 to 29. This is the group most likely to report knowing someone who does not have a religious affiliation—a none—and also the least likely to be suspicious of the nones. Likewise, it is important to remember that most nones have some personal experience with religion. It is not “alien” to them.

***American religious history is the story of religious groups moving from the margins to the mainstream.***

Increasingly, Americans also marry across religious lines—nearly a majority of marriages performed in America today are between spouses of different religions.<sup>19</sup> Interfaith marriages are a prime example of the difficulty in balancing diversity and distinctiveness. They foster interreligious acceptance, but arguably at the risk of diminishing the religious commitment of each spouse. In particular, the children of interfaith marriages often grow up with little or no attachment to the religion of either parent.<sup>20</sup>

### ***Bridging***

Although the general trend is toward religious integration, not all religious groups are equally integrated into the rest of American society. Less integration—fewer bridges—means that suspicions about that group are less likely to subside. A lack of religious bridging could be because group members are tight-knit and thus find it difficult to make connections outside of their faith. Or it could be because they face prejudice, such that few people outside of their group will make connections with them. Or, most likely, it can result from a combination of both factors.

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19 Naomi Schaefer Riley, *'Til Faith Do Us Part: How Interfaith Marriage is Transforming America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).

20 Putnam and Campbell, *American Grace: How Religion Divides and Unites Us*, 520.

The growth of religious political polarization also raises the possibility that bridging across religious lines will decrease. The emergence of the new “nones” as a backlash to the nation’s politics teaches us that political preferences can shape Americans’ view of, and even identification with, religion. Similarly, Americans’ political attitudes could also steer them toward some personal relationships and away from others, including relationships with people who have a particular religious background and/or no religious affiliation.

Thus, while religious bridging is the key to fostering a spirit of respect and appreciation among people of different faiths, there is no *guarantee*

***There is a need for programs that bring people of different faiths together.***

that such bridges will be built. There is a need for programs that bring people of different faiths together. Such efforts should not be motivated by a desire to efface religious differences, but instead to create relationships that are respectful of each faith’s distinctiveness. Two potential avenues for building interfaith relationships are shared community service and the arts. America’s religious congregations, of all types, are engines of voluntarism, thus presenting many opportunities for religious groups to work together in a common charitable cause.<sup>21</sup> Similarly, the arts feature prominently in many religious congregations.<sup>22</sup> Artistic endeavors, music especially, can be a thread that weaves people of different religious backgrounds together.

congregations, of all types, are engines of voluntarism, thus presenting many opportunities for religious groups to work together in a common charitable cause.<sup>21</sup> Similarly, the arts feature prominently in many religious congregations.<sup>22</sup> Artistic endeavors, music especially, can be a thread that weaves people of different religious backgrounds together.

Note, however, that simply bringing people of different faiths together is not the proverbial “silver bullet” for fostering good feelings. Not all bridging is equally effective for smoothing out social tensions. Social relationships must form among equals, and cannot be forced. Similarly, bridges do not necessarily mean an absence of tension between people with different religious worldviews. Tensions and misunderstandings are probably unavoidable—the key is that they be handled within a context of trust.

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21 Robert Wuthnow and Virginia Ann Hodgkinson, *Faith and Philanthropy in America: Exploring the Role of Religion in America’s Voluntary Sector*, 1st ed, The Jossey-Bass Nonprofit Sector Series (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1990); Robert D. Putnam and David E. Campbell, *American Grace: How Religion Divides and Unites Us* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2010), chap. 13.

22 Mark Chaves, *Congregations in America* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2004).

### *Final Thoughts*

The current state of religious diversity in the United States can leave the impression that Americans are hopelessly divided along religious lines, with those tensions exacerbated by partisan conflict. But this impression is misleading. While there are certainly pressure points, most Americans have found common ground with most other religions, including people without a religious affiliation. Going forward, the challenges to peaceful co-existence in the midst of religious diversity are two-fold. First, the common ground must become still more expansive, and include even those groups that today are not fully accepted into the American religious mosaic. Second, this must be done while preserving the very distinctiveness that creates the diversity in the first place.



# A Roadmap for Achieving Religious Pluralism

**Eboo Patel, Ph.D.**

*Founder and President of Interfaith Youth Core*

How do we achieve the American ideal of pluralism in the context of our current, highly complex religious landscape? I believe this is one of the most important questions of our time. The answer is both simple to state and difficult to apply: Our ability to achieve religious pluralism depends on our capacity to scale effective models of interfaith cooperation across leading institutions in significant sectors of American life.

By pluralism I mean not simply the straightforward fact of people who orient around religion differently living in close quarters; I mean the achievement of those individuals and groups working together to develop: 1) respect for one another's identities; 2) positive relationships across their communities; and 3) a collective commitment to the common good. By complex religious landscape I refer to the fact that America is the most religiously diverse country in human history and the most religiously devout nation in the west at a time of global religious conflict.

Religion is both the source of significant good works in the United States and the cause of civic and political tension. Making interfaith cooperation a national civic priority will increase our social capital and strengthen our social cohesion. Leaving religious diversity unengaged means we run the risk that prejudice towards certain communities (Muslims, Atheists, Mormons, Evangelicals and others) grows, and religious divisions in

***Our ability to achieve religious pluralism depends on our capacity to scale effective models of interfaith cooperation across leading institutions.***

American life deepen. In these times, the old adage ‘never talk about religion and politics’ does us a great disservice. It effectively means that responsible citizens and institutions forfeit the powerful territory of religion to those spreading messages of prejudice, division and sometimes violence.

If we are to achieve pluralism, leading institutions in American life must positively and proactively engage religious diversity, including the growing number of religious ‘nones’. Professor David Campbell writes in his opening essay: “While religious bridging is the key to fostering a spirit of respect and appreciation among people of different faiths, there is no guarantee that such bridges will be built. There is a need for programs that bring people from different faiths together.”

Recent social science research on religious diversity illuminates the models that should guide such programs, thus increasing their effectiveness. The model we use at Interfaith Youth Core (where I serve as Founder and President) is called the interfaith triangle—the three sides being knowledge, relationships and attitudes (*Editor’s note: See Appendix B, Document #2*). Drawn from the findings of several studies on religious diversity, it is a model that emphasizes how facilitating positive and meaningful relationships between people of different communities, advancing appreciative knowledge of diverse traditions, and improving attitudes towards various faiths and philosophies are deeply linked.

The commitments made by the groups who are part of this Aspen Institute task force hold great hope for the future of religious pluralism in America. These include: Ys and Boys & Girls Clubs piloting interfaith staff training that may one day lead to positively engaging the diverse religious identities of the millions of youth in their summer camps and after school programs; college campuses cultivating interfaith literacy in their students; faith and philosophical groups like Sojourners, InterVarsity, Hillel, the Humanist Chaplaincy at Harvard and the Islamic Society of North America encouraging interfaith volunteer projects; and media organizations like CNN and The Huffington Post empowering communities to tell effective stories of interfaith cooperation.

If the commitments made by these leading institutions catalyzed similar changes across their respective sectors, we would be a giant step closer to achieving the American ideal of pluralism.

