



Institute for Cultural Evolution

**Campaign
Plan for Climate
Change
Amelioration**

2013

*“Nothing in politics makes sense
except in the light of cultural evolution.”*



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1. Executive Summary

The Institute for Cultural Evolution ("ICE") seeks to influence American public opinion on the issue of climate change to increase political will and motivation to take action to combat the problem. This Climate Campaign Plan describes ICE's measurable goals toward this end, as well as its strategy and tactics for achieving these goals.

Simply stated, ICE's campaign to ameliorate global warming will employ a series of unique persuasion strategies, strategically communicated within the marketplace of ideas, to help make environmental activists more effective in their advocacy, and to simultaneously reframe the issue in the minds of those who resist it.

Why do we think we can produce a measurable increase in political will to combat climate change where others have failed? Because our approach to cultural conflict employs a deeper understanding of the value systems that generate both concern for the environment in some and resistance to the problem of climate change in others. While we do not presuppose that the problem of apathy toward climate change can be resolved simply or completely by a small think tank, in the last five years a consortium of think tanks associated with the Tea Party movement have indeed achieved astonishing success in *decreasing* concern for global warming. This success is well documented in a recent PBS Frontline program¹, which describes the strategies and results of this conservative think tank-based anti-climate change political campaign. Therefore, the political impact of think tanks in the climate change debate has been well established, and ICE believes accordingly that it can achieve similar kinds of success in the opposite direction of building support to address this urgent issue.

2. Introduction and Campaign Context

The reelection of President Obama, together with the renewed attention to the problem of climate change caused by Hurricane Sandy, has given environmental activists new hope that America will finally start to get serious about global warming. But although Americans may now be more favorably disposed toward government action on the issue, significant obstacles remain. The array of influences that have caused support for action on climate change to drop precipitously in the polls over the last five years have not abated. So despite the recent positive movement in public opinion, a realistic national response to the problem is not yet on the political horizon.

Global climate change is a "wicked problem" that defies easy or conventional solutions. This problem is actually an emergent condition of modernism that must be managed and is too multidimensional to be simply "solved." Managing climate change effectively in the years ahead will require political and social **action on many fronts**, including:

- A) reducing carbon emissions through conservation and by expanding the use of existing forms of alternative energy generation and transportation;
- B) developing and implementing new low carbon technologies for energy generation and transportation;
- C) adapting to rising temperatures, extreme weather and rising sea levels; and perhaps
- D) experimenting with ecologically sophisticated carbon sequestering, geo-engineering, and other innovative engineering measures designed to combat the problem.

Experts and activists disagree about which combination of ameliorative actions will be most appropriate or effective, but there is one major problem which impacts all of these proposed responses, and which must be solved before any of these responses can be effectively implemented: The unwillingness of a majority of Americans to make climate change amelioration a political and personal priority. In other words, **all meaningful attempts to combat climate change in America and elsewhere depend first on a willingness within the population to take political action** and vote with climate change as a priority, as well a commitment from our public and private institutions to make choices that reflect this priority. Until greater demand for action appears in both the electorate and the marketplace, government and business will not be empowered to make the investments, take the risks, and make the sacrifices required to implement ameliorative programs and actions.

Hence, practically all strategies for managing climate change must begin by increasing the political will and creating the economic demand which is a prerequisite to the effective management of this wicked problem. As has become evident from the past decade of climate change activism, presenting scientific evidence is not enough, activism by environmentalists is not enough, nor is the evident onset of extreme weather and rising temperatures. As described in this Climate Campaign Plan, Americans are insufficiently motivated to care about climate change because of a complex set of cultural factors which must be understood and addressed as a prerequisite to effective collective action.

3. Campaign Mission

Increase political and economic will within the American electorate and marketplace to invest in climate change amelioration and new energy technology, as outlined by the four "action fronts" (A through D) set out in the above section.

4. Measurable Campaign Goals

4.1 Increase U.S. poll numbers indicating political support for action on climate change to above 2006 levels of favorable support. Polls to be used for measurement are the recurring periodic national polls collectively reported at [Polling Report.com/environment](http://PollingReport.com/environment), and include polls conducted by Gallup, Pew, CNN, Harris,



USA Today, ABC News, and others.²

4.2 Evolve both the tone and content of the discourse about climate change inside the environmental movement, so that the movement begins to express less antagonism toward important demographic segments who disagree with them. This will be measured by the number of environmental blogs, articles, conference presentations, and related media which either reference ICE's work directly, or otherwise show increasing awareness of how certain entrenched positions within the environmental movement have a negative effect on key demographic segments that are necessary to galvanize political will.

