

Pulling Back From Polarization

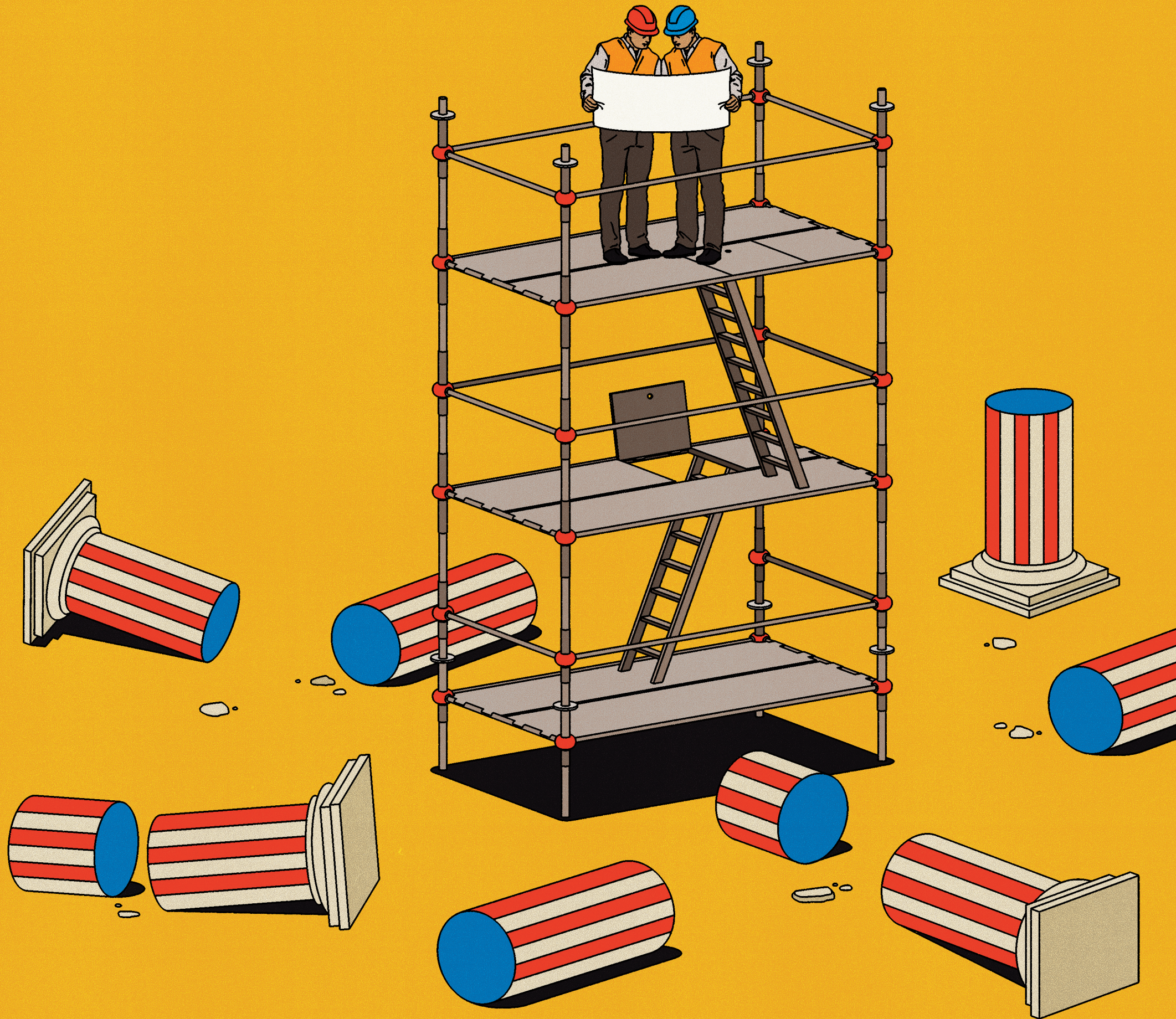
Ideas for citizens, leaders, and organizations seeking to bridge the political divide

BY KEVIN COOL AND DAVE GILSON

ILLUSTRATIONS BY ÁLVARO BERNIS

By just about any measure, the United States is more politically divided today than at any time in recent history. Polarization isn't just an obstacle to tackling serious problems, it's preventing Americans from seeing their partisan rivals as people they'd want to hang out with, work with, or live near — much less share a country with.