# Where Do We Go from Here? Toward the World House

Robert M. Franklin, Jr., Ph.D.

*President Emeritus, Morehouse College*

During the 1960s, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. anticipated the demographic and religious landscape that David Campbell describes, and offered a consistently hopeful assessment. In 1967, he published his final book, *Where Do We Go from Here: Chaos or Community?* In it, King addresses America's unfinished moral agenda, which at that time included eradicating persistent racism, alleviating the widening wealth gap, promoting nonviolence, and fostering greater respect and cooperation among different religious traditions.

In the book's brief final chapter, "The World House," King speaks directly to America's religious and ethnic diversity. In words I hope that many will find and read, King describes a famous novelist who died:

***"We have inherited  
a large house, a  
great world house  
in which we have to  
live together"***

*—Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.*

"Among his papers was found a list of suggested plots for future stories, the most prominently underscored being this one: 'A widely separated family inherits a house in which they have to live together.' This is the great new problem of humankind. We have inherited a large house, a great "world house" in which we have to live together—black and white, Easterner and Westerner, Gentile and Jew, Catholic and Protestant, Muslim and Hindu—a family unduly separated in ideas, culture and interest, who, because we can never again live apart, must learn somehow to live with each other in peace."



In his provocative imagery of the “world house,” King focuses squarely on the need for an ethic of interdependence that engages our cognitive and behavioral dimensions. That is, we must first realize that we are family and that we must live together in a single house. Then, we should allow the commonly shared experience of living with family members and the ethical imperative of sharing limited living space to inform how we behave in the real world. King’s ethic of interdependence is grounded in a theological understanding of community. However, theology quickly turns to ethics for validation. The moral vision of a “world house” includes ethical principles like truth telling, justice, respect, trust, and generosity. Moreover, the somewhat abstract principles must be implemented through practical rules such as “never dehumanize your opponent” and “balance confrontation and protest with negotiation and compromise.” Indeed, these are the preconditions for sustainable co-habitation.

As a public theologian, King acknowledged the distinctiveness of particular religious communities by name (Jews, Hindus, Christians, and Muslims) but also recognized and spoke to the common ground they all share. He exhibited a robust confidence that each community of faith, and those without faith, could subsume their individual interests in the service of a greater and higher good, a transcendent sacred good that required earthly manifestation, something he called “beloved community.”

The closing words of Campbell’s essay are compelling. He writes,

“Going forward, the challenges to peaceful co-existence in the midst of religious diversity are two-fold. First, the common ground must become still more expansive, and include even those groups that today are not fully accepted into the American religious mosaic. Second, this must be done while preserving the very distinctiveness that creates the diversity in the first place.”

I believe that Dr. King provides the vision and methodology for making these lofty goals realizable. Given the challenges that confront us at this hour in history, one wonders where we will go from here. The options are clear and stark. Nonetheless, Americans have proven a capacity to undertake and accomplish the seemingly impossible before, and we will do it again.

# The Youth Are Leading the Way

Heidi Hadsell, Ph.D.

*President, Hartford Seminary*

It seems safe to say that most Americans share a common expectation that societies such as our own reproduce themselves in fairly stable and expected ways, and change slowly over time. The big news of David Campbell's essay is that American society is changing faster than anyone anticipated, and doing so in ways which pertain directly to our central beliefs and values, and to the institutional and individual habits related to them. Thus, in this society so accustomed to thinking of itself as highly religious, one third of young Americans have little or no religious affiliation. And, while religious divisions are increasingly also political divisions, as the essay suggests, to the young, religious differences seem increasingly irrelevant to personal relationships. The very good news is that young Americans are adjusting rapidly and easily—indeed, they have already adjusted—to the fact of growing religious diversity in American society. They are approaching and living within this diversity with values of acceptance and openness, while their parents and grandparents are still absorbing the fact that the American religious landscape has dramatically changed.

***It is possible to relate to, form friendships with, and understand people of other religions without diluting one's own religious convictions.***

The ease with which young Americans form friendships and partnerships across religious lines is promising, as it suggests that peaceful relationships among our diverse religious communities will be the norm in the years to come. And, while it might seem to suggest the eventual

emergence of a kind of a religious melting pot that will blur religious particularity, the truth is that it is possible to relate to, form friendships with, and understand people of other religions without diluting one's own religious convictions. Indeed, my experience of watching devout Christians, Muslims, and Jews interact in graduate classrooms at Hartford Seminary and in a number of other venues across the country has taught me that greater attachment to the specificity of one's own religion often develops alongside a respectful, interested attitude toward the tradition of the other.

The youth are leading the way, and our institutions will have to catch up. One challenge is to create space—in our thoughts and our institutions—for a number of religions that, historically, have not played a large role in our common life. As communities of Hindus, Buddhists, Jains, and Muslims have taken root in America, their religions have become a part of the American religious reality that cannot be ignored. Another challenge is to train people to navigate this increasingly complex religious landscape, and to help institutions do so as well. Colleges and universities must come to terms with new religious diversity on campus, including those who profess no religious affiliation; the media must become better acquainted with non-Christian religions that are rapidly becoming American; the armed services must be able to provide chaplains for members of all religious communities who are skilled at forming pastoral relationships with people from diverse backgrounds. Prisons and hospitals face similar challenges, as do parent-teacher associations, neighborhood organizations, sports clubs and the like.

The Inclusive America Project puts these issues on our collective agenda. Some may not view all of the changes that our society is undergoing as good news. Nevertheless, we must proactively address these changes. If we can continue to grow in our acceptance and inclusion of religious difference, it will be a gift to ourselves and a positive example for others around the world.

# The Roots of an Inclusive America in Our Constitution

**Rabbi David Saperstein**

*Director, Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism*

David Campbell's valuable paper offers an historical and conceptual context to the Aspen Institute's vital undertaking to help make America a more inclusive and tolerant society. I wish to expand on his insights about how the promise, history, and values of America, reflected in the founding era's revolutionary view of religious identity and fundamental rights, create opportunity, legitimacy, and support for the goals of the Inclusive America Project.

The genius of the Constitution's three prongs regarding religion—no religious test for office, no law respecting an establishment of religion, and free exercise of religion—created for the first time in human history a nation in which citizens' rights and opportunities were guaranteed regardless of religious identity, practices, or beliefs. Like many of the rights promised in the founding era, it took nearly a century and a half for that promise to be fully realized. From

the late 1940s through the Warren and Burger eras of the Supreme Court, the Court evolved an expansive interpretation of First Amendment rights generally and the Free Exercise and Establishment Clauses particularly. This expanded the rights and protections for religious minorities and for non-believers by insisting that the government remain neutral on religious matters and treat all religions equally. These protections allowed religion to flourish with a diversity, strength and robustness unmatched anywhere in the Western democratic world today, with far more people believing in God, attending worship regularly, and holding religious values central to their lives.

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practices, or beliefs.***

With no religion enjoying government endorsement, privilege, or support, over the last century religious Americans have increasingly turned to each other, finding ways to work together to achieve shared goals and to strengthen religious freedom. They found that the best way to help their own religion, and to achieve shared goals, was by working with and on behalf of all religions. And in bringing cooperative prophetic witness to the great moral issues of our day, they model how religions with significant differences can work together on those issues on which they do agree—a necessity if we are to enhance an inclusive America through intergroup cooperation and understanding.

