

The Rhetorical Priority of Class: It's Economic Incompatibility, Stupid!

By Solon Simmons, Associate Professor at the School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution and George Mason University Vice President, Office of Global Strategy, Office of the Provost, ssimmon5@masonlive.gmu.edu

I travel in the sorts of circles in which everyone I know stands bewildered by the ascendance of Donald Trump. His rise was difficult to not predict, his message was so extreme and distorted that it not only flirted with, but dwelled in stigma and polluted right wing, ethnic identity politics, and his style of campaigning seemed like it had no chance of keeping up with the professional ground game of the Democratic Party. As those of us in the field of conflict resolution attempt to make sense of how we can be helpful in a world that feels mad to many, we will need to renew our theoretical commitments as much as our political expectations. And the one area where we need the most help can be summed up with the word, class. Class, as a concept, has always been poorly employed in the field, has been less than fully understood by many, if not all, scholars

and, most importantly, has been given lower priority than other emphases like those of human rights or diversity and inclusion. My argument for members of the field to consider is, only when we begin to develop a more culturally nuanced and structurally sophisticated understanding of class will we begin to forge the tools we need to engage the most salient conflicts in a productive way in the era of Trump.

Whatever this means in practice, it can in no way represent a retreat from core commitments in the field to confront the abuses of power



New York Post: President Trump.
Photo: Flickr User Marco Verche.

that derive from cultural and status privilege that have been so effective for scholars in both a theoretical and practical sense, but it does suggest that we face an obligation to place a higher priority on thinking, teaching, and speaking about class dynamics and economic incompatibilities in our work. This means that we need not only think about structures of political economy, although this is critical, but also that we think more carefully about the intersection between structures of economic power and the moral foundations of grievances (narratives identifications, and rhetoric) that derive from enduring legacies of abusive power in the economic arena.

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Commentary

The Warrior in a Garden: A Call for Veteran Peacebuilders

By Brandon Norris, MS Student and Special Assistant at the Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy (IMTD), nnorris@gmu.edu

There is a quote from ancient Chinese lore that I am quite fond of. A student asks his master: “You teach me fighting but you talk about peace. How do you reconcile the two?” The master replied: “It is better to be a warrior in a garden than to be a gardener in a war.” It has been fifteen years since the events of September 11, 2001, and out of that day the United States found itself involved in three wars; Afghanistan, Iraq, and the Global War on Terror. For my part in these events, I served in the United States Marine Corps from 2001-2005, with the 2nd Battalion 5th Marines, an infantry battalion out of Camp Pendleton, California. Like all Marines, my time in the Corps was a pivotal moment in my life. For better or for worse, the experiences that I gained helped to mold me into the man I am today and set me on my current path.

When I made the decision to leave the Corps in 2005, there was a part of me that still wanted to serve my country in some capacity. At the time I wanted to pursue a career in the diplomatic field but to do so I knew I needed a formal education to complement my experiences in Iraq. After completing my undergraduate degree in International Relations, I felt that the field was missing something as it did not sufficiently provide me with the tools that were necessary to accomplish my goals. While researching graduate programs, I made the decision to pursue my master’s degree in conflict analysis and resolution instead. It was in the field of conflict resolution that I found what was missing from the field of international relations - a better path to actually overcoming the hardships we face.

While I admire the field of international relations and what it brings to the table, conflict resolution gives us a much more holistic and comprehensive approach when attempting to explain and traverse the obstacles we face both domestically and internationally. During my time at Mason’s School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (S-CAR), I was surprised to see students with backgrounds similar to my own: combat veterans, retired veterans, reservists from various branches of the military, members of the intelligence community, and members of the law enforcement community. Together with students from various countries and cultures, we are able to bring a diverse set of experiences to the table that contribute greatly to the field of conflict resolution and the greater peacebuilding community. While the conflict resolu-

tion field offers more insight and practices into dealing with various conflicts, it can benefit greatly from the experiences of the Veteran Community. After all, who knows violence and conflict better than those of us who have experienced it intimately?