How does a divided society begin to repair itself? A range of Stanford GSB faculty and alumni are seeking answers to that question. Here, some of those researchers, policy experts, and politicians discuss ways to establish common ground, work together, and strengthen democracy.



Rethink Your Assumptions



Robb Willer is a professor of organizational behavior (by courtesy) at Stanford GSB and the director of the Stanford Polarization and Social Change Lab.

What are some of the main forms of polarization that you’re studying?

Robb Willer: The two aspects of polarization that we study in the lab that I’m most interested in are attitudinal polarization and affective polarization. Attitudinal polarization describes Americans, especially partisans, disagreeing on issues and policies. The other major form of polarization is affective polarization. This refers to animosity between Democrats and Republicans and also support for political violence and dehumanization.

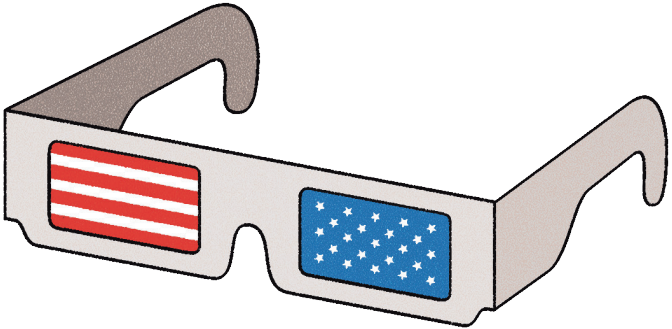
Our focus there has been on correcting misperceptions of the other side’s intentions and perceptions. You can reduce Democrats’ and Republicans’ support for political violence almost 50% by just giving them basic data on how much the other party actually supports political violence. If we can fix those misperceptions, make them more accurate, then we can reduce people’s actual support for political violence, which is lower than people think, among both Democrats and Republicans.

You have also studied “moral reframing” as a way of reaching out to people on the other side. How does it help people stop talking past each other?

Willer: The core idea of moral reframing is that you can increase support for an issue position or a political candidate by articulating your case in terms of the moral values of people who do not yet support the issue or candidate. It may sound intuitive to say, “Connect with the moral values of your audience if you want to be persuasive,” but it’s definitely not what people spontaneously do. Even when they’re trying to persuade somebody of a different ideology or party, people tend to use their own moral values and moral rationales in making the case for their positions.

What role do leaders have to play in making sure depolarization efforts are successful?

Willer: I think that leaders can do a lot. For example, we find that if you show Republicans examples of prominent Republican politicians endorsing the results of the 2020 election, they have more faith in the results of the 2020 election and in elections in general. We did a



similar study where we were trying to see if we could find something that would increase Republicans’ interest in getting vaccinated [against COVID]. There as well, we found if you just amplify those voices within the party that do support vaccination, that was effective for increasing vaccination intentions.

Looking specifically at business leaders — what role can they play in helping reduce partisanship?

Willer: The biggest thing I would say is to not give money to politicians who are worsening political conflict in serious ways. There are politicians who are saying that American elections are not trustworthy. There’s no evidence for that. Don’t help those people get elected.

If you could give readers one takeaway they can use to think more constructively about their own role in this and how they can combat polarization, what would that be?

Willer: It would be to keep in mind that research indicates that your rival partisans, whether they’re Democrats or Republicans, probably have much less extreme views on average than you think they do. I think realizing that those who disagree with us are not as extreme in many respects as we often assume they are can also be helpful for the way we approach political engagement. It can help us to not give up on persuasion, to keep trying to build broader political coalitions through meaningful and respectful conversation.

NANCY ROTHSTEIN

Reach Across Divides



Michele Gelfand is the John H. Scully Professor in Cross-Cultural Management and professor of organizational behavior at Stanford GSB.



Ken Shotts, PhD ’99, is the David S. and Ann M. Barlow Professor of Political Economy at Stanford GSB.

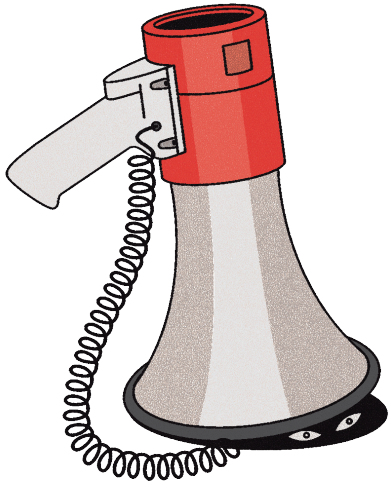
What has your research revealed that might help us understand and overcome divisions between us?