This is not to minimize the reality that interreligious competition, intolerance and supremacist attitudes still exist in our society. It may be good news that, as Professor Campbell's paper points out, over 80% of Americans find truth in many religions beyond their own and express tolerant attitudes toward other faiths. However, in a nation of 310 million, that leaves millions holding intolerant attitudes, and a hateful minority can do much damage to the commonweal of the whole. Nevertheless, the arc of American history in the past 100 years has moved significantly towards inclusiveness, and this should encourage us in our endeavors.

Consider for a moment the case of my own Jewish community. Due to the reasons cited above, we Jews have known more rights, more freedoms, and more opportunities in America than we have ever known in 2,000 years of Diaspora life. And despite the millions who still hold anti-Semitic attitudes and the fact that hate crimes against Jews continue to far surpass those against Muslims, Sikhs or any other religious group, it is also a reality that in the last fifty years we have enjoyed a level of cultural, political, economic, and academic acceptance and achievement that we have known nowhere else in our long history.

Professor Campbell's paper captures the dynamics that have created such tolerance, freedom, and acceptance. It reminds us that while much of our enterprise in the "Inclusive America Project" has been focused on the challenges that we face, in addressing those challenges we must never lose sight of the gifts of freedoms, rights, and values woven into the fabric of America from which we can draw legitimacy, nourishment and inspiration for the task we have undertaken together.

# Pluralism at Risk: The University as a Case Study

**Alec Hill**

*President, InterVarsity Christian Fellowship USA*

David Campbell warns that “there is no guarantee that religious tolerance will endure.” Unfortunately, this maxim rings true at many American universities today.

Lacking a robust definition of pluralism, several universities are crafting sweeping non-discrimination policies that result in the exclusion of religious voices. Specifically, these new policies prohibit religious student organizations (“RSOs”) from using faith criteria in selecting student leaders. As a result, many RSOs are being denied official recognition and forced off-campus due to their practice of “religious discrimination.”

## **National Disequilibrium**

In the fall of 2012, Vanderbilt University derecognized 15 RSOs – representing more than 10% of the entire student body – because they refused to omit faith statements from their student leadership requirements. Rollins College (Florida) and Grinnell College (Iowa) subsequently followed suit.

The California State University system (23 campuses) recently began to enforce a Vanderbilt-like policy. Oddly, the policy exempts fraternities and sororities from gender discrimination. If common sense dictates that sororities should not be compelled to select male leaders (and it does), ought not RSOs (whether Buddhist, Muslim, Jewish, Sikh, Humanist, or Christian) have a similar right to choose student leaders that reflect their

religious missions? The Muslim Student Association and InterVarsity are partnering to challenge this policy.

In a related move, Colby College (Maine) and SUNY-Buffalo (New York) have reduced RSOs to second-tier status. No longer recognized by student government, these groups now operate with significant limitations.

## Hopeful Reversals

The *Boston Globe* recently published an editorial protesting the derecognition of the InterVarsity group at Tufts University. The *Globe* asserted:

*“No one should be surprised when [religious-oriented organizations] emphasize their own beliefs... These would be outrageous restrictions on a sports team or student newspaper. But some level of doctrinal specificity is inevitable from a religious-oriented group... Tufts should be looking for ways to be as inclusive as possible, instead of finding reasons to cut the fellowship off.”*

Shortly thereafter, a faculty committee amended the non-discrimination policy, permitting RSOs to use religious criteria in selecting student leaders.

Likewise, the Universities of Michigan, Maryland-College Park, Minnesota, and Boise State all reversed course in the 2012-13 academic year after threatening to derecognize RSOs.

## Positive Models

The vast majority of universities and colleges on which InterVarsity is active – about 600 in all - have crafted exemptions for RSOs in their non-discrimination policies. A few examples include:

- The Ohio State University – “A student organization formed to foster or affirm sincerely held religious beliefs of its members may adopt eligibility criteria for its Student Officers that are consistent with those beliefs.”

- University of Texas-Austin – “An organization created primarily for religious purposes may restrict the right to vote or hold office to persons who subscribe to the organization’s statement of faith.”
- University of Florida – “The university has determined that this accommodation of religious beliefs does not violate its nondiscrimination policy.”

## Open Forums

True pluralism requires universities to equally welcome communities with conflicting narratives and ideologies, even though this may cause discomfort. It calls universities to create “neutral zones” amidst various cultural battles. It challenges universities to develop new paradigms to pursue legitimate anti-discrimination values *as well as* to protect diversity-enhancing distinctiveness. Truly inclusive universities will reject anti-discrimination policies that flatten differences and reduce true diversity.

The manner in which universities resolve these controversies foreshadow the way our culture will engage these issues in the future. Tomorrow’s leaders in government, business, media, and the arts are college students today. The conversations and resolutions they experience today will provide the templates they will pursue in the decades to come.

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# Government's Role in a Pluralistic Society

Meryl Chertoff

*Director, Justice and Society Program, The Aspen Institute*

We ask a lot of government. In times of crisis, we turn to it and ask for reassurance that we are safe. When times are better, we ask just to be left alone. Of course this is an irony. As Professor Campbell points out in his essay, Americans are both highly diverse and highly devout, and given appropriate opportunities, robust interfaith efforts can build a stronger social fabric among Americans from different faith backgrounds, respecting difference while at the same time increasing trust. As we strengthen that civil society sector, we will need to look less to government to provide a panacea.

Of the sectors addressed in this white paper, government probably has the fewest answers, constrained as it is by First Amendment concerns. The construction of a robust interfaith conversation seems to provide little role for it. In candor, government interactions with religious groups, particularly with minority groups just after 9/11, have left a residue of mistrust that requires ongoing and vigorous outreach. But it is not just minority groups that warrant better understanding—as Campbell notes, many faith groups are concerned that rigid secularism erodes their capacity to associate freely and choose their own path, and government must navigate that social tension as well.

***Government should respect the centrality of faith in the lives of many Americans, and recognize that our religious institutions have the power to educate, engage, and reach out.***

While treading lightly in the area of religious pluralism, government can constructively focus its efforts on (1) building trust with houses of worship and clergy; (2) assisting the efforts of our religious institutions to foster resilience and resist malign influences; and (3) serving as an adjunct to the efforts of religious institutions and other civil society organizations to develop initiatives that unite Americans from multiple faith traditions around the common good.

First, in matters of law enforcement and national security, relevant government actors need to engage in proactive outreach to minority religious organizations, creating safe space for religious leaders to express concerns and tap resources that will allow them to tackle incipient issues within their own communities. That requires reliable, personal partnerships, and the trust to know that information sharing will not lead to adverse consequences. In performing necessary law enforcement and intelligence functions, agencies should be sensitive to intrafaith diversity and distinctions: no faith is monolithic. When, despite the best efforts to educate and sensitize government actors, errors are made, a prompt and honest acknowledgment is needed to maintain trust.