4.3 Improve the perception of the environmental movement within American culture at large, as measured by mainstream media, which either references ICE's work directly, or otherwise reports on the "changing face of the environmental movement."

4.4 Evolve the official platform of both the U.S. Democratic and Republican parties to make "energy independence" and the "environment" among the top three priorities for the Democrats, and among the top five priorities for the Republicans, as described on the each party's website and in their respective public communications.

5. Strategic Overview

5.1 Contours of the Polarity

The recent success of Tea Party affiliated anti-climate change groups in calling the very fact of global warming into question might lead to the conclusion that the "pro and con" forces in this political battle are straightforwardly left and right. However, a deeper understanding of the cultural forces at play in this challenge of building political will points to a subset of the larger political spectrum as the key to a majority consensus. This subset of the electorate consists of "liberal modernists" and "progressive postmodernists," and it is in the more subtle conflict between these two demographic segments where much of the problem of inadequate political will really lies.

As described more fully in section 8.2 of this Climate Campaign Plan, most traditionalists and conservatives are unlikely to be persuaded to take action on global warming in the short term, and most progressives are already convinced of the urgency of the problem. Therefore, the key demographic segment that needs to be persuaded to take action is the center and center-left portion of the American electorate. In 2007 this segment of the electorate was largely in favor of action on climate change, but since then primarily as a result of i) the Great Recession, ii) the success of anti-climate change political forces, and iii) the ongoing anti-modernist stance of many within the environmental movement, the support of much of this segment has been lost.

5.2 Traditionalism, Modernism, and Postmodernism

A central feature of ICE's perspective, and a significant part of the fresh approach that it offers, stems from its new understanding of values and worldviews. This new understanding leads to an analysis of the American body politic which identifies its major

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segments using the following defined terms: "religious traditionalists," "modernists (including left, right and center)," and "progressive postmodernists."³ As shown in *figure 1*, the American electorate can no longer be accurately conceived as simply "liberal and conservative." The electorate now consists of a wider variety of distinct political positions, as shown.

An Evolutionary Analysis of the American Political Spectrum

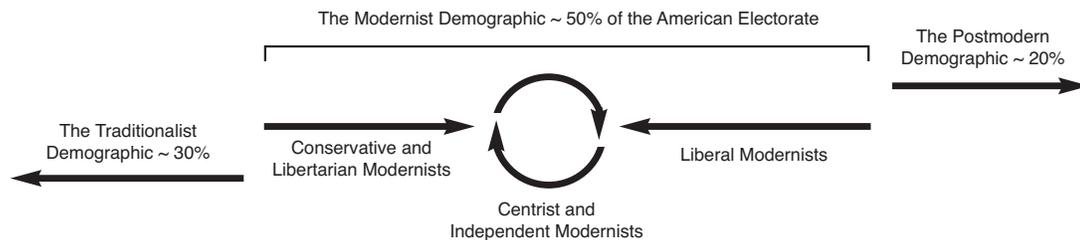


Figure 1

As explained in section 5.1 above, and as discussed further in sections 7 and 8 of this Climate Campaign Plan, a subtle but important aspect of the larger political battle over global warming is found in the conflict that currently colors the relationship between modernists and postmodernists. These two opposing value systems are not merely convenient demographic divisions or artificially contrived market segments, they are historically significant value systems that define differently what it means to be a moral human being—their respective values emerge from different developmental capacities of cognition and perception.

Broadly speaking, "**modernism**" is the reason-based worldview on which our modern, secular world is built; the set of values and system of cognition that brought us the scientific, industrial, political and economic revolutions of the past three centuries. Although modernism includes conservative, libertarian, centrist, and liberal political segments, it nevertheless coheres as a distinct worldview that can be clearly distinguished from both the premodern worldview of traditionalism and the progressive worldview defined as "postmodernism." Still dominant in western culture today, modernism's great achievements are everywhere in our lives, but the progress it has achieved has come with a significant set of problems, environmental degradation being one of the more significant.

"**Postmodernism**" is a word with multiple meanings, but it is defined by ICE as the distinct worldview that became a significant force in the social revolutions of the 1960s. Again, the contours of this worldview are described more fully in ICE's Business Plan and related documents, but for our purposes here, we can broadly define its values as pluralistic, egalitarian, multicultural, and environmental. In fact, the environmental movement is a significant evolutionary achievement of the postmodern worldview (along with contemporary feminism, the civil rights movement and the "spiritual but not religious" movement); that, as we shall see, has important consequences in how we approach social change in the context of climate change.

Naturally antagonistic toward each other, the worldviews defined as "modernism" and

"postmodernism" produce tensions that result in conscious and unconscious opposition on both sides. We can see this every day, for example, in the battle between economic concerns of modernists and environmental concerns of postmodernists. Reducing this opposition requires a change in values, both within one's own "camp" and in the perception of the "other".