Michele Gelfand: We tend to be in our own echo chambers and that can lead to having extreme stereotypes of people, but once we really get a window into their daily lives, what they are doing 24/7, it can make us much less polarized. One example comes from some work we published recently where we had Americans and Pakistanis tell us about their stereotypes of each other. Americans think of Pakistanis as being extremely “tight” — in mosques all the time, living in a very constrained context. They don’t think about them playing sports, reading poetry, or listening to music. And Pakistanis, when they look at American culture, some of them see us as extremely “loose” — as, you know, drinking beer for breakfast, walking around half-naked.

We developed an intervention called the daily diary technique where we randomly assigned people in each country to read each other’s diaries for a week. We found that over time this reduced cultural distance compared to when they read diaries from their compatriots. Pakistanis started to see Americans as more moral. And, likewise, Americans saw Pakistanis as warmer, and having more freedom than they would’ve expected.

If we can scale this up and help people to see the similarities versus the differences, then maybe we can puncture some of these stereotypes. We are doing this now with Republicans and Democrats.

NANCY ROTHSTEIN; DREW KELLY



Ken, in your book, *Leading with Values*, you talk about the importance of understanding how people’s values affect their beliefs and behavior. How does knowing what motivates people help us come together?

Ken Shotts: I think we all have something in our morality that is common. That isn’t to say we agree on everything, but there are aspects of this that are interwoven between us. We all care about family and people who are close to us. There are certain things that are okay to do and there are certain things that are defiling or degrading. We might disagree about what those things are, we may not have the same reaction when we experience them, but there’s something similar going on there. Our belief system is undergirded by our morality.

What do you see as the most critical problem related to polarization, and what would it take to solve it?

Shotts: The thing that I am most worried about is not supporting institutions in this country. It’s one thing to have disagreements about tax rates or climate change policies, but what really worries me is the lack of buy-in about democracy and representative government and rule of law. Belief in those institutions is an issue of first-order importance.

And I know it’s easy to say, “Oh, there are problems with both sides of the political spectrum on this,” but I’m just going to be blunt: I think this is asymmetric. Although there are many people in the Republican Party who are appalled by [efforts to overturn the 2020 election], there are far too many who go along with it. And the current frontrunner for the 2024 Republican nomination tried to use his power as president to undermine the foundational institutions of government in this country. I think we’ve gotta say that’s beyond the pale.

Gelfand: We are at this really dangerous place of people distrusting institutions. But it feels like it’s been hijacked by a very small minority, and people don’t feel safe speaking up. I would love to see a television show that has productive debate between Republicans and Democrats. There’s this great research coming out of Rwanda, which is an intensely difficult context, where they are using soap operas to promote new norms. It really works beautifully. After watching soap operas that involve extended friendships across ethnic lines, it promoted much more positive social norms. It’s almost like deradicalization — we need a rehab program for polarization.

“Leaders in organizations are role models for how to bring people together.”

— Michele Gelfand

What role do organizations have in promoting a culture of cooperation?

Gelfand: Leaders in organizations are key to promoting social norms for constructive conflict management — what we call conflict cultures. Leaders’ own conflict styles trickle down to others. So they are role models for how to bring people together and help show how to agree to disagree. Constructive conflict cultures are also good for business. We’ve found that they are related to all sorts of positive outcomes like lower burnout and higher cohesion.

Shotts: Business can at times be very pragmatic, for both good and for ill. And that doesn’t necessarily lend itself to extremism and vitriol. I’m reminded of when Michael Jordan said, “Republicans buy sneakers, too.” Businesses have in their employee base lots of people who have very different views on things. I think there’s a chance for the workplace to be where we reach across divides. The tricky thing is firms often don’t want people talking about politics at work.

There are many more contentious issues that business leaders are expected to respond to now than there were even 10 years ago, much less 20 or 30 years ago. When I talk to senior executives, they say this is a sea change; their roles now require them to navigate how their company is perceived on social issues. And that expectation is only going to grow. It’s an important job for us — to train people to lead organizations in an environment like this and give them the skill set they need to succeed.