Second, government should respect the centrality of faith in the lives of many Americans, and recognize that whether in a crisis or in the face of ongoing challenges, our religious institutions have the power to educate, engage, and reach out. Government actors need to develop the sophistication and religious literacy to enable the most effective possible partnerships. They also need to educate potential partners in the private sector about which types of collaboration are possible, and which are impossible due to legal and operational limitations. A more resilient America, which recognizes its faith institutions as assets and not adversaries, can band together at times of crisis and declare its unity in the face of violence, intolerance, and bigotry.

Third, in the case of law enforcement especially, and government agencies in general, we should endeavor to build institutions that mirror the rich diversity of the American demographic landscape, bringing in the resources of the many Americans who love our country, who wish to serve it, and who will add sensitivity and a visage of inclusion to public service. In addition, state and local governments should allocate resources to work with local faith communities to bolster both interfaith

and sectarian efforts to feed the poor, build housing, and engage in other worthy efforts described at greater length elsewhere in this white paper.

Finally, our judiciary, prosecutors, and police must remain steadfast in safeguarding the right to equal treatment under the law. Historically, both U.S. federal and our states' governments have been staunch defenders of the civil rights and religious liberties of all faith groups. Now, more than ever, that role is of essential importance.



# The Boston Marathon 2013 and the Long Journey to Inclusion

Neil Nicoll, *President and CEO, YMCA of the USA*

Gregory Epstein, *Humanist Chaplain, Harvard University*

In his essay “The Challenges of Religious Diversity,” David Campbell provides a wealth of data demonstrating America’s increasing religious diversity and inclusiveness, yet he cautions, “There is no guarantee that religious tolerance will endure.” Few events in recent history could be more symbolic of both our progress and our need for continued vigilance than the 2013 Boston Marathon.

The Boston Marathon was first organized in 1897 as the centerpiece of an intentionally patriotic and joyful holiday. In its early days, the runners and spectators were almost universally white and from European faith traditions. Yet in the midst of what might seem like a homogeneous population by today’s standards, there were sharp religious and ethnic divisions, both between Irish Catholics and Anglo-Protestants and among the various other groups that immigrated to the area in the 19th century. Throughout the decades, the Boston Marathon’s route has traced many dividing lines. In the late 1960s, for example, YMCA staff members were not allowed to distribute literature on their programs in certain church sponsored schools, with such tensions running both ways. The 1970s saw violence erupt on the streets of Boston’s neighborhoods during forced school busing.

***As the injured  
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Fast forward to the Boston we saw on Marathon day 2013, and following: a city flooded with runners and spectators of all faiths, cultures and backgrounds. When catastrophe struck, people applied tourniquets, comforted the wounded, and provided shelter and food without stopping to consider religious or cultural differences. As the injured arrived at hospitals, they found caregivers who were Muslims, Christians, Jews, Sikhs, and Hindus. The nonreligious worked side-by-side with passionate believers. Diverse community groups came together to grieve, to raise millions of dollars in support of survivors, and to stand in solidarity with Muslims, Sikhs, Arabs, South Asians and others who might have been targets for profiling and prejudice. All shared in common that their city had been attacked by individuals with extreme views, and it was well understood that neither the attackers nor their divisive narratives represented Greater Boston.

Overall, Bostonians responded as a community united in its diversity. And yet Boston, like America as a whole, has considerable distance yet to run toward being a fully welcoming, inclusive, and unified society. For example, some attempted to collectively pin blame for the tragedy on Muslims and other minority communities. Also, secular humanist communities felt hurt not to be included in an interfaith service attended by President Obama and Governor Patrick. It may even have been the case that the attackers were radicalized and alienated by a message, however contradicted by the fact of increasing inclusion, that claimed America was not a home to all communities, but rather an enemy to theirs.

Of course, we must not be naive: there will always be those who would do us harm despite our best efforts to include them. And this simply reinforces that we must continually increase and improve our work across religious, cultural, and community lines to provide alternatives for those who might otherwise fall victim to ideologies of fragmentation and division, and to strengthen our society's ability to recover after tragedies.

The expression known as the Golden Rule can be found in varying forms in every major faith and ethical tradition. And "doing unto others" was never more evident than on April 15 in Boston. Boston is no longer the

divided city it was decades ago. We can be proud of the progress that has been made, and we can be hopeful and optimistic about the prospect of further progress, even as we remain vigilant against those who are driven by radical leaders and global unrest to do us harm. Our best response is our inclusiveness. Our strength is in our unity: let us never stop working toward that end.



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*A memorial for the victims of the April 15 Boston Marathon bombing*





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## APPENDIX B:

### Documents

#### **Document #1: Excerpt from “Multicultural Education” by Frederick Jefferson**

Jefferson, Frederick. “Multicultural Education: Diversity in Organizations and Programming.” In *Valuing Diversity on Campus: A Multicultural Perspective*, edited by Cynthia Woolbright, 63-70. Bloomington, IN: Association of College Unions-International, 1989.

...The multicultural educational needs of individuals and groups may be equated with the need to know and appreciate one’s own racial or ethnic group identity, to learn about the values and beliefs of other groups, and to develop behaviors that invite diversity and promote multiculturalism.

The learning and training model presented here can help students determine which of their current activities responds to the multicultural education needs of the campus community. The model will also help students design other activities to enhance the multicultural experiences at their institutions.

#### **THE MODEL**

This model is based on the premise that a multicultural consciousness stems from learning and from doing so in a specific learning sequence. A review of the literature on cross-cultural training and intercultural education suggests a four-stage transformation model:

1. Isolate
2. Inquiry



3. Contact

4. Integration

Some people go through a pre-stage period, which is characterized by an absence or denial of a group identity. Individuals in this stage eschew cultural and racial labels and prefer to describe themselves as colorblind. When challenged to consider the benefits of a multicultural community, most individuals in this pre-stage willingly move to stage one of the model. Others recognize that they are already in stage one and have been there for most of their lives.

This description of the four stages draws on the elements of an intercultural learning continuum developed by Hoopes (1979). The Hoopes intercultural learning continuum begins with ethnocentrism and proceeds through the stages of awareness, understanding, acceptance/respect, appreciation/valuing, selective adoption, and multiculturalism.

**1. Isolate stage**

Ethnocentrism: Identification with one's own groups, assertion of personal and cultural superiority, denigration of other cultures.

Individuals in this stage have practically no contact with racial or ethnic groups different from their own. Sometimes they even avoid such contact. Many in this stage are uncomfortable in the company of individuals from other racial or ethnic groups and often will not know what to say in an interracial setting. Some will be extremely conscious of their ignorance of the values and beliefs of other groups and appear awkward in conversation. Efforts to cover up that ignorance often produce results that are embarrassing, insulting, and oppressive to the members of other groups.

Individuals in this stage view their groups as superior and judge the worth of people from other groups according to the values and beliefs of their own. Commonly, individuals in this stage view other groups as deviant in behavior. Some people in this stage believe that the more members of groups look and behave like them, the more civilized and acceptable these members are. Racists and bigots reside in the isolate stage.

