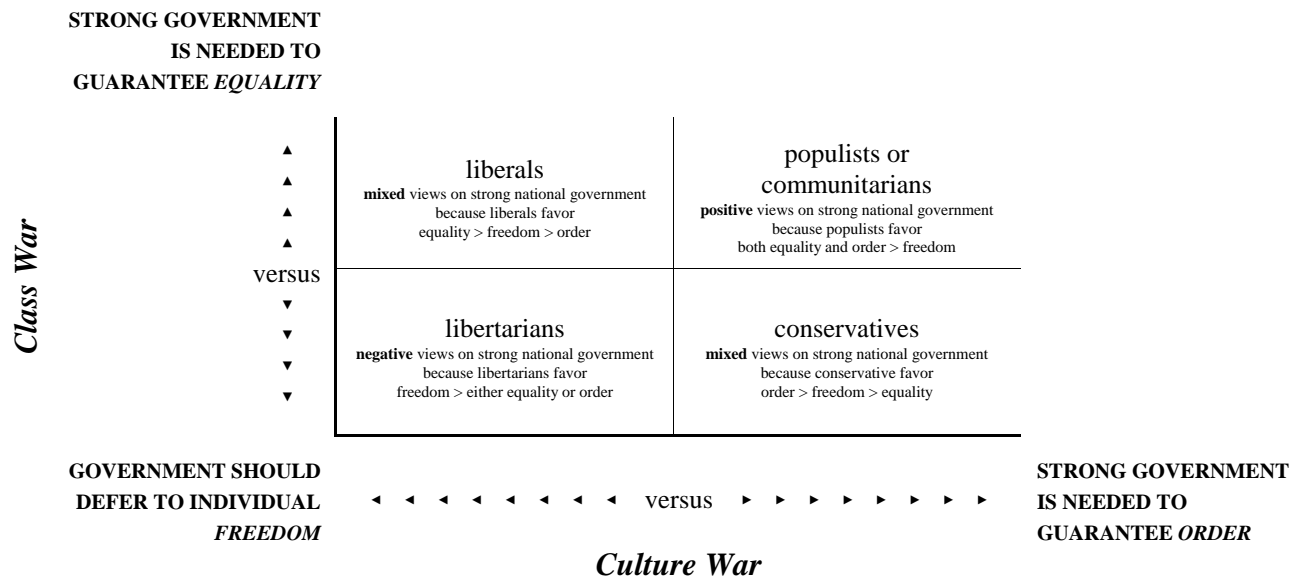


Preface: three perspectives on what divides American politics:

- I. There is a *culture war* in America (James Davidson Hunter, *Culture Wars: The Struggle to Define America*) and this polarization has overwhelmed *class divisions* (Thomas Frank, *What's the Matter with Kansas?*)
- II. The American public is not polarized by cultural issues (Morris Fiorina, et al., *Cultural War? The Myth of a Polarized America.*)
- III. Class and culture both split the American public (Kenneth Janda, et al., *The Challenge of Democracy*; Brewer and Stonecash, *Class and Cultural Divides in American Politics*)



Chapter 1: Divisions in American Politics

- 0. Untitled introduction
  - A. *Class* divisions are more important: John Edwards, “... we still live in a country where there are two different Americas – one for all those people who have lived the American dream and don’t have to worry, and another for most Americans, everybody else who struggle to make ends meet every single day.”
  - B. *Culture* divisions are more important: Pat Buchanan: “There is a religious war going on in our country for the soul of America. It is a cultural war, as critical to the kind of nation we will one day be as was the Cold War itself.”
- I. The central issues – class (inequality) and culture (disorder)
  - A. Class issues: balance *collective* goods (equality, fairness, justice) v. *individual* rights & freedoms
    - 1. Causes of inequality
      - a. Conservative view: individual failures: motivation, effort, initiative, etc.
      - b. Liberal view: factors beyond the control of the individual: economic, social, political
    - 2. Remedies
      - a. Encourage and reward individuals who excel
      - b. Correct systemic factors beyond the individual’s control

- B. Cultural issues: balance *collective* goods (economic, social, political, & moral order) v. *individual* rights & freedoms
- II. Why interpretations matter
- A. Politicians: need to know how public is divided
  - B. Press: needs to properly choose and report those divisions
  - C. Interest groups: how to effectively appeal to the public
  - D. Public: democracy cannot function if divisions are misunderstood
- III. The puzzling state of interpretations
- A. The Great Depression and class divisions
    - 1. The New Deal was new: the two parties switched sides on the role of government in the economy
    - 2. The New Deal Democratic coalition of diverse (have-not & have-less) minorities
      - a. New base (non-southern urban, ethnic, working-class)
      - b. Added to old base: southern whites
  - B. Race eclipses class? 1948 & 1964 elections
  - C. Displacing class issues? Post WWII
    - 1. Prosperity: inversion of class voting
    - 2. Suburban sprawl
  - D. The emergence of cultural (disorder) issues
    - 1. Types
      - a. Economic order: globalization
      - b. Social order: immigration
      - c. Political order: campaign finance
      - d. Moral order:
        - (1) Below-the-belt issues: sex and gender
        - (2) Other religion issues in education, medicine, military, politics
    - 2. Causes
      - a. Social, economic, & political changes
      - b. Technological changes (the pill, TV, the Internet)
  - E. Displacing class issues (again): have-nots and have-less are now regularly voting against their economic interests because of their concerns about cultural issues (Thomas Frank)
    - 1. Partisan realignment of working class
    - 2. Inversion of gender gap in voting
  - F. Much ado about nothing: the “myth” of a culture war (Morris Fiorina)
- IV. The concerns and plan of the book: sort out conflicting claims about division in America
- V. Our plan
- A. Focus on class and culture does not mean that other issues are unimportant
    - 1. Race
    - 2. National security/foreign policy
    - 3. Energy dependence
    - 4. Natural environment/global warming
  - B. Relevance of authoritarian-personality theories of the 1950s
    - 1. Intolerance of ambiguity and change
    - 2. Preference for a hierarchical authority structure
    - 3. Explains why cultural issues can trump class interests (but not displace them totally)