This change of values, this reduction of tension between competing worldviews each with legitimate concerns, is the focus of ICE's campaign plan: We seek to achieve the incremental transformation of competing perspectives within the U.S. body politic. This requires a clear understanding of the worldviews in question and a birds-eye view of the evolutionary dynamics at work between them. ICE's action plan accordingly involves changing the perspective of each worldview with respect to the other. The campaign is thus divided into two distinct yet complementary messages—a different message for each targeted group—designed to influence both of these perspectives, bringing them closer together and providing a path for them to function as a positive, creative alliance of competing interests rather than as destructive political enemies. .

ICE's plan to produce cultural evolution: the incremental transformation and integration of competing perspectives within the U.S. body politic.

5.3 ICE's Initial Response to Potential Objections

Before going into greater detail on the strategy and tactics of ICE's Climate Campaign Plan, it may be helpful to address some potential questions or objections up front. These questions are addressed further in the body of this Campaign Plan, and additional and related potential objections are also addressed at the end in section 12. Nevertheless, at this early point in the discussion, healthy skepticism may lead to the following concerns:

Question 1: What's new about ICE's understanding of the worldview stages—traditionalism, modernism, and postmodernism—referred to above?

Answer: The long-established cultural worldviews of modernism and traditionalism are well recognized by mainstream media and academia. These two historical stages of cultural development have been described in many popular books such as Thomas Freidman's *The Lexus and the Olive Tree*, or Samuel P. Huntington's *Clash of Civilizations*. However, the relatively new yet historically significant worldview of postmodernism, as a cultural structure distinct from both traditionalism and modernism, has not been well recognized or understood within mainstream discourse. Further, a clear understanding of the value dynamics that prevail among the three distinct stages of traditionalism, modernism, and postmodernism is lacking within current political analysis. Yet an understanding of postmodernism's role within the politics of climate change is critical because the postmodern worldview is the actual source of environmental values, historically.

ICE's conclusions regarding the nature and relationship of these major demographic stages of development are supported by a variety of empirical evidence from the social sciences. This evidence includes research in sociology by the University of Michigan's

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"World Values Survey," as well as similar sociological research cited in endnote 3. Further, the academic field of developmental psychology has accumulated a large body of research (also cited in endnote 3), which shows a definite correspondence between the worldviews of individuals and the larger historical structures of cultural development that ICE labels "traditionalism, modernism, and postmodernism."

Question 2: What are these "insights" that are empowering ICE's approach?

Answer: This question goes to the heart of the value of integral philosophy, which provides the foundation for ICE's proposed strategies. Indeed, expertise in integral philosophy is the primary credential of ICE's principals. In short, integral philosophy provides an enlarged understanding of how human culture, and more importantly, how human consciousness itself evolves and develops. The strategies of this Campaign Plan demonstrate the application of the insights of integral philosophy, but the expanded perspectives of this "integral view" cannot be simply "netted out" or satisfactorily explained in a sound bite. However, beyond this Campaign Plan itself, the "evolutionary perspective" enacted by integral philosophy is summarized in the accompanying ICE Business Plan, and described further in an associated document entitled: Premises and Principles of the Evolutionary Worldview.

6. The Current State of Thinking in the Environmental Movement

From the beginning, the history of the environmental movement in the United States has been tied to the larger cultural movement defined here as "postmodernism." The critical connection between postmodern values and concern for the environment can be traced to the American transcendentalist movement of the 1840s, which was led by seminal environmental thinkers Emerson and Thoreau. This original form of environmentalism fostered by the transcendentalists eventually came to fruition in the United States in the 1890s with the creation of the Sierra Club in California and the Audubon Society in New York. For the first half of the 20th century environmentalism was concerned primarily with conservation, but preservation was also included in the agenda of the movement, which contributed to the creation of America's National Park system.⁴

However, notwithstanding these historical antecedents, the modern environmental movement really began with the 1962 publication of scientist Rachel Carson's best-selling book *Silent Spring*. Then, as the counterculture arose and gained a degree of political power in the 1960s, concern for the degradation of the environment became widespread, leading to the first Earth Day celebration in 1970. The early seventies saw significant political successes for the movement such as the formation of the EPA and related legislation such as the Endangered Species Act.

Then beginning with the election of Ronald Reagan in 1980, countercultural social

The modern environmental movement began with the 1962 publication of scientist Rachel Carson's best-selling book *Silent Spring*.

reform initiatives in general, and environmental protection in particular, began to encounter resistance on every front from the rise of neo-conservatism.⁵ While concern for the environment remained popular within the American electorate throughout the 1980s and 1990s, much of the energy of the environmental movement was focused on preserving the major legislative gains of the 1970s.

