How can we bridge the bitter divides in our culture?

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Revolt of rural and rust-belt America

2016 Electoral College map

Source:
http://brilliantmaps.com/2016-county-election-map/
• “We voted with our middle finger” – Trump S. Carolina voter
Hollowing out of middle class

Productivity

Wages

Demise of American dream

% of children who earn more than their parents

Social honor
San Francisco Art Institute
Social derision
Attacking PC: stick it to the elite

“Rush Limbaugh defended their honor... Bible-believing Southerners are ignorant, backward, rednecks, losers. They think we’re racist, sexist, homophobic, and maybe fat.”

(Hochschild, 2016)
Racism

• 12 million people voted for Obama and Trump
• Nationalists vs. the Exasperated
• Are they racist?
  • Merit
  • Morality
• Work on racism—in yourself and in others, but...
• Don’t use anti-racism as an excuse for snobbery
Class culture gap

White working class (whites in middle 53%)
• “My father made a religion of responsibility”
• Hard living vs. settled living
• Respect for hard work, stability, self-discipline
• & institutions that aid them: military, religion, family

Professional managerial elite (top 17%)
• Focus on self-development
• Novelty vs. stability
• “Sophistication” vs. tradition
• “Disruption” vs. respect for authority
Culture wars as class conflict...
Support for abortion rights

- College Grad or More: 69%
- High School or Less: 49%
Support for stricter gun laws

- Women: 64%
- Men: 43%
Support for stricter gun laws

- White, college degree: 57
- White, no college degree: 47
Support for gay marriage

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education Level</th>
<th>Support for Gay Marriage</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>College grad</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school or less</td>
<td>45</td>
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Environmentalism: class clueless?

- Support: widespread and non-partisan in 1970s and 1980s
- Climate change
  - “Climate deniers,” polar bears, “war on coal”
- Public lands
  - Tree spiking, snowmobiles & ORVs
- Pollution control
  - §404 wetlands
Environmental messaging going forward

- Stop arguing over the causes of climate change
- Tone of sincere regret over old-economy jobs (e.g. coal)
- Celebrate new-economy green jobs
  - Pay attention to regional effects
- Highlight farmers; blue-collar guys with heat stroke; loss of hunting and fishing
- Difficult conversation about public lands issues?
- Pollution control: big companies vs. small business
Immigration

- Immigrants: empathetic human rights frame
- Blue-collar Americans: neo-liberal race-goes-to-the-swift-and-you’re-not-it frame
- Cosmopolitanism vs. patriotism
- Blue-collar Americans used to have a positive attitude towards immigrants....
  - Until they began to blame immigrants for loss of good jobs
jobs*jobs*jobs*jobs*jobs

- If you care about immigration, environment, abortion rights, you need also to care about **good jobs for non-college grads**
- Accepted wisdom: globalization & automation
- Reality: middle-skilled jobs
- Inventing our Blue-Collar Future
  - College-for-all vs. vocational training
  - New education-to-employment system
Jobs: mothers and the wage gap

• Family responsibilities discrimination
Jobs: unstable schedules

• Using capitalism as a change lever
• More stable schedules are a win-win:
  – 7% higher sales
  – 5% higher productivity
Jobs: interrupting bias

- Bias interrupters
  - Adding class migrants
  - WEC, BCQ
  - [www.biasinterrupters.org](http://www.biasinterrupters.org)
Thank you!

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