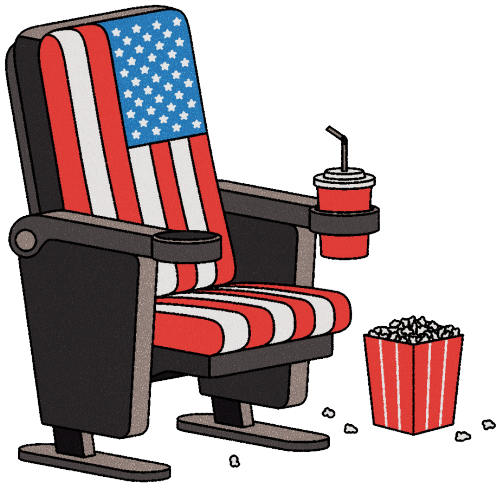
Restore Our Common Ground



Condoleezza Rice is the Denning Professor in Global Business and the Economy at Stanford GSB and director of the Hoover Institution.

The divisions in the United States are geographic and cultural as well as ideological. What can we do to bridge those differences?

Condoleezza Rice: We don’t know each other very well anymore. In part, it’s the lack of common experiences — people don’t serve in the military together, people go to very different schools, there’s “flyover country” and there are the coasts. I believe national service might be a good idea for young people: You’re going to learn something about people who are different than you are.



“We have to start rewarding people who are willing to compromise.”

— Condoleezza Rice

NANCY ROTHSTEIN: U.S. HOUSE OFFICE OF PHOTOGRAPHY

NANCY ROTHSTEIN

What advice would you have for promoting healthy political discourse?

Rice: We seem to be in a period where all we want to emphasize is difference, so I would suggest that we start to think about commonality. I say to Stanford students from time to time, “Has it ever occurred to you that maybe the people you consider ‘diverse’ like the same sports that you do, or like the same music that you do, or maybe even went to the same schools that you went to?”

There’s a fraughtness right now with having to encounter people who are different. Will you offend them, might you say something that’s a little bit wrong? You don’t have a constitutional right not to be offended. We need to try to break down those barriers. Even when we’re in the room with somebody with different experiences, we’re so guarded that we don’t get to know each other.

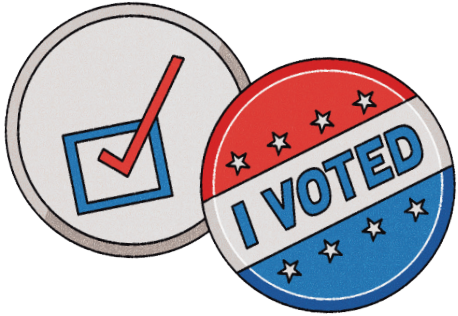
Antagonizing one’s political opponents is seen as an effective strategy to attract donors and solidify your base. How do we get out of this cycle if the incentives for politicians reward partisanship?

Rice: As voters, we have to start rewarding people who are willing to compromise. Madison said that politics is constant contestation — this time I win and you lose, but next time around you may win and I may lose. We need each other through the entire cycle, and until relatively recently, people seemed to understand that.

People who want to see a different kind of politics must get involved. [Former Secretary of State] George Shultz used to wear a tie that said, “Democracy is not a spectator sport.” We treat it as a spectator sport and then complain about what we get.

“Just being more honest with the public could decrease a lot of polarization.”

— Neil Malhotra



Rebuild Broken Trust



Neil Malhotra is the Edith M. Cornell Professor of Political Economy at Stanford GSB.

You’ve found that one effect of media coverage of polarization is that it increases people’s belief that we’re polarized. I half-jokingly wonder if we’re making it worse.

Neil Malhotra: I think it’s possible. The story that my paper shows is that the media covered issue-based polarization when it actually wasn’t that high, and that potentially led to more affective polarization, which is now hard to reverse.

So there’s less disagreement on the issues than people realize, but polarization prevents them from seeing the other side as having anything in common with them?

Malhotra: Yes. There’s a lot of research that shows that partisan stereotyping is very prevalent. For example, Democrats think most Republicans own guns. Republicans think that most Democrats own electric vehicles. The media contributed to this because I think they overplayed issue-based polarization, which then leads to misperceptions, which then leads to affective polarization.

We have social norms against discrimination based on race, gender, and sexual orientation, but you’ve noted that we have few norms about discriminating against people based on their politics. Why is that?

Malhotra: I think people don’t view politics as an immutable characteristic; they view it as a choice. The more we learn about moral psychology, we see that a lot of people’s political beliefs are baked in when they’re very young. You could always change your political beliefs but, in reality, that’s much easier said than done.