The decade of the 2000s saw the rise of widespread concern for global warming and climate change with Al Gore's film, *An Inconvenient Truth*, serving to reenergize the environmental movement on an international scale. However, as a result of the global recession of 2008-2009, together with a series of concerted attacks from anti-environmental interests, concern for global warming lost political ground. According to the Pew Research Center, in 2007 45% of Americans thought that global warming was a serious problem and only 8% thought it was "not a problem." Now, at the time of this writing in late 2012, the Pew Polls report that only 38% think global warming is a serious problem and 17% think it is not a problem at all. An even more dramatic drop in support has been reported in the Harris Polls, which in 2007 found that 71 percent of Americans believed that the continued burning of fossil fuels would cause the climate to change. By 2009 the figure had dropped to 51 percent. And in June 2011 the number of Americans who agreed was down to 44 percent.⁶

This decline in favorable public opinion toward climate change action has resulted in a variety of responses from within the environmental movement. Although the current state of the environmental movement is fragmented, and although it includes a variety of radical or fringe groups that have been largely marginalized politically, the main contenders in the policy debate within the movement can be categorized into three main camps, which ICE identifies using the defined terms: i) "Alarmist Activists"; ii) "Carbon Realists"; and iii) "Strategic Persuaders."

6.1 Activist Alarmists (postmodernist center of gravity)

This segment of the environmental movement is culturally centered within the postmodern worldview. It is the most publically visible camp, with high profile activists such as James Hansen and Bill McKibben leading the way. This segment of the movement has attracted the support of many celebrities and well known cultural figures who have rallied to their cause, as exemplified by Leonardo DiCaprio's 2007 film *The 11th Hour*, which conveys the message that global warming is the most important issue facing all of humanity. These activists have done their best to "sound the alarm" of impending global catastrophe, depicting drastically rising sea levels and other highly disruptive consequences as being just around the corner.

The strength of this camp is that they are highly motivated moral crusaders who are mobilizing politically significant segments of the population of the developed world. They have developed specific targets for carbon amelioration, such as a call for 350 ppm of CO₂ in the atmosphere, and have been working to organize a grassroots participatory movement to publicize and work toward this goal, as exemplified by the website www.350.org. The "Activist Alarmist" camp calls for immediate comprehensive action to reshape and rethink global human activity, as

Global warming
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exemplified by Hansen's current demand for a flat-rate global tax to force immediate cuts in fossil fuel use.⁷

6.2 Carbon Realists (modernist center of gravity)

This segment of the environmental movement, while recognizing the need to address climate change, is generally centered within the modernist worldview. Although this camp does not enjoy high media visibility or a grassroots following like the Activist Alarmists, it is well known within the environmental movement itself. Stewart Brand is perhaps the most visible advocate of this position. He has called for a focus on technological solutions, such as more nuclear power plants, the genetic engineering of crops, and geo-engineering of the atmosphere to adapt to a warming climate.⁸ Although Brand has countercultural credentials, many of his proposed solutions are opposed by postmodernists because they are based more on technological fixes than behavioral changes. In addition to Brand, the Carbon Realist camp is represented by the California think tank, The Breakthrough Institute, founded by the team of Ted Nordhaus and Michael Shellenberger, who gained significant media recognition in 2004 with the publication of their article *The Death of Environmentalism*, which criticized the movement for becoming overly politicized by the Left.⁹

The Breakthrough Institute seeks to "modernize liberal-progressive-green politics," claiming that "no strategy aimed at significantly raising energy prices could succeed politically, and that any successful effort to deal with climate change must focus instead on making large public investments to 'make clean energy cheap.'" The Breakthrough Institute employs likeminded academics, such as Professor Roger Pielke Jr., whose recent book *The Climate Fix* argues that climate policies must be made compatible with economic growth as a precondition for their success.¹⁰

In 2010 a group of "Carbon Realists," including key members of The Breakthrough Institute, published an influential policy essay, sponsored by Oxford University, entitled *The Hartwell Paper*.¹¹ This essay argued that climate change is best understood not as a "problem" but as a persistent condition that must be coped with and can only be partially managed more or less well. The Carbon Realist recommendations of *The Hartwell Paper* are directly at odds with the approach advocated by Alarmist Activists, which focuses on taxing carbon and restraining economic growth and consumption.