I am currently interning at the Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy (IMTD). The Institute was founded in 1992, by Ambassador (ret.) John W. McDonald and Dr. Louise Diamond. At IMTD, we take a holistic approach to diplomacy that seeks to engage all stakeholders within a society in the peacebuilding process. The multi-track system that we use originated due to the inefficiencies within the single track government approach. The multi-track system is designed for dynamic interaction among the different players of society, including but not limited to businesses, private citizens, and conflict resolution practitioners. Due to its holistic approach, multi-track diplomacy is a perfect fit for those veterans and others who want to continue to make a difference in the world and work towards finding solutions to our problems but work outside of the conflict resolution field. The vast experiences that the veteran community has accumulated while serving in conflict zones as well as the diverse educational and professional experiences that we have developed since returning from deployments provides us with unique perspectives. By utilizing the multi-track approach, we are presented with various avenues to deploy our combined knowledge to assist or even serve as leaders within the peacebuilding community.

When your country called, you answered that call! For many who read this you may feel as if you have done enough or believe that I am simply being naive. I completely understand, I too have experienced these moments, but we are still needed, just in a different capacity. At a time when the Middle East is on fire due to a proxy war in Syria, terrorist attacks by I.S.I.S, continued provocations from China and Russia, along with our own internal issues at home, those who are battle tested and comfortable in chaos are still needed both at home and abroad. With the numerous challenges that the veteran community faces due to inadequacies in the VA system, along with the mental and physical scars some of us carry from our time abroad we have to find better solutions to the hurdles we face. Inside and outside of the veteran community, my call to you is this: be the warrior in the garden. Be the individual who has reconciled the violence of the past with the hope for a better tomorrow. Be the one who continues to stand tall in the face of adversity. Be the one who uses the tools and knowledge at their disposal not just for their own gain but to also help others. Ultimately, be the one with the mindset and clarity to understand that bombs and bullets will not solve the worlds conflicts. Conflict resolution and multi-track diplomacy offer other avenues with which to approach adversity, and allow the veteran community to bring their vast array of experience to the peace making table. ■

Peace does not mean an absence of conflicts; differences will always be there. Peace means solving these differences through peaceful means; through dialogue, education, knowledge; and through humane ways.

Dalai Lama XIV

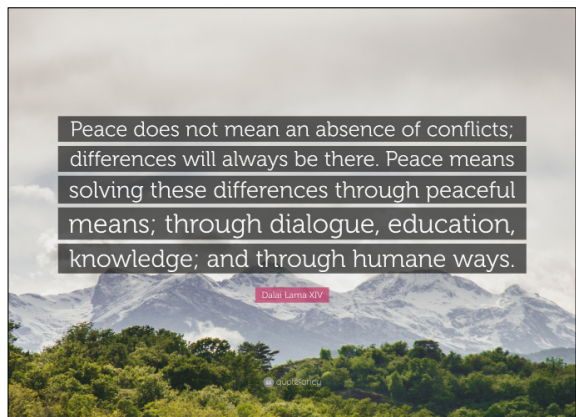


Image by Brandon Norris.

Dual Master's in CRAMS Cohort Reflects on First Month

By Thanos Gatsias, PhD Alumnus, agatsias@gmu.edu

The Dual Master's Degree in Conflict Resolution and Mediterranean Security (CRAMS), which S-CAR offers in collaboration with the Mediterranean Academy of Diplomatic Studies (MEDAC) in Malta, is currently celebrating its seventh year. The new ten-member cohort, comprising a diverse team of young conflict analysts, just completed successfully their first month in the program, a busy, yet rewarding month, that started with a three-day orientation and was followed by four weeks of coursework. During these first four weeks, group members had the opportunity to meet and discuss with local civil society actors, as well as representatives from international organizations working in the region; visited an art exhibition which centered on refugee narratives; and actively participated in the Mediterranean Forum organized by the Anna Lindh Foundation in partnership with the Maltese Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Naturally, if Malta's strategic location is taken into consideration, a key theme that keeps emerging in the program's coursework, as well as in extracurricular curricular activities, is that of the current migration movements in the region of the Mediterranean - a phenomenon, which in the frame of the Program is subject to systematic study in all its dimensions, from current manifestations and relational dynamics, to its structural underlying causes and conditions.