REFLECTION DAY

The Party’s Over

Two soon-to-be former politicians reflect on the effects of extreme partisanship.



Anthony Gonzalez, MBA ’14, is a two-term Republican member of Congress from Ohio. He is not seeking reelection.

What can we do to ensure that elected officials are motivated by public service rather than partisan agendas?

The number one thing that people can do to guarantee we have better representation in Congress is to vote in congressional primaries. Roughly 20% of registered voters actually vote in primaries during non-presidential cycles. With such low turnout, oftentimes the most successful electoral strategy is to appeal only to the most rabid members of one’s political base.

There is a big distinction between the politics of the average American and the politics of the primary electorate. In many congressional districts around the country, especially those that are heavily gerrymandered, many primary voters would prefer that our politicians focus on defeating political enemies as opposed to finding common ground. This stems from the belief of many primary voters that our political enemies are not simply fine Americans who we have political disagreements with but are evil people who are committed to America’s destruction. In that sense, restoring a common purpose in our politics must occur in tandem with a restoration of common purpose within our physical and digital communities as well as reforms of the primary system.



Jen Miles, MBA ’89, stepped down as mayor of Kingman, Arizona, in August. She had served on the city council for nearly a decade.

Based on your experience, how does partisanship play out at the local level?

As city elected officials representing the interests of all our citizens, there are times when we consider and even move forward on measures that are not favored by the “party.” On those occasions, there is too often immense pressure/pushback put on local elected officials to influence their votes and the outcome. If their efforts fail,

partisan legislators will often publicly deride the city and the locally elected officials. Worse yet, a few may even be unsupportive of later legislative actions that they know would benefit that city to register their discontent/anger at a decision that went against the party position.

Having said that, it is all the more important that good people who understand the importance of statesmanlike conduct aspire to and assume public service. Our democracy depends on elected officials who are empathetic to the needs of the many, are able to discern and speak truth, and have the leadership qualities that attract followers and influence outcomes.

And political beliefs correlate pretty strongly with demographic identities.
Malhotra: Of course — especially things like religion, education, rural identity. So when you discriminate against someone based on their political beliefs, you could be discriminating based on demographic factors that are beyond their control. It’s probably a better philosophy just to not discriminate against anybody.

In your class *Leading with Values*, how do you encourage discussions that bring in multiple viewpoints?
Malhotra: We do three things. One, we explain the difference between facts and values and how there are correct facts, but there are not correct values. Second, we teach about moral foundations theory, which is that a lot of the way we view the world ethically is a sense we have, and moral senses are based on intuitions. So you want to be empathetic to the idea that other people have different moral senses than yours. Just because someone disagrees with you, it doesn’t mean they’re immoral. Third, we do a lot of polling before we discuss the issues, because many people think they’re the only ones that hold a particular view. If they see 20% of people share their view, they’re much more likely to express it.

Polarization is driven by misguided beliefs about what other people believe, which makes it hard to convince people using facts and logic. How can we get past that?
Malhotra: I think corporate responsibility is a key to a lot of this — and elite responsibility generally. People don’t mind facts if the facts help make their lives better. No one inherently likes science; the reason science won is because it made people’s lives better. On the other hand, if people perceive science as harming their lives or not improving them, then they’re not going to trust in facts; they’re not going to trust an expert. So when scientists and doctors say, “Oh yeah, you can take these opioids. It’s no big deal,” why is it shocking then that five years later, people are not going to take this vaccine you’re telling them to take? You’ve got to be socially responsible because if you solely care about profits, it’s going to lead to this degradation of trust in experts. People really want to trust elites to look out for them and to make the right decisions. I think just being more honest with the public could decrease a lot of polarization.

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“Primaries are exceedingly problematic because they reward the extremes.”
— David W. Brady

Remember Bipartisanship

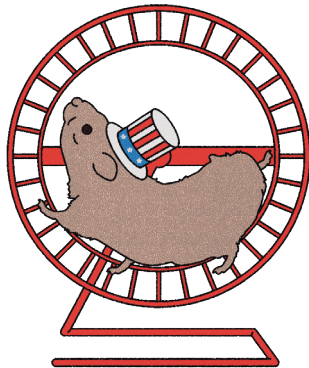


David W. Brady is a professor of political economy, emeritus, at Stanford GSB and senior fellow at the Hoover Institution.