Carbon Realists seek to reframe climate change challenges around issues of energy and equity, arguing that "there is something wrong with a world in which carbon-dioxide levels are kept to 450 parts per million (a trajectory widely deemed compatible with a 2 degree cap on warming) but at the same time more than a billion of the poorest people are left without electricity, as in one much discussed scenario from the International Energy Agency. This analysis moves the policy prescription away from making today's fossil fuels more expensive while subsidizing the use of current suboptimal renewables, and towards the development of new energy technologies that will be cheap in absolute terms. This is to be achieved by spending public money directly on the development of

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the new technologies needed, rather than by hoping that putting a price on carbon will naturally move the market to the same destination."¹²

6.3 Strategic Persuaders (postmodernist center of gravity)

One of the main thrusts of the Carbon Realist's *Hartwell Paper* is that the politics of persuading the public to take action on climate change must focus on human dignity rather than human sinfulness—that the tactics of scolding or doomsaying cannot work. And this strategy of reframing the problem of climate change in positive terms has also been recently advocated by another significant camp of environmentalists, best described as the "Strategic Persuaders," who are distinct from both the "Activist Alarmists" and the "Carbon Realists."

Strategic Persuaders are culturally postmodern and generally agree with the Activist Alarmists that climate change is an urgent and dire problem that requires a reordering of the global economy. But unlike the Alarmists, the Persuaders admit that "The strategy of providing scientifically inspired apocalyptic projections of environmental disasters in the hopes of motivating action has failed."¹³ In response to this challenge, the Strategic Persuaders have come to see that human cultural values are the key to the problem. This realization has led to the recommendations outlined in the recent *Common Cause Report, The Case for Working With Our Cultural Values*, published in September 2010 by a coalition of English NGOs including: The World Wildlife Fund-UK, Oxfam, Climate Outreach and Information Network, Friends of the Earth, and The Campaign to Protect Rural England.¹⁴ *The Common Cause Report* argues that civil society organizations and NGOs can achieve better results by working to activate and strengthen a set of helpful "intrinsic" values, while working to diminish the importance of unhelpful "extrinsic" values. The report highlights some of the ways in which communications, campaigns, and government policy, inevitably serve to activate and strengthen some values rather than others.

The tactics of scolding and doomsaying cannot work.

Building their arguments on values research by social scientists, and the leftist political philosophy and value theory of Berkeley linguist George Lakoff, the Strategic Persuaders argue that solving "bigger-than-self problems" like climate change depends on strengthening people's affinity for the intrinsic values of community and cooperation and reducing the social emphasis on the extrinsic values of power and security.¹⁵

7. Analysis and Critique of Current Environmental Movement Approaches to Climate Change Amelioration

All three of the environmentalist "policy camps" outlined above are making valid points which ICE agrees with. The Alarmists are right that climate change is a dire problem that requires immediate action. The Realists are right that responses which cause significant harm to the economy are problematic and politically unfeasible. And the Persuaders are

right that working with human values is the key to effective amelioration. ICE's Climate Campaign Plan thus seeks to use and include all the valid perspectives of these groups.

However, ICE's analysis of the problem of global warming and climate change reveals how and why effective amelioration will require measurable evolution beyond the current state of American public opinion with respect to this issue. The evolutionary change required in American culture need not be large or revolutionary to be effective, even a relatively small movement in how Americans view the issue can have a big impact on both the politics and economics of global warming. Yet even though this required cultural change is not drastic, an evolutionary understanding of the problem makes clear that there is a dynamic tension between the worldviews of modernism and postmodernism, and it is on this cultural tension that the central problem of political will turns. Recognizing the nature of the conflict more clearly than ever before, ICE proposes to facilitate movement toward a synthesis that will, as a result, liberate political will. In other words, ICE's critique of these existing approaches, as well as its overall campaign strategy for building political will to act on the problem (described in section 8, below), both hinge on the need to move toward a synthesis that transcends the existing conflict between modernism and postmodernism, while also including the core values of each of these worldviews. In light of this analysis, ICE recognizes the following problems or shortcomings in each of the existing policy camp approaches outlined in the previous section's description of the environmental movement.

The evolutionary change required in American culture need not be large or revolutionary to be effective

The **Activist Alarmists** cannot lead American culture in a synthetic evolutionary direction because they are largely embedded in postmodernism and thus attached to one pole of the conflict. The Alarmists do not sufficiently value the critical achievements of modernism because their worldview contains a deep-seated form of "anti-modernism," which colors many, if not most, postmodern perspectives.¹⁶ Their focus on the fundamental value of the environment has partially blinded them to the significant value of the global economy, and this causes them to see modernist economic growth and consumerism as the enemy of the environment. While there are certainly many forms of economic growth that do unacceptably degrade the environment, regulating and constraining the economy in ways that do not threaten its vitality requires a degree of care and sympathy that the Alarmist Activists do not generally possess. Hence their contempt for modernism's core values threatens the very identities of those they need to persuade. This helps explain why they have recently lost ground politically.