On October 7, 2016, Marcelle Bugre, a program alumna and active member of the Maltese civil society, talked to the group about the work she and her organization, the Foundation for Shelter and Support to Migrants, have been doing over the past years providing relief and empowering migrant communities in Malta. Group members found the discussion with Marcelle "informative, interesting, and attention grabbing," and really appreciated the stories she shared from her personal experience working with migrant groups.

On October 13, 2016, the group visited the Bodiless Exhibition at the Malta Maritime Museum - a visual art exhibition organized by KOPIN, an international NGO with a presence in Malta. The exhibition that the students saw centered on reconstructing and retelling African migration and refugee narratives. The group was offered a tour by KOPIN's Deputy Executive Director, Dominik Kalweit, who had an engaging discussion with our group about the complexities of current migration movements in the Mediterranean and the responses of the European societies.

Moreover, the head of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees mission in Malta, Beat



CRAMS 2016 Cohort.
Photo: Thanos Gatsias.

Schuler, joined our group on October 19th for a two-hour session. In his presentation and subsequent discussion with group members, Dr. Schuler provided information of the facts of the current migration movements in the region and offered insights on legal instruments safeguarding the rights of refugees. The discussion also touched upon the work of the UNHCR in Malta and regionally to respond to the current crisis; the underlying causes and conditions of migration; and the question of whether and how the 'Responsibility to Protect' principle

may be applied to the ongoing crisis.

On October 24 and 25, 2016, members of the new cohort also had the opportunity to participate in the 2-day Mediterranean Forum organized by the Anna Lindh Foundation, the largest civil society gathering in the region, which brought together 600 civil society representatives, policy-makers, media, and international donors from 42 countries, working in the field of intercultural dialogue, youth empowerment, gender equality, social entrepreneurship, and more. The Forum's agenda was to "accelerate and scale-up the impact and reach of intercultural action to counter forces fueling polarization and extremism." Through their active participation, CRAMS group members not only got exposure to the workings of an important forum at the international level, where cross-fertilization of ideas and practices takes place, but were also able to contribute through their active engagement to the Forum's overall mission.

Finally, on October 28, Mario Gerada, from the Jesuit Refugee Service delivered a presentation on the JRS work on Reconciliation, followed by a lively discussion based on his long and diverse experience as an activist on refugee issues, as well as on issues of the LGBT community in Malta. One student noted: "Mario's presentation took us one step closer to truly understanding what true reconciliation is," with another one adding, "Mario's presence and discussion felt more like a conversation, and I especially enjoyed his presentation of how humanity is necessary if you want to be effective in communicating in conflict situations."

These first weeks have just been the beginning of a wonderful journey for the members of the new CRAMS cohort who, although they have spent just a few weeks together, have formed a lively community of young conflict analysts. Subsequent coursework, out of campus activities, field trips, and social events will make this educational experience richer. We wish our new cohort a great year ahead, in this pioneering Dual Master's Degree Program. ■

initiative

S-CAR Undergraduate Students Present at the United Nation's General Assembly

By Sarah Kincaid, Undergraduate Academic Advisor and Community Development Coordinator, and MS Alumna, skincai4@gmu.edu

On Friday, September 16, 2016, eight undergraduate students from the School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution presented at the United Nation's International Day of Peace Student Observance. The Student Observance brought hundreds of students from across the United States and around the world to hear from distinguished speakers and celebrate peacebuilding.