You’ve written about how polarization in Congress is nothing new. Is there anything different about our current situation?
David W. Brady: We’ve had periods of intense polarization before — obviously, in the Civil War. There’s a lot of affective polarization when you’re shooting at each other! We’re not there yet. But I do think it’s worse than it had been. The Congress is relatively dysfunctional compared to other periods.
Roughly from about the ’40s until the present era, there was a lot of bipartisanship. When you had a bunch of conservative Democrats and liberal Republicans, as we did through the ’70s and even into the ’80s, it was harder for Democrats to bad-mouth conservatives. It was harder for Republicans to totally bad-mouth liberals because they had some in their own party and needed them. So there was always that mitigating factor. That’s gone.

If polarization is a fairly normal state of affairs, is it necessarily a bad thing? We’ve been able to accomplish a lot with a divided government.
Brady: That’s the \$64 question. My view is that up until Trump, the parties could get major policy changes done. The Democrats under Obama did pass the Affordable Care Act; it didn’t get repealed. The Republicans passed the Trump tax cut. But I do think at this point, there is a serious question about the ability of the Congress to get meaningful policy on climate change, inequality, guns, and so on passed.

Are there systemic changes that could reduce polarization?
Brady: I do think primaries are exceedingly problematic because they reward the extremes. They tried open primaries in California to solve the problem, but we don’t have the full results in yet. One thing political scientists are pretty big on is ranked-choice voting. In a ranked-choice voting system, centrist, compromise-oriented candidates have a better chance against the extremes. But I don’t think it’s the be-all and end-all that people have said that it would be.



NANCY ROTHSTEIN

Reclaim the Middle



David Dodson, MBA ’87, is a lecturer in management at Stanford GSB.

What did your experience in 2018 running as a Republican for U.S. Senate in Wyoming teach you about the state of political polarization?
David Dodson: It taught me that polarization and partisanship are what both parties want because the one thing they can agree on is dividing the population into a red camp and a blue camp and then gerrymandering like crazy. You have to go after the structural issues, which are around term limits, gerrymandering, campaign finance reform, and how the primaries are run.
If you’re running for a House district, you’re going to get penalized for working with the other side. If you want to get elected, you don’t want to talk to the middle, because the middle is going to alienate you from the people who are going to show up to vote in the primary. You need to talk in extremes. That’s why you have so many Republican candidates who do not believe that the [2020] election was stolen saying the election was stolen. That’s what their customers want to hear.

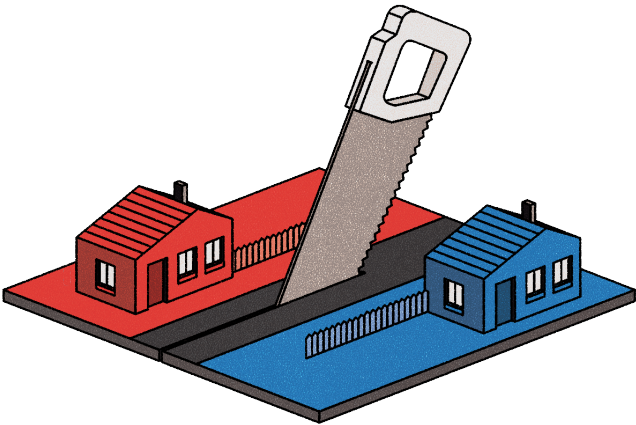
If we’re all trapped in our own echo chambers, where does the impetus for structural change come from?
Dodson: Democrats and Republicans who occupy that middle ground need to realize that we’re being played for fools here, and stop being sucked into the Rachel Maddow/Tucker Carlson echo chambers. Instead, say, “Bullshit. The system is broken. We have to fix the system.”

Do you think there’s a role for corporate leaders to play here?
Dodson: One hundred percent. I think that is where one of the primary impetuses for change can take place. Increasingly, businesses are stepping in and saying that they have a societal role, not just a maximize-shareholder-value role. We’ve largely embraced that. I’ve been knocking the world right now because of all the partisanship, but the good part is that the possibilities for change are unprecedented in our current environment. If business leaders and activists did the equivalent of Me Too or Black Lives Matter with political reform, you will see change, absolutely.

NANCY ROTHSTEIN

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“The good part is that the possibilities for change are unprecedented.”
— David Dodson



Recognize the Feedback Loop



Steven Callander is the Herbert Hoover Professor of Public and Private Management at Stanford GSB.