In contrast, the **Carbon Realists** are not as rigidly attached to one pole of the conflict, they can see the validity of many postmodern positions even though their cultural center of gravity is essentially liberal modernist (see figure 1 above, and also in section 8, below).¹⁷ However, because the Carbon Realists do not adequately understand the underlying worldview conflicts over values that are preventing progress, they fail to see an important truth. That is, concern for the environment emerged historically within the larger structure of the postmodern worldview and therefore it is, for the time being at least, deeply associated with other related postmodern values. Thus, when postmodernism positions itself in stark opposition to modernism, modernists are put on

the defensive. They will not be able to adequately adopt the environmental values that are required to deal with Climate Change effectively if they see those values as being part of an overall approach that seeks to undermine the very values they hold dear. As a result, effective political will will be severely curtailed. If, as the Carbon Realists insist, every proposed solution must meet the test of generating economic growth as a prerequisite to its undertaking, amelioration efforts will continue to be marginal at best and will not lead to actions that are proportional to the urgency of the threat.

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Unlike either the Activist Alarmists or the Carbon Realists, the **Strategic Persuaders** better understand the central significance of the cultural issues that lie at the heart of the problem. They appreciate that values are critical to achieving progress on the Climate Change Debate. Their contributions have been important in bringing clarity to the issue. They propose solutions designed to persuade people to prefer "intrinsic communal values" over "extrinsic individualistic values." Using our language, that is another way of saying that they are trying to persuade people to prefer postmodern values over modernist values.¹⁸ Although they have a better understanding of the critical role of values than the other two camps, the Strategic Persuaders do not take into account the evolutionary relationship between modernism and postmodernism. They do not fully appreciate the deeper source of the conflict between those two worldviews. In fact, they are often caught up in that very conflict, and their diagnosis and solutions tend to betray an anti-modern bias. ICE is working to craft a synthetic solution that includes both a sustainable economy *and* vital forms of modernism, which ultimately depend on ongoing consumption and enhanced economic growth. This difference in approach is critical in appreciating how ICE's campaign differs from, and in some cases compliments, the more sophisticated forms of climate activism. It is important to note our conclusion that the main barrier to effective political action on climate change is not simply the rise of conservative think tanks that seek to discredit environmental science or otherwise promote exclusively market-based solutions. Nor is it the neo-conservative anti-environmental movement or the well-funded corporate lobbyists who seek to protect vested interests. Although formidable, these forces of opposition will be swept aside once the political will of the American people is effectively mobilized to take meaningful action on all of the climate change "action fronts" identified in section 2, above.

As previously discussed, none of the current approaches to combating climate change have solved the foundational problem of how to mobilize the public opinion and political will necessary to take meaningful action. As professor Andrew Dobson argues: "the issue of social change is undertheorized in green politics. ... While environmental scientists have great technical competence and their work has helped define environmental problems, their work lacks a broader vision of the whole and a plausible theory of transition to an ecologically sustainable society."¹⁹

Both the Alarmist Activists and the Strategic Persuaders hold out a vision of a significant societal transition into the postmodern worldview. And although postmodernism has

grown to approximately 20% of the U.S. population since 1970, it appears to have stabilized at this level.²⁰ While postmodernists continue to recruit young people into their ranks, they are also simultaneously alienating many in the mainstream through their ongoing vilification of modernism. As described by integral philosopher Ken Wilber, postmodernists lack an effective method for persuading the majority to adopt their positions:

Simply asserting that we should all learn a worldcentric ecology, or embrace a global compassion, is a noble but pragmatically less-than-useful project, because worldcentric [values] are the product of development, not exhortation. The 'new paradigm' approaches exhort a goal without elucidating the path to that goal—they are cheerleaders for a cause that has no means of actualization, which perhaps explains the deep frustration among new-paradigm advocates who know they have a better ideal but are disappointed at how little the world responds to their calls.²¹

Postmodernism's lack of a theory or method for producing large-scale cultural evolution is affirmed by environmental policy professors Robert Brulle and Craig Jenkins who argue: "What is needed is a political theory of transition that can define alternatives and address the problem of ecological degradation. Such a theory needs to not only explain how technically we can alter our industrial and energy systems but how to develop the political will to bring about these changes."²²

8. Strategy for Persuading Targeted Demographic Segments and Building Political Will

As first summarized in section 5, above, ICE's action plan to produce cultural evolution around the issue of climate change involves improving the perspective of both the modernist and postmodern worldviews with respect to each other. ICE's strategy to make political progress on the issue of climate change is accordingly divided into a two-pronged approach: i) evolve politically significant segments of postmodern culture by making this demographic segment more sympathetic to the value and necessity of a vibrant and healthy modernism; and then ii) evolve public opinion within modernist culture by publicizing the general softening of postmodern culture's anti-modernist stance.