With all of its negative attributes, the isolate stage is important and necessary in the development of a multicultural consciousness, for in this stage one develops a group identity and positive regard for self. Ethnocentric behavior, a normal by-product of the development of group identity, sets up an “ethnocentric barrier” that one must move through to get to stage two. Race- or ethnic- specific workshops allow individuals to develop and celebrate their group’s identity and to understand the nature of their ethnocentric barrier. These workshops also help individuals understand the processes of racial prejudice and other forms of oppression.

## **2. Inquiry Stage**

**Awareness:** Acknowledgement of the existence of other cultures.

**Understanding:** Sorting out the nature of other groups, recognizing the complex process of culture.

Having resolved most of the ethnocentric issues, individuals in this stage are willing to participate in various experiences to increase their knowledge about the beliefs and values of other groups. Most of these experiences do not involve direct contact with individuals from other groups, but rather are non-contact courses, seminars, books, movies, lectures, concerts, records, and so on.

Individuals in this stage are engaged in an investigative process. Some continue to experience discomfort, embarrassment, and awkwardness in the company of individuals from other racial or ethnic groups, even though they want to know about these other groups. They are, however, less likely in this stage to avoid contact altogether. They are also more aware of behaviors that are offensive to individuals from other groups. Workshops on racism, sexism, and other forms of oppression are appropriate learning interventions for this stage.

## **3. Contact Stage**

**Acceptance/respect:** Accepting the validity of cultural differences.

**Appreciation/valuing:** Putting into perspective the strengths and weaknesses of a culture

Selective adoption: Trying on new attitudes and behaviors from another culture.

Individuals in this stage participate in cross-cultural workshops and events. Comfortable with members of other racial and ethnic groups, they seek opportunities for direct contact that allow a brief immersion into another culture. These excursions into another culture often indicate a willingness to risk and a belief in the inherent value of all groups. Examples of these experiences include attending another group's religious service; attending cross-cultural workshops; eating at ethnic restaurants; being a guest in the home of a family from another racial or ethnic group; and attending parties, bars, concerts as a minority.

Individuals in this stage value interaction, which helps them to develop acceptance, respect, and appreciation for the other group. One of the major benefits of this stage is mutual enrichment, through experiences that allow individuals to add a special variety of their lives, whether it is through a new recipe, a new song, a new proverb, a new work of art, a new piece of clothing or jewelry, a new attitude, a new behavior, or a new way of seeing reality.

#### **4. Integration Stage**

Multiculturalism: Mastery of knowledge and skills to feel comfortable and to communicate effectively with people of any culture and in any cross-cultural situation.

Individuals in this stage value cultural and racial diversity in their work life, neighborhood and community life, and political life. With a heightened awareness of the exclusionary consequences of racism and other forms of social oppression, they actively work to counteract them. Such people develop and support programs that help others move from one stage of multicultural development to the next.

Challenged to develop a global perspective, many individuals in this stage are involved in international travel and use these experiences to enhance their work at home.

## USES OF THE MODEL

The model can be used to organize the content and process of training programs in multicultural awareness and development for staff members and students. The model also suggests a four-question assessment tool for evaluating the multicultural content of programs and events that the staff and students plan:

1. Does the program appeal primarily to the needs and interests of its membership? (isolate)
2. Is the major goal of the program increasing cross-cultural or inter-racial awareness and understanding in the community? (inquiry)
3. Are the program activities designed to encourage people to interact interculturally? (contact)
4. Do the program activities encourage, direct, and help people to be active advocates for multicultural precepts in all aspects of social intercourse? (integration)

Most student groups plan events not for multicultural participation, but for the consumption of their members only. Although the needs of the group's membership should be primary, every functioning student group that uses institutional facilities has a programming responsibility to the broader community as well. The four-question multicultural assessment tool should help raise groups' consciousness about this responsibility. The degree of responsibility, of course, varies according to the group's purpose, budget, and size.

**Document #2: “The Interfaith Triangle”  
by Interfaith Youth Core**



Available at: [http://www.ifyc.org/sites/default/files/u4/Interfaith%20Triangle%20Poster\\_Final.pdf](http://www.ifyc.org/sites/default/files/u4/Interfaith%20Triangle%20Poster_Final.pdf)

For additional resources and information, visit <http://www.ifyc.org/about>

*“Recent social science research on religious diversity illuminates the models that should guide interfaith programs, thus increasing their effectiveness. The model used at Interfaith Youth Core is called the interfaith triangle—the three sides being knowledge, relationships and attitudes. Drawn from the findings of several studies on religious diversity, it is a model that emphasizes how facilitating positive and meaningful relationships between people of different communities, advancing appreciative knowledge of diverse traditions and improving attitudes towards various faiths and philosophies are deeply linked.”*

-Eboo Patel



## APPENDIX C: Participant Biographies

### CO-CHAIRS

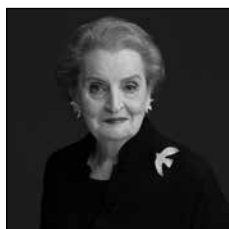


Photo by Timothy Greenfield Sanders

#### **The Honorable Madeleine K. Albright**

Madeleine K. Albright is Chair of Albright Stonebridge Group, a global strategy firm, and Chair of Albright Capital Management LLC, an investment advisory firm focused on emerging markets. She was the 64th Secretary of State of the United States. On May 29, 2012, Secretary Albright received the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the nation's highest civilian honor, from President Obama.

In 1997, Secretary Albright was named the first female Secretary of State and became, at that time, the highest ranking woman in the history of the U.S. government. From 1993 to 1997, Secretary Albright served as the U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations and was a member of the President's Cabinet. From 1989 to 1992, she served as President of the Center for National Policy. Previously, she was a member of President Jimmy Carter's National Security Council and White House staff and served as Chief Legislative Assistant to U.S. Senator Edmund S. Muskie.

Secretary Albright is the author of five *New York Times* bestsellers: her autobiography, *Madam Secretary: A Memoir* (2003); *The Mighty and the Almighty: Reflections on America, God, and World Affairs* (2006); *Memo to the President: How We Can Restore America's Reputation and Leadership* (2008); *Read My Pins: Stories from a Diplomat's Jewel Box* (2009); and *Prague Winter: A Personal Story of Remembrance and War, 1937-1948* (2012).





**David R. Gergen**

David Gergen is a Professor of Public Service and Co-Director of the Center for Public Leadership at the Harvard Kennedy School, positions he has held for the past decade. In addition, he serves as a senior political analyst for CNN and works actively with a rising generation of new leaders.

In the past, he has served as a White House adviser to four U.S. presidents of both parties: Nixon, Ford, Reagan and Clinton. He wrote about those experiences in his *New York Times* best-seller, *Eyewitness to Power: The Essence of Leadership, Nixon to Clinton* (Simon & Schuster, 2001).

Over the years, he has been active on many non-profit boards, serving in the past on the boards of both Yale and Duke universities. Among his current boards are Teach for America, The Mission Continues, Schwab Foundation, the Aspen Institute and the advisory board for the Harvard Graduate School of Education. He also chairs the advisory board for the new School of Law at Elon University and formally co-chaired the advisory board for Duke Engage.

**DISTINGUISHED PANELISTS**



**Martin Budd**

Martin Budd has long been involved in inter-faith matters and has co-chaired ADL's National Interfaith Committee since it was reestablished seven years ago. He is also an officer of the International Jewish Committee on Interreligious Consultation, the official Jewish dialogue

partner with the Vatican.