S-CAR's undergraduate students had the honor of being selected to present on a new project called *The Displaced Youth Education Initiative (DYEI)*. Students from all around the world submitted proposals that outlined a project that supports peace in the community, drawing on the Sustainable Development Goals. Our students were one of only six other student presenter groups at the Observance.

DYEI is a student-led initiative that seeks to support formerly displaced persons in the Northern Virginia area. DYEI will partner with Mason student groups and community organizations to hold a donation drive to provide basic necessities, such as school supplies and household items, establish a student-led mentorship program for high-school-aged students, and create an awareness campaign that highlights the challenges that displaced people face.

Students enjoyed presentations from



S-CAR representatives inside the General Assembly Hall. Photo: Sarah Kincaid.

UN Messengers Leonardo DiCaprio, Stevie Wonder, and Nobel Laureates Tawakkol Karman and Leyma Gbowee, whom many students had studied in their conflict courses. They even had a chance to hear from UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon. "Peace is not a gift, it is something we must work for," said the Secretary-General. Without a doubt, these students are ready to work for peace. ■

EVENTS

Upcoming S-CAR Community Events

Thursday, December 1, 2016

Colombia's Plebiscite Results: Challenges and Opportunities
12:00pm-1:00pm

Thursday, December 1, 2016

Post-Election Discussion Series
2:30pm - 4:30pm

Tuesday, December 6, 2016

Undergraduate Research Symposium
2:00pm - 4:00pm

Tuesday, December 6, 2016

Peace Game - Corruption and Conflict
2:00pm - 5:00pm

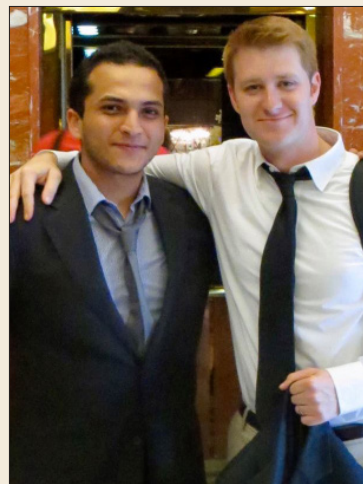
Thursday, February 16, 2017

Dialogue and Difference Series
7:30pm - 9:30pm

For more, visit scar.gmu.edu/events-roster

Remembering Ahmed Sherif Dakroury - By Michael English, PhD Alumnus

S-CAR mourns the loss of Ahmed Sherif Dakroury. Ahmed graduated from S-CAR's dual-degree program in Malta and joined the Egyptian foreign service immediately after he finished his coursework. Ahmed embodied the spirit of the Egyptian Revolution; he embraced diplomacy both as a vehicle to serve his country and as a way to carry the promise of the revolution forward. His style and attitude toward life were uniquely his own. He will be dearly missed by his friends, colleagues, and instructors..



Ahmet Sherif Dakoury (left) with Daniel Bales (right). Photo: Michael English.

Opinion: How Did Trump Win?

By Karina Korostelina, Professor of Conflict Analysis and Resolution, ckoroste@gmu.edu

The question how did Trump win has multiple complex answers, from being a response to economic deprivation to being a result of political resettlement. But one of the core explanations is linked to the definition of national identity. In multi-cultural societies, a political national identity has competing meanings based on alternative interpretations of constitutional principles, culture, and nationalistic sentiments. The connection with a particular narrative chosen among the set of available national narratives provides people the meaning of identity, connection to the nation, and temporal coherence. It helps clearly define the “us” and “them,” legitimacy and boundaries within the nation.

Trump has made the issue of national identity a central part of the campaign. Traditionally, political competition in the United States evokes dichotomy of “liberal” versus “conservative.” This was a core of Hillary Clinton’s campaign. However, Trump brought a new dichotomy of “nation” versus “globalized world.” He empowered his supporters who believed that increasing globalization is undermining the national interests of the U.S. and the established concept of American citizenship.