To understand what ICE means by the term "cultural evolution", one needs to consider deeply the evolution of humanity's shared values, and how worldviews develop over time. Just as human beings develop over their individual lifespan, certain cultures have also developed and matured over time resulting in more inclusive moral perspectives and a more accurate understanding of the world. In other words, over the course of history new forms of culture organize themselves in increasingly sophisticated and complex ways enabling the emergence of new individual and collective capacities. However, it must be noted that cultural evolution is neither inevitable nor simple, and each new level of culture produces its own problems and pathologies, which require the emergence of new and higher capacities in order to address them. For example, our modernist economy has produced extraordinary wealth, remarkable technologies and

unleashed incredible capacities within human civilization for the last two centuries. And yet it has produced more than a few problems and pathologies as well. Climate change is an example of such a problem. ICE seeks to correct the pathology, but to do so without getting rid of the progress.

8.1 Evolve postmodernism

The progressive postmodern worldview can be improved and made more effective at addressing climate change by helping it evolve beyond its current cultural state of staunch antithesis to the modernist worldview. As described above, and as discussed further in ICE's Business Plan, postmodernism originally emerged largely in response to the pathologies of modernism and contemporary postmodernism culture continues to occupy a position of opposition to many of the values and goals of mainstream American society. While many postmodernists will undoubtedly continue to reject the culture of modernism, postmodern political discourse can be improved or otherwise evolved by helping the majority of postmodernists better appreciate how healthy forms of modernism provide an indispensable foundation for postmodern culture as a whole.

The evolutionary perspective can see more clearly than ever before how the major worldview structures that comprise American culture work and achieve their goals. These cultural structures consist of large scale systemic value agreements, and it is literally through their values that they help society to function and thrive.²³ For example, the historical success of modernism in producing a relatively prosperous and educated democratic society that afforded upward mobility and a vibrant middleclass was achieved through its core values of individual initiative and achievement. Similarly, modernism's strong values for the acquisition of status and material goods drive economic development, which supports important non-economic cultural goods such as the arts and sciences, which ultimately depend on a wealthy society for their support.²⁴

Modernism shows no signs of losing its position as the majority worldview within American society.

Despite its ongoing social problems such as economic instability, growing inequality and the shrinking middleclass, modernism shows no signs of losing its position as the majority worldview within American society. And while the modernist values of consumption and wealth accumulation have produced grave problems, such as environmental degradation itself, these same values are what allow modernism to produce the socio-cultural civilization we all depend on. Indeed, throughout the developing world, premodern populations continue to aspire to the freedoms and prosperity afforded by modernist culture.²⁵ The increasingly globalized culture of the modernist worldview will therefore continue to grow throughout this century as premodern populations become increasingly modernist, something we see proceeding in increasing speed in China and India.

Thus, an important step in helping postmodern culture evolve toward a more synthetic and sympathetic view of modernism involves helping postmodernists better appreciate the positive, healthy side of modernist values. For example, both the Alarmist Activists and the Strategic Persuaders generally vilify consumerism, citing it as the cause of both environmental destruction in particular and selfish, extrinsic values in general. Yet

consumerism is vital to the entire structure of modernism, and modernists are unlikely to be convinced that their desire for consumer goods is bad and must be abandoned. As consciousness and culture evolve the value of materialistic consumption does gradually decline, but this does not negate the value of consumption as a centerpiece of the attraction of a modernist lifestyle. Indeed, consumer goods are what premodern populations want, and the acquisition of these goods does satisfy many of their needs, at least until they (or their children) significantly raise their standard of living and evolve beyond the modernist worldview.

By becoming more sympathetic to the ongoing necessity of modernism and its core values within our civilization, postmodernists may come to better appreciate the upside of consumerism. And rather than condemning it completely, they can adopt a more nuanced position that can distinguish between unsustainable and destructive forms of consumption, and forms of consumption and wealth accumulation that can safely satisfy the material aspirations of the world's premodern populations as they move into modernism. In other words, postmodern culture can become more effective at addressing the problems it identifies by making common cause with modernism, even as it works to reduce modernist pathologies.

Since its inception in the 1960s, many modernists have become increasingly suspicious of the environmental movement. And from an evolutionary perspective they have good reason to be suspicious because given the chance, many postmodern environmental activists would severely constrain or even destroy modernism's core economic and social structures. As political activist Naomi Klein has essentially said, environmentalists should be more honest about their real goal, which should be the destruction of the capitalist system.²⁶ This candid position reveals how the environmental movement has become a refuge for frustrated Marxists and anarchists, many of whom seek to use concern for environmental degradation and global warming as a tool to achieve their larger goal of vanquishing the spread of the globalized modernist, capitalist economy. An important evolutionary goal for postmodernism should thus involve actively diminishing the power of the failed ideologies of Marxism and anarchism within its accepted cultural discourse, because these elements are ultimately working against the urgent and laudable goal of achieving an environmentally sustainable global civilization.