Mr. Budd has been on the board of Hartford Seminary, a Protestant seminary, for over 20 years and the Chairman of the Board for 6 years. The Seminary has the oldest center of Christian-Muslim relations in the United States and publishes the leading English language journal on Islam, *The Muslim World*. Mr. Budd is also on the board of the "I

Have A Dream” Foundation and the Connecticut Higher Education Supplemental Loan Authority. In December 2006, Mr. Budd retired as a business law partner in a large Northeastern law firm.



**John J. DeGioia, Ph.D**

John J. DeGioia became Georgetown’s 48th president in 2001. Prior to becoming president, he held a number of other administrative roles at Georgetown, including Dean of Students.

Dr. DeGioia addresses broader issues in higher education as Chair of the Board of Directors of the Forum for the Future of Higher Education and the Consortium on Financing Higher Education; as a member of the Board of Trustees of the Consortium of Universities of the Washington Metro Area, of the Board of Directors for the Association of Jesuit Colleges and Universities, and of the Executive Committee of the Council on Competitiveness; and as a Commissioner on the Knight Commission on Intercollegiate Athletics. Dr. DeGioia is a Professorial Lecturer in Georgetown’s Department of Philosophy.



**Maria M. Ebrahimji**

Maria Ebrahimji is the Director and Executive Editorial Producer for Network Booking at CNN Worldwide. In this position, she oversees the on-air guest booking process across all CNN platforms and leads a core team of editorial producers in guest coverage, newsgathering, and story planning for CNN’s special events, breaking news, and multi-platform programming. She is based at CNN’s global headquarters in Atlanta.

Ms. Ebrahimji also co-edited and published *I Speak for Myself: American Women on Being Muslim* (White Cloud Press, May 2011), a collection of essays written by 40 American-born Muslim women under 40. Since then, she co-founded *I Speak for Myself, Inc.*, a book and multimedia enterprise that focuses on publishing self-narrative collections on inter-faith and intercultural issues.



### **Wayne Firestone**

Wayne Firestone is the President of the Genesis Prize Foundation and former President and CEO of Hillel: The Foundation for Jewish Campus Life. Hillel is the largest Jewish student organization in the world, with over 500 local campus affiliates around the world. Mr. Firestone has held leadership positions in Jewish communal affairs dating to his days as a Soviet Jewry activist at University of Miami Hillel and the Georgetown University Law Center.

Mr. Firestone has had a lifelong commitment to the safety and security of the State of Israel. In 2001-2002, he served as director of the Israel Regional Office of the Anti-Defamation League. From 1998-2001 he helped to strengthen Israel's high-tech industry as founder and chief executive officer of Silicon Wadinet, Ltd., a firm that helped foster the capitalization and growth of technology companies. He worked in academia from 1995-1998 as an administrator and adjunct lecturer at Technion, the Israel Institute of Technology.



### **Abraham H. Foxman**

Abraham Foxman is the National Director of the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) and is known throughout the world as a leader in the fight against anti-Semitism, hatred, prejudice, bigotry and discrimination.

Mr. Foxman, who has worked for ADL since 1965, was named National Director in 1987. Prior to that, he worked in the League's international affairs and civil rights divisions. His background and experience have contributed significantly to the development of meaningful relationships between different groups of people both here in the United States and also internationally.

Mr. Foxman is the author of *Viral Hate* (Palgrave Macmillan, June 2013, co-authored with Christopher Wolf), *Jews & Money: The Story of a Stereotype* (Palgrave Macmillan, November 2010), *The Deadliest Lies: The Israel Lobby and the Myth of Jewish Control* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2007) and *Never Again? The Threat of the New Anti-Semitism* (HarperSanFrancisco, 2003).



**Robert M. Franklin, Ph.D.**

Dr. Robert Franklin is a Visiting Scholar in Residence at Stanford University's Martin Luther King, Jr. Research and Education Institute. He is President Emeritus of Morehouse College, where he served as the tenth president of the nation's largest private, four-year liberal arts college for men from 2007 through 2012.

Dr. Franklin was a Presidential Distinguished Professor of Social Ethics at Emory University (2004-2007), where he provided leadership for a university-wide initiative titled "Confronting the Human Condition and the Human Experience" and was a senior fellow at the Center for the Study of Law and Religion at the law school. In January 2014, he becomes Director of the Religion Program at the Chautauqua Institution (New York), where he previously served as Theologian in Residence during the summer of 2005.



**Michael J. Gerson**

In January 2012, the Center for Public Justice welcomed Michael Gerson as a Visiting Fellow. He joined ONE in August 2010 as Senior Advisor. He is a nationally syndicated columnist who appears twice weekly in the *Washington Post* and the author of *Heroic Conservatism* (HarperOne, 2007).

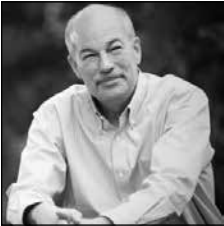
Mr. Gerson is the Hastert Fellow at the J. Dennis Hastert Center for Economics, Government, and Public Policy at Wheaton College in Illinois. He serves on the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, the Holocaust Memorial Museum's Committee on Conscience, the Board of Directors of Bread for the World, the Initiative for Global Development Leadership Council, and the Board of Directors of the International Rescue Committee. He is Co-Chair of The Poverty Forum and Co-Chair of the Catholic/Evangelical Dialogue with Dr. Ron Sider. From 2006 to 2009, Mr. Gerson was the Roger Hertog Senior Fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR). Before joining CFR in 2006, Mr. Gerson was a top aide to President George W. Bush as Assistant to the President for Policy and Strategic Planning.



**Heidi Hadsell, Ph.D.**

Heidi Hadsell is President of Hartford Seminary and Professor of Social Ethics. Dr. Hadsell serves on a variety of boards that reflect her service in the community and experience in theological education. The boards include Arigatou International, where she is on the council for the World Day of Prayer and Action for Children; Globethics.net; the Advisory Committee to the Wabash Center for Teaching and Learning in Theology and Religion; the Association of Theological Schools in North America and Canada, including the ATS Presidential Leadership Education Advisory Committee; and Plowshares Institute.

Dr. Hadsell's international experience is reflected in her membership on the International Resource Panel for the Islamic Council of Singapore (MUIS). She recently was named to the Abrahamic Forum Steering Committee of the International Council of Christians and Jews.



**Alec Hill**

Alec Hill is President of InterVarsity Christian Fellowship/ USA. InterVarsity is a nondenominational, multiethnic campus ministry that serves 900 student and faculty chapters on American universities and colleges. It also hosts an award-winning publishing arm (InterVarsity Press) and a triennial 18,000 student conference (Urbana).

Prior to joining InterVarsity in 2001, Alec served as dean of the School of Business and Economics at Seattle Pacific University and as regional director for World Relief. He is the author of *Just Business: Christian Ethics in the Marketplace* (also published in the U.K., Poland, Russia, Indonesia, and China) and numerous scholarly articles. He serves on the board of Christianity Today International and lives with his wife, Mary, in Madison, Wisconsin.