Empowerment is usually defined as an initial ability to work jointly and in solidarity and develop resistance to existing structures of power or ideology. Empowerment helps individuals within a community to exercise their power through communication and cooperation. Trump’s approach to power is different from this liberal interpretation. He was employing perception of power as a zero-sum game that is reliant on dominance and competition. Trump supporters favor his style of leadership because it resonates with their understanding of strength.

In this process of ‘social becoming,’ supporters become more empowered and believe their leader will give them an opportunity to redefine the meaning of national identity. Through Trump, his supporters hope to attain more power and authority, take control of their own lives, and actively participate in shaping the vision of the nation.

Trump has built his campaign on a strong demand within some segments of American population for fundamental socio-political change that has at its core a restoration of the

country’s greatness by reestablishing national control and protection of borders, culture, and national identity, and the promotion of the interests and positions of native citizens. The mass support for Trump is rooted in an inability of this population to accept the ongoing transformation that is moving the world toward an ever increasing globalized, multicultural society complete with blurred boundaries and liberal policies. The changes, impacting the status quo of the majority of Americans respectively, have

occurred at a pace they were not ready for.

For many people, these changes have created a deep degree of cultural stress and a feeling that they are losing their privileged or hard-earned social standing. The critical mass of resentment that has taken shape has been further magnified by the slow and uneven recovery from the worldwide economic crisis of 2008 and the resulting high levels of unemployment.

These grievances, held by significant parts of the American population, have not been taken into account by many within the U.S. political establishment, including executive branch leadership. Current policies have provided little opportunity for large segments of society to receive the benefits of globalization. High levels of socio-economic inequality and low upward mobility have made them feel desperate and uneasy about their children’s future. Moreover, their interests have not been fully addressed and little empathy has been given to their real concerns. Instead, the voices of those in economic misery and experiencing cultural stress have been labeled as ignorant, bigoted, and prejudiced. The concept of a shared society has not evolved as desired.

Trump answers this resentment by promoting the well being of the nation through a process of closing borders to illegal immigration and refugees and supporting exclusive policies of citizenship. He stressed the importance of protecting the interests of American citizens against those who, in his view, denigrate the idea of American citizenship. He also privileges the rights of Americans over a more universalist concept of rights. His rhetoric about Hispanic and Muslim immigrants not only resonates with the perceptions of his supporters but also simultaneously increases their self-esteem.

This approach is firmly rooted in the nativist belief that cultural heritage, including history, values, and ethnic traditions, is fundamental to any nation and should be protected. It shields a nation from the threats and problems of globalism and mass migration. First, this approach contrasts corrupt political elites and the political establishment with the need for people to be represented by authentic leaders. Second, it puts the dominant, culturally homogenous majority, which is typically of European heritage and mostly raised in the Christian faith, against minorities, such as immigrants and other ethnic, racial, and religious groups, which serves to reinforce xenophobic sentiments. Third, it contrasts the interests of the nation and heightened border control with globalization equated with the dissolution of national identity and border permeability. Fourth, it declares “political correctness” and excessive liberal discourse as alien to the general population, which is overregulated and over controlled by social taboos.

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Recent S-CAR Media Appearances

Trump Offers a Ripe Opportunity for the US

Soolmaz Abooli, PhD Candidate
S-CAR News 11/22/16

Trump Advisors Do not Sympathise With Kurds

Yerevan Saeed, PhD Student
SBS Radio 11/13/16

Conflict analysts from S-CAR have appeared on 19 occasions since the last newsletter. These 2 represent a sample of those publications. For a complete list, visit <http://scar.gmu.edu/media>.



Karina Korostelina.
Photo: Mason Creative Services.

OPINION PRESS

Sandra Tombe, PhD Student

By Kwaw G. de Graft-Johnson, PhD Candidate and Newsletter Editor, kdegraff@masonlive.gmu.edu

Sandra Tombe, who is originally from South Sudan, is a member of the 2016 fall PhD cohort at S-CAR. According to Sandra, her personal experiences nurtured her interest in conflicts and in wanting to better understand them.