According to the theoretical model you recently developed, what’s been driving political polarization?
Steven Callander: Any of my empirical colleagues will tell you that most people just don’t care about politics that much. So politics is overrepresented by people who care a lot about policy. Given the chance, elites are going to try to move policy in the direction of their preferences, which tend to be more extreme. But they’re constrained by voters. This is what moderates politics and pulls policy to more centrist outcomes. This is democracy.
But because the voters become more attached to parties and elites over time, they start to see things through their eyes. That empowers the policymakers, the elites, to move policy where they’ve always wanted it to go. There’s this feedback loop between the elites and the masses, and it generates this dynamic.

Once this feedback loop gets going, eventually the center gets left out. So what’s the end state here?
Callander: The end state of this is not pretty. If my theory’s correct, this polarization of voters has a ways to run. If we think polarization is a bad thing, then things are going to get worse before they get better.
I think that our last hope, really, is demographic change. There’s evidence that people turn 18 shaped, to some degree, by the nature of politics when they come of age. Our hope is that these people who have come of age in the last 5, 10, 15 years have a different sensibility and a different understanding about politics. They’re our hope toward depolarizing, or pulling politics back to the middle.

Refocus on Win-Win Outcomes



Saumitra Jha is an associate professor of political economy at Stanford GSB and convenes the Stanford Conflict and Polarization Lab.

You’ve studied conflict in places like India and Israel/Palestine. Is there a way to make comparisons between those situations and the United States?

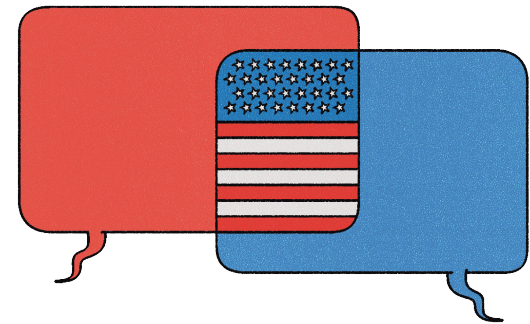
Saumitra Jha: The contexts are obviously very different, but there are often things that are quite similar. In many places around the world, often a key question that a lot of us are grappling with is how to remind people that we have a lot of common objectives and a lot more things that we share as human beings than the emotions and the news would have us recall.

Once we remember that, “Okay, we can work well in these areas,” that can be an important way to build trust. People might be more willing to give one another a bit more of the benefit of the doubt and not impute intentions that might not be there. That’s one of the key questions that I’ve been focused on.

We’ve found that learning through the financial markets, for example, is a very strong way of having people learn about politics and this commonality of interest. My own research focuses on how getting people to learn through small experiments in financial investing can also get people to be more focused on the common good.

If we made economic inclusion the focus of bipartisan change, could that help ameliorate polarization without putting it directly on the table?

Jha: I definitely think so. The economy is something we all benefit from. If it’s possible for us to all benefit, then we can begin to focus on what’s good for us collectively and the common good becomes more accentuated than many



more divisive questions. The divisive issues are important. But taking as an initial starting point an area in which we agree, saying, “Okay, we can work together in this area,” then it can be easier to manage some of those other things. Otherwise, we often end up focusing on zero-sum game thinking: “Well, if you win, I lose.” Frankly, there are many areas where we can all win, like the economy, peace, and the environment — and we should.

Does that mean that business leaders have a special role to play here that elected officials aren’t able to play?

Jha: Yes. Definitely there are things that business leaders can do that would be harder for elected officials in our current political environment. On an issue like climate change, for example, a recent survey done by folks at Yale shows that, while Republicans and Democrats might disagree on the causes and what Congress should do about it, majorities of both Republicans and Democrats across congressional districts around the country are supportive of funding more research into renewables and think that corporations should be doing more to address the climate crisis. By taking the initiative in these areas, business leaders could show the way and, maybe, help save the planet in the process.

Reduce the Demand for Divisiveness



Kristin Hansen, MBA ’98, is a lecturer in management at Stanford GSB and the executive director of the Civic Health Project.