### **S.A. Ibrahim**

S.A. Ibrahim is Chief Executive Officer of Radian Group Inc., a global credit risk management company headquartered in Philadelphia.

Mr. Ibrahim has served as chairman of the board of MERSCORP, Inc., on the Mortgage Bankers Association of America Residential Board of Governors, and on the Fannie Mae National Advisory Council. He currently serves on the board of the Institute of International Education, New York, as well as on the organization's Western Regional Advisory Board. Mr. Ibrahim also serves on the boards of the Wharton Graduate Executive Board and the Anti-Defamation League's Regional Board for the Greater Philadelphia Region and the Auburn Theological Seminary Board of Directors.



### **Michael E. Leiter**

Michael E. Leiter currently serves as the Senior Counselor to the Chief Executive Officer of Palantir Technologies, where he is responsible for coordinating internal operations, external business strategy, and business development. In addition, Mr. Leiter serves as a National Security and Counterterrorism Analysts for NBC News.

Prior to entering the private sector Mr. Leiter served as the Director of the National Counterterrorism Center (NCTC) until July 2011. He was sworn in as NCTC's second-ever Director on June 12, 2008, upon his unanimous confirmation by the U.S. Senate and after serving as the Acting Director since November 2007. He was initially nominated to serve as Director by President George W. Bush in March 2008, and was one of the few national security officials asked to remain in office by President Barack Obama.



**David Little, Th.D.**

David Little retired in 2009 as Professor of the Practice in Religion, Ethnicity, and International Conflict at Harvard Divinity School, and as an Associate at the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs at Harvard University. He is now a fellow at the Berkley Center for Religion, Peace & World Affairs at Georgetown University. Until the summer of 1999, he was Senior Scholar in Religion, Ethics and Human Rights at the United States Institute of Peace in Washington, DC. From 1996-1998, he was member of the Advisory Committee to the State Department on Religious Freedom Abroad.

Dr. Little is co-author with Scott W. Hibbard of the USIP publication *Islamic Activism and U.S. Foreign Policy* (1997). Dr. Little is author of two of the volumes in the USIP series on religion, nationalism, and intolerance (RNI), *Ukraine: Legacy of Intolerance* (1991), and *Sri Lanka: The Invention of Enmity* (1994).



**Brie Loskota**

Brie Loskota is the Managing Director of the Center for Religion and Civic Culture at the University of Southern California. She serves as program officer of the USC Pentecostal and Charismatic Research Initiative, a \$3.5 million global program sponsored by the Templeton Foundation to transform the study of one of the world's fastest growing religious movements.

Ms. Loskota is co-founder and special advisor to CRCC's American Muslim Civic Leadership Institute, served on the executive committee of the Passing the Mantle Clergy and Lay Leadership Institute, and serves on the executive committee of the Faith Leaders Institute, an alliance of Latino and African American clergy. She is a member of the Association for the Sociology of Religion, the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, and the Pacific Council on International Policy.



### **Imam Mohamed Magid**

Imam Magid currently serves as the President of the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA), a member of the National Interfaith Planning Committee for Domestic Violence, and a member of the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Muslim, Sikh and Arab Advisory Board. He is active in both the interfaith and Islamic community. Imam Magid is the Imam and Executive Director of All Dulles Area Muslim Society (ADAMS) Center in Sterling, Virginia.

Under his direction, the ADAMS Center has grown to be one of the largest Muslim community organizations in the Washington Metropolitan Area. Imam Magid also occupies the Chairmanship of the Fairfax County Faith Communities in Action, is a Board member of the Fairfax County Partnership for Youth, and is a member of the George Mason University Campus Ministry. He is also the Vice Chairman of Muflehun, a think tank that focuses on confronting violent extremist thought through research-driven preventative programs within a religious paradigm.

Imam Magid has co-authored two books, *Reflections on the Qur'an and Change from Within*, the latter addressing the issue of domestic violence. He has written for *The Washington Post* and been profiled in *TIME* magazine.



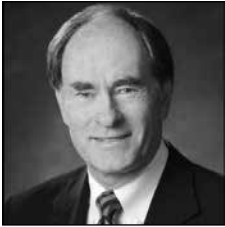
### **Richard J. Mouw, Ph.D.**

Richard Mouw served as president of Fuller Theological Seminary from 1993 through June 2013. He served for four years as provost and senior vice president before becoming president. A philosopher, scholar, and author, Dr. Mouw joined the faculty of Fuller Theological Seminary as professor of Christian philosophy and ethics in 1985. Before coming to Fuller, he served for 17 years as professor of philosophy at Calvin College in Grand Rapids, Michigan. He has also served as a visiting professor at the Free University in Amsterdam.



During a yearlong sabbatical, Dr. Mouw will serve as Distinguished Visiting Scholar at Pepperdine University. Dr. Mouw will return to Fuller in the fall of 2014 as Distinguished Professor of Faith and Public Life.

Dr. Mouw is the author of 19 books, including *The God Who Commands*, *The Smell of Sawdust*, *Calvinism in the Las Vegas Airport*, *Praying at Burger King*, an expanded and revised edition of *Uncommon Decency: Christian Civility in an Uncivil World*, and most recently two books on his favorite theologian, *Abraham Kuyper: A Short and Personal Introduction* and *The Challenges of Cultural Discipleship: Essays in the Line of Abraham Kuyper*. Dr. Mouw served as a panelist in the online forum “On Faith” offered by *Newsweek* and the *Washington Post*.



**Neil Nicoll**

Neil Nicoll was hired as president and CEO of YMCA of the USA in May 2006 and is the 13th person to lead the YMCA movement in the United States. He joined Y-USA following 14 years as president and CEO of the YMCA of Greater Seattle. He previously was the president and CEO of the YMCA of Greater Worcester (Mass.) for 12 years.

The nation’s 2700 YMCAs respond to critical social needs by drawing on their collective strength as one of the nation’s largest not-for-profit community service organizations. Today, The Y serves 10,000 communities and 21 million children and adults through 250,000 staff and 560,000 volunteers.



**Eboo Patel, Ph.D.**

Named by *US News & World Report* as one of America’s Best Leaders of 2009, Eboo Patel is the Founder and President of Interfaith Youth Core (IFYC), a Chicago-based organization building the interfaith movement on college campuses.

Author of *Acts of Faith: The Story of an American Muslim, the Struggle for the Soul of a Generation*, which won the Louisville Grawemeyer Award in Religion, and his latest book, *Sacred Ground: Pluralism, Prejudice*,

and *the Promise of America*, Dr. Patel is also a regular contributor to *The Washington Post*, *USA Today*, *The Huffington Post*, NPR, and CNN.

Dr. Patel served on President Obama's inaugural Advisory Council of the White House Office of Faith-based and Neighborhood Partnerships and holds a doctorate in the sociology of religion from Oxford University, where he studied on a Rhodes scholarship.