Sandra attended Berea College where she received a BA in International Relations and French in 2014 and then proceeded to the University of Louisville where she graduated with an MA in French in 2016. "My Master's thesis focused on the Casamance conflict in the southern region of Senegal, and looked at how the identity of the region has changed throughout the lifespan of the conflict, and how that has changed the motivations of the independence movement," she said.

Sandra came to S-CAR to study nationalism and



Sandra Tombe.
Photo: S-CAR.

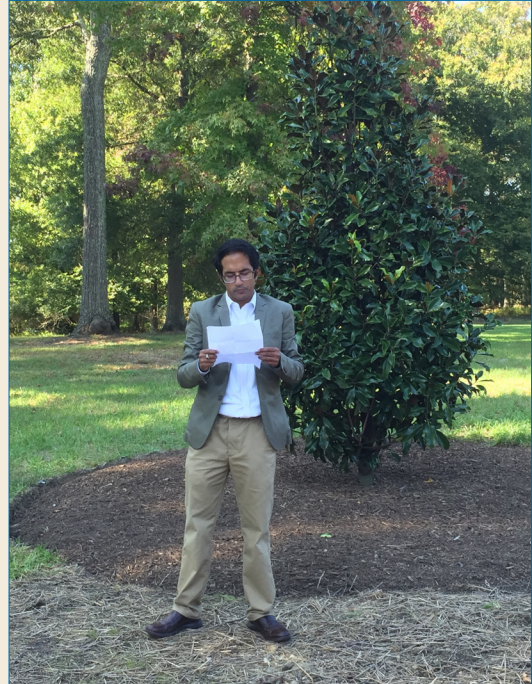
peacekeeping, and the wide range of experience and expertise of the faculty here has confirmed that she made the right decision. "S-CAR stood out to me as a place where I can develop skills that would help address a very small fraction of the many conflicts that go on around us."

In her leisure time, Sandra likes to read novels and one of her favorite books is *Une si Longue Lettre* (So Long A Letter) written by Miriama Ba. The book, which is usually assigned in literature classes all over the world, explores the condition of women in Western African society and their roles in post-colonial Africa.

After graduating, Sandra would like to work with a think tank, research institution, or government agency where she believes her research skills will complement the work that these organizations engage in. Sandra is also a member of Parara-USA, an organization representing the Bari people of South Sudan in the US. ■

More Than A Year

*What it would have been like
As I crossed the stage last May
To give you a bear hug and say
"Mate, I did it, I earned my degree, thank you!"
Thank you for showing me the way...
What it would be like to say
"Bro, I got a new job".. in the near future
Sadly, those comments cannot be said out-loud
But only uttered from the heart
It has been more than one year since you left this world
Glory be to God, to have received you at Heaven's Gate
For today, I remember you and how you touched me
Standing beside this tree
Planted in honor and memory of you
At S-CAR's Point of View
Amongst the serene wilderness
Right next to a peaceful river
The gentleness of the winds
Hits the face
And your presence is felt to be near
Thank you for what you have given to me
In friendship and brotherhood
For more than one year has passed
And it only feels like yesterday
When we first met at
S-CAR welcome dinner, 2013*



Rajit Das performing *More Than A Year* at the Tree Planting Memorial Ceremony held for Andrew Baer at POV.

Photo: Rajit Das.

The Rhetorical Priority of Class: It's Economic Incompatibility, Stupid!