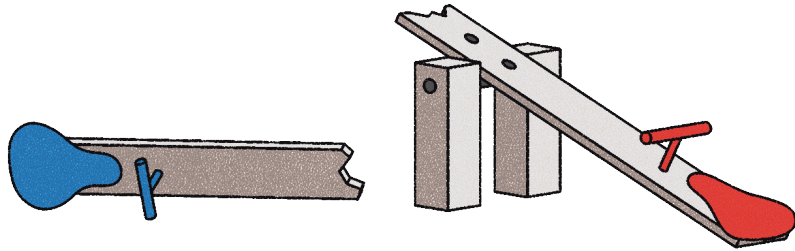


Alison Goldsworthy, MS ’17, is the president of Accord and the author of *Poles Apart: Why People Turn Against Each Other, and How to Bring Them Together*.

What is polarization preventing us from accomplishing?

Kristin Hansen: We’re becoming increasingly incapable of enacting policy or legislation that reflects the will of even substantial majorities of Americans. And as a consequence of that, we’re seeing more decision-making on really difficult issues, especially cultural issues, devolving back to the states. It’s almost like we’ve given up — it’s going to be too hard to get 330 million people to agree on anything, so let’s devolve a lot of these hard problems to the states.

ELENA ZHUKOVA, COURTESY OF KRISTIN HANSEN



But unfortunately, that doesn’t solve it, because polarization, dysfunction, gridlock, and hostility show up in workplace settings, and also at the state level, the regional level, the community level. It’s bleeding down into the smallest nooks and crannies of our lives.

Alison Goldsworthy: Some polarization is a really healthy and normal thing. It’s a very natural, evolved process for us to think in groupish ways. Nor does politics function well with a boring amorphous blob in the middle; voter choice and distinction between parties matter. But polarization becomes really toxic when politics can’t function or there are significant spillover effects into other areas of life.

In developed democracies, people often take our stable system, and the rules that protect it, for granted. They shouldn’t. When societies become polarized, change can be swift and often negative, yet we see very few appearances of polarization on companies’ risk registers. That’s despite polarization potentially making it far harder to effectively run a business — and often pushing up the costs of doing so.

Hansen: A framework that we’ve used with business audiences is talking about polarization as a supply and demand problem. You have this unhealthy supply and demand loop. We’ve got to shift demand preferences if we are the consumers and the buyers of polarization, if you will. That isn’t easy; that’s a long game to create a healthier supply and demand loop.

How can business leaders help create an environment where dialogue or collaboration across political boundaries is possible?

Goldsworthy: At the leadership level, they can model depolarizing behavior themselves. That can involve carefully building teams and sharing power. Working to overcome our natural tendency to favor people like

—
“You’re not going to be able to effectively run your business in a very polarized society.”

— Alison Goldsworthy

us. It also means being open to changing your mind and admitting you got it wrong. Very often leaders feel they have to have an answer, forcing hastily taken positions that are hard to row back. They’d be much better waiting or admitting they don’t know. And when others in their team do this, they should celebrate it.

Another way is building teams that are from diverse backgrounds. When I say background, I don’t just mean the things that you can see; it goes beyond that and brings in different experiences and viewpoints. These can inculcate you against the effects of polarization and there is growing evidence they are good for the bottom line, too.

Hansen: I increasingly talk about a four-lane strategy for social cohesion. The first lane is taking a more expansive view of how you are thinking about diversity and inclusion within the walls of your workplace, or your company, or organization, so that ideological and viewpoint diversity are given more consideration.

The second lane is how you show up in your community. The third lane is storytelling: Can you tell more cohesive stories that are going to foster recognition of one another’s humanity? And then the fourth lane is how you are allocating your dollars. That’s everything from advertising dollars to corporate political spending and charitable spending. Can you spend them in ways that foster social cohesion?

Is it possible to work for depolarization without sacrificing your values?

Goldsworthy: I think you have to work out which values to prioritize — and the identity that relates to them. I was deputy chair of the Lib Dems in the UK. Being a hugely partisan creature had benefits, but in this context, limitations too. In the end, I established my role was in protecting the rules of the game of a democracy — and if you don’t have enough people and organizations doing that, everything else can fall apart very quickly.

Hansen: That question runs through my mind at least once a day, if not multiple times a day. It doesn’t take that many cycles of reflection to come back to, well, really what choice do we have? Whichever side of the equation you’re on, the realization a lot of people come to is: “Oh, more than 70 million Americans disagree with me. What do I do with that?” For most of us who work on bridge-building, somewhere in those values is the idea that it’s anathema to think that we can or should hate millions of our fellow Americans. **GSB**