**Judith J. Pickens, M.Ed.**

Judith J. Pickens is an educator and human service professional with more than 35 years of servant leadership in the youth development arena. Her professional passion included working as an elementary school teacher and counselor with the School District of Philadelphia and an adjunct professor of psychology at Brandywine College. She retired in 2012 as Senior Vice President, Program & Youth Development Services, for Boys & Girls Clubs of America, after 32 years of service. She is now Senior Adviser, Youth Advocacy and a consultant for Boys & Girls Clubs of America, headquartered in Atlanta, GA. As a staunch advocate for children and youth, she is an electrifying keynote speaker and was selected by TEDxAtlanta to deliver a talk, “Creating Community,” in 2012.

Ms. Pickens serves on a variety of boards and is engaged civically. Boards include: National After School Association, National Advisory Board, Foundations, Inc., The Andrew Young Center for Leadership and International Studies at Morehouse College, Heartland Truly Moving Pictures, and Board of Trustees, the historic Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta, GA. She is the recipient of numerous honors and awards.



**Paul Brandeis Raushenbush**

Rev. Paul Brandeis Raushenbush is the Senior Religion Editor for *The Huffington Post*. From 2003-2011 he was the Associate Dean of Religious Life and the Chapel at Princeton University. An ordained American Baptist minister, Rev. Raushenbush speaks and preaches at colleges,

churches and institutes around the country including the College of Preachers at the National Cathedral in Washington D.C., The Chautauqua Institute in upstate New York, the Center for American Progress, and the New America Foundation.

Rev. Raushenbush has appeared on ABC World News Tonight and is a repeated guest on CNN and NPR. He has been quoted in *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* and was an original editor for Beliefnet.com. His first book, *Teen Spirit: One World, Many Faiths* (HCI) was released in the Fall of 2004. He is the editor of the 100th Anniversary edition of Walter Rauschenbusch's book, *Christianity and the Social Crisis—In the 21st Century* (HarperOne). His work at Princeton included strengthening the interfaith community on campus. He was the Co-Director of the Program on Religion, Diplomacy and International Relations at The Liechtenstein Institute on Self Determination at Princeton University.



### **Nadia Roumani**

Nadia Roumani is a fellow and visiting lecturer at the Stanford Design School, where she is applying design thinking to philanthropy, and launching a new initiative titled, the Muslim Giving Project.

Ms. Roumani is a serial social entrepreneur. After graduating from Stanford, Nadia worked with Nobel Laureate Joseph Stiglitz to launch the Initiative for Policy Dialogue at Columbia University, where she earned her master's degree. She subsequently worked for the World Bank and the United Nations, and launched the Women Leaders Intercultural Forum with Ireland's former president Mary Robinson; the Global Policy Innovations Program at the Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs; the International Network of Foundations with the UN Alliance of Civilizations; the Building Bridges Program at the Doris Duke Foundation for Islamic Art; and the American Muslim Civic Leadership Institute at the University of Southern California.

In her role as a Program Officer with the Doris Duke Foundation, Ms. Roumani oversaw 46 grants totaling \$10.4 million dollars with the aim of improving Americans understanding of Muslim societies through arts

and media. She has also consulted for several foundations, most recently for the California Community Foundation, and has run a series of design thinking workshops for foundations across the country.



### **Rabbi David Saperstein**

Selected by Newsweek magazine in 2009 as the most influential rabbi in the country and described in a *Washington Post* profile as the “quintessential religious lobbyist on Capitol Hill,” Rabbi David Saperstein represents the Reform Jewish Movement to Congress and the

Administration as the Director of the Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism (RAC).

During his over three-decade tenure at the helm of the RAC, Rabbi Saperstein has headed several national religious coalitions, including the Coalition to Protect Religious Liberty. He serves on the board of numerous national organizations including the NAACP, People For the American Way, National Religious Partnership on the Environment and the World Bank’s “World Faith Development Dialogue.”

In 1999, Rabbi Saperstein was elected as the first Chair of the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom, created by a unanimous vote of Congress, and in 2009, he was appointed by President Obama as a member of the first White House Council on Faith-Based and Neighborhood Partnerships.



### **Manjit Singh**

Manjit Singh is the Co-Founder and Chair of the Sikh American Legal Defense and Education Fund (SALDEF). Founded as Sikh Mediawatch and Resource Task Force (SMART) in 1996, SALDEF is the oldest national Sikh American civil rights advocacy organization. Its mission is to protect

the rights of Sikhs through legislative advocacy, public education, legal assistance and accurate portrayal of the Sikh religion. SALDEF national office is in Washington DC with a wide and diverse network of Regional Directors, local representatives and grassroots volunteers.

Mr. Singh has represented SALDEF in the media, giving numerous interviews to print, radio, and broadcast TV. He has appeared on CNN, Fox News, Voice of America, BBC, Al Jazeera, and NPR, and in *The Washington Post*, *The Washington Times*, *The New York Times*, among others.



**Jim Wallis**

Jim Wallis is a bestselling author, speaker, and commentator. He recently served on the President’s Advisory Council on Faith-based and Neighborhood Partnerships and currently serves as vice-chair of the Global Agenda Council on Faith for the World Economic Forum. His latest book is *On God’s Side: What Religion Forgets and Politics Hasn’t Learned about Serving the Common Good*, published by Brazos Press in April 2013.

Rev. Wallis is President and CEO of Sojourners where he is Editor-in-Chief of Sojourners magazine, which has a combined print and electronic media readership of more than 250,000. Rev. Wallis frequently speaks in the United States and abroad. His columns appear in major newspapers, including *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *Los Angeles Times*, and *The Boston Globe*. He frequently appears on radio and television, as a commentator on CNN, MSNBC, Fox News, and National Public Radio, and on shows such as Meet the Press, Hardball, The Daily Show with Jon Stewart, and The O’Reilly Factor.

## APPENDIX D: Staff Biographies

**Meryl Justin Chertoff** is Director of The Aspen Institute’s Justice and Society Program and an adjunct professor of law at Georgetown University Law Center. She is a member of the Board of iCivics, Inc. and the Sandra Day O’Connor Initiative on Judicial Selection at the Institute for the Advancement of the American Legal System. She has degrees from Harvard College and Harvard Law School, and has been an attorney, legal writing instructor, PTA and community volunteer, lobbyist, state official, and federal official. She and her husband have two adult children.

**Michael Green** is Associate Director of the Justice and Society Program. He holds a B.A. in American Studies from Cornell University, a Ph.D. in American History from Northwestern University, and is the author of the book *Black Yanks in the Pacific: Race in the Making of American Military Empire after World War II* (2010).

**Joseph DeMott** is Project Manager of the Inclusive America Project. He graduated *magna cum laude* with a B.A. in Philosophy and Theology from the University of Notre Dame in 2010, and *magna cum laude* with an M.A. in Comparative Religious Studies from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 2012.



## About the Aspen Institute

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

*[www.aspeninstitute.org](http://www.aspeninstitute.org)*

## About the Justice and Society Program

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

Through our public programming component—which includes the Susman Conversation on the Constitution and the Courts at Aspen, periodic roundtables at the Aspen Institute's Washington office, and presentations by leading jurists—we bring to the table public officials, established and emerging opinion leaders, and grass-roots organizers to share their perspectives in a neutral and balanced forum.

*For more information, visit [www.aspeninstitute.org/jsp](http://www.aspeninstitute.org/jsp).*





Steve Johnson/The Aspen Institute