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If we do not engage this challenge, others will, as Donald Trump and his advisers have done. *What class is not:*

Class is a funny word in English: Sometimes it takes on moralistic tones, e.g. classy; sometimes it is used in some loose way to signify social status, e.g., high or low class; and quite often, it is marred by its association with radicalism of various kinds, in particular, the variety associated with Karl Marx and Marxism. This last form is the most interesting and the most useful for making sense of why Donald Trump will be president, but because of the term's association with Marxist radicalism and American opposition to it, the specter of Marx has made it difficult to generate a class analysis relevant for conflict resolution in the United States. Even worse for clear thinking, because Marxist chiasm was associated with some of the most violent episodes of the Twentieth Century, class analysis has been associated in the field with the very things we do not advocate: violent escalation, coercive commitments, confrontational bargaining, ideological argument, and the like. But the Marxist stigma with which the concept has been polluted (even though I fully admit that any educated person should read and understand Marx), turns out to be a great distraction that prevents us from conflict resolution with populations that are increasingly described as "the white working class."

What class is:

We need to understand what class is and how it is distinct from other critical concepts like identity, human rights, and security. These four categories, taken together, represent different ways of thinking about incompatibility, i.e., the root cause of conflict in any conflict we might happen to observe. In fact, class is only a placeholder and shorthand for a whole genre of potential incompatibilities that emerge in the course of doing business, earning a living, and trying to get ahead. Any given class analysis may develop rich conceptions of how whole systems and modes of production are flawed to their core, or it may simply speak to implications for the way that taxes are used to pay for schools or how regulations in the housing market could help people to buy homes. Any number of incompatibilities emerge in the genre of economic relations and these incompatibilities have a tendency to produce conflict when the problems generated by the incompatibility are left to fester. Marx knew this, but so did Max Weber, Joseph Schumpeter, and John Kenneth Galbraith. And we also need to recognize that what makes class different from a close cousin like political economy is that it explicitly points to a connection between economic structures and moral evaluations of those structures that live in conflict settings and take on a life of their own, quite apart from the unintentional mechanisms of economic processes.

Telling Good Class Stories:

Here is a bold thesis that I offer here without demonstration: Donald Trump won the election because he was able to tell a good class story and because he placed priority on that story over others. Trump's both was and was not the sort of class story that we have come to expect. It drew on many familiar tropes, images,



Solon Simmons.
Photo: Solon Simmons.

representative figures, and stereotypes but also on others that most of us in the field find offensive and demoralizing. Nevertheless, it was a class story that was compelling in the right demographic groups, in the right geographic areas, and at the right time. This strategic use of the racially and sexually fueled narrative interventions in the class genre won Trump the election. As Arlie Hochschild might describe this strategy, based on the argument in her fantastic new book *Strangers in Their Own Land*, Trump voters subscribe to what she calls a "deep story" in which line-cutters from other cultures, other backgrounds, and other religious groups are getting benefits that members of the white working class don't feel they are, and of which they feel they are more deserving. This story describes a systematic form of cheating, in which deadbeats

and criminals (who happen to look different) are rewarded while people who work hard and play by the rules (who happen to be culturally marked with traditional privilege) fall behind. It is a story about how to get ahead (or fall behind) and why this is justified (or not). It is a right-wing class story, one with distinct racial, gender, and ethnic investments, connotations, and supports, but it is a class story.

Where we go from here:

The Democratic Party was once known for how well its leaders told class stories. These stories involved unions, progressive taxes, monopolies, child labor, public goods, insurance, public education, mortgages, and so on. Over time, as the pressing challenges of post colonization, civil rights, the gender revolution, and related redresses to former injustices took precedence, class was eclipsed in the rhetorical playbook of the Democratic Party. It's not so much that these ideas fell away, they just became stale and unconvincing. Every Democratic Party leader will still speak about working people, of economic inequality and even of unions, but few people take these ideas seriously. They are anodyne, unsupported by respected economic theory, formulaic, and anything but dangerous. Danger and passion lie in the other kinds of stories that Democrats and progressives tell. These concern the hot moral concerns of abusive power in the realm of culture: from the privilege of race, to gender, nationality, color, religion, sexuality, or ability status. These issues of abuse of one's positionality or status (to use an older word) fire the passions of progressives, and are connected to concrete and realizable programs that are placed front and center in Democratic Party rhetoric. Because of their moral valence, these arguments and the larger discursive field in which they are situated take priority over older ideas about the abuse of power present in markets, in non-scriptive encounters and in critiques of forms of power that have no recognizable aspect of discrimination or exclusion.

It is, perhaps, painful, premature, and unsubstantiated to say that the moves that Bernie Sanders made to shift the narrative focus from status to class would have proven more successful than the more status-oriented campaign that Hillary Clinton ran.

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I also worry that people might draw the wrong lessons from the Sanders alternative, namely that his specific proposals were sound or his aggressive attitude was better suited to the moment, or worst of all that it was helpful to have a white man make the class arguments so that white people would follow him. I'm not convinced of any of these things. In fact, I suspect that the coming wave of Democratic Party leaders will be drawn from the ranks of the broad civil rights, status-conscious movement that dominates the Democratic Party, and the new leaders who tell the emerging class stories will be people of color, women, LGBT, people with disabilities, and others. Nevertheless, I suspect that the moral-structural foundation of their arguments will change.

I wrote a book about what might happen if we failed to take class seriously in national politics called *The Eclipse of Equality*. I argued that the shift from an ecology of class to status narratives had transformed our politics and political culture. By equality, I meant the moral value associated with opposition to the abuse of universalistic forms of power that were indiscriminate in choosing victims. Eclipse referred to the relative rise of particularistic or ascribed forms of power and privilege that derived from cultural or status differences. But the image was meant to suggest that the imbalance of both of these essential forms of critical discourse was only temporary. I predicted that class discourse would return to find a new equilibrium with status discourse. As things happen, the mechanism for this transition was the rise of class rhetoric in the form of Donald Trump's Twitter account. We have reason to suspect that Trump's solutions to the incompatibilities in the economy will do little to solve the problems that exist there, but his example will convince Democrats that the terrain of class politics is too powerful to leave open to story tellers on the right. Class is back, and with a vengeance, both in the realm of politics and in that of reconciliation. It is our job to embrace the challenge. ■

How Did Trump Win?

Continued from page 5

Trump has artfully connected the frustrations of his supporters, their aggression, and their love for the United States. For him, the violence of angry people is justifiable because they are fighting for their vision of the country. Trump has shown his supporters how to address a number of issues and, in turn, be rewarded and gain power through the use of aggression. Throughout his campaign, Trump has swiftly responded to every accusation or insult from his opponents. These tactics leave Trump's opponents open and unprepared to respond. The weakness of Trump's opponent's responses provide further evidence for his supporters that he is more powerful than his rivals. He also helps his supporters to channel the frustration they have for Obama's immigration policies toward illegal immigrants.

Those who identify themselves with Trump receive the same social benefits derived from his insults as he does. Many Trump supporters "feed" on Trump's insults to his/their adversaries in order to achieve similar feelings of high self-esteem and power, to stress difference with people they dislike, to emphasize their privileged position in comparison with others, to get rid of uncomfortable feelings of shame or guilt for inappropriate actions, and to feel validated in their views and positions. Trump supporters simultaneously benefit from and feel more empowered by his insults.

Trump supporters think the current establishment has no willingness to change or compromise; they trust that Trump will be able to undermine the confidence that other people continue to show toward the current political establishment in power, and thus, will bring his supporters to a long-standing victory. Trump supporters also feel he has been creating a degree of uncertainty among the established political elite by challenging their politically expedient ways of running the country.

The popularity of Trump has demonstrated that not only the importance of promoting education toward tolerance and mutual co-existence but that it is crucial to address issues of deindustrialization, job outsourcing, poverty and inequality, and low upward mobility. The United States is a land of equal opportunity and freedom, where the "American dream" was and must be obtainable again for everyone of its citizens.

*This article represents ideas developed in the author's book *Trump Effect*, published by Routledge in October 2016. ■*



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