Demonstrating the characteristics of an evolved postmodern perspective that better appreciates the achievements of modernism is a subtle but important cultural task. The worldviews of both modernism and postmodernism exert a strong gravitational influence on practically all forms of political and cultural discourse, which usually pulls activists into the orbit of one or the other, even as they are trying to articulate a synthetic position. This can be seen with the Carbon Realists, who can sometimes come off as corporate apologists or technological utopians.²⁷ But this kind of covert partisanship can also be seen on the postmodern side in the work of the Strategic Persuaders, who subtly vilify consumerism and individualistic values. It takes a thoroughly evolutionary perspective to effectively step outside and objectify the values

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of these polarized worldviews and articulate a fresh and compelling understanding of the evolving cultural context. And it is just this kind of fresh perspective that ICE will bring to the debate as it works to "change the political climate" on climate change.

Although ICE's strategy for producing cultural evolution on climate change involves the two-pronged approach described in this section, its primary strategic focus involves influencing postmodernism to become less anti-modernist. This can be accomplished gradually and incrementally through the articulation of ICE's campaign messages and through the increasing visibility of the evolutionary perspective itself. By evolving beyond its initial stance of antithesis toward a position of synthetic acceptance of modernism, postmodern culture will become far more effective at inculcating environmental values into mainstream American society. They will produce fewer antibodies to their important message. Plans to respond the challenge of climate change will contain less material and messaging objectionable to modernists and therefore incur less backlash. The science of climate change will encounter less resistance. And the political will necessary to take effective action on climate change will follow.

The two principle campaign messages targeted to postmodernists in section 9, below, distill ICE's evolutionary rhetoric toward this end and provide strategic guidance for the various forms of media and communications that will comprise ICE's media tactics for achieving its evolutionary goals. These tactics are described in section 11, below.

8.2 Evolve modernism

Each identified policy camp within the environmental movement is trying to persuade the larger mainstream society to take meaningful action on climate change. So although their approaches differ, each camp is already working to "evolve modernism." However, as the national opinion polls make clear, concern about global warming has been declining overall. Thus, none of these camps can claim that its approach is working. And this lack of success naturally frames the question: why is there insufficient political and economic demand for action on climate change?

Why is there
insufficient
political and
economic demand
for action on
climate change?

In answer to this question the Activist Alarmists blame the pernicious influence of corporate interests, which spend large amounts to fund anti-environmental think tanks to question the science and lobby the government to protect their industries from environmental regulation. Alternatively, the Carbon Realists claim that the lack of mainstream demand for action stems from the short term economic concerns of ordinary individuals who are worried that action on climate change will hurt the economy. The Carbon Realists accordingly contend that the only actions feasible are those that focus on developing new technologies and that create new economic opportunities for Americans. In contrast, the Strategic Persuaders blame the lack of resolve on the environmental movement's negative framing of the issue. They call for a reframing of the problem in terms designed to diminish selfish values and to increase the ability and willingness of the populace to respond to "bigger-than-self" problems like climate change.

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ICE acknowledges that all of these factors have had an impact on the environmental movement's lack of success in persuading the modernist mainstream to evolve toward a greater concern for the problem of climate change. However, none of these explanations go to the heart of the problem. Again, ICE contends that the most significant underlying cultural issue that has been preventing the formation of adequate political and economic demand for action is that concern for the environment is primarily associated with the postmodern worldview—it cannot be separated from its postmodern origins. Indeed, deep concern for the welfare of the environment is a major evolutionary achievement of the postmodern worldview—***environmentalism is postmodern and all attempts to make concern for the environment appealing to other worldviews, no matter how rational combating climate change may be, must inevitably involve making postmodernism itself more appealing and less threatening.*** In other words, environmental values will always have a "postmodern flavor" just like rationality, reason and science will always have a "modernist flavor". Therefore, greater cultural acceptance of environmentalism overall ultimately depends on greater mainstream acceptance of postmodern culture as a whole.

Although the postmodern demographic accounts for only about 20% of the U.S. population,²⁸ contrary to the position of the Carbon Realists, it cannot be effectively dispensed with or otherwise discredited because it is the origin and ongoing source of environmental values. Without healthy forms of postmodern consciousness and culture, concern for climate change would be largely instrumental—the value of a healthy environment would remain subordinate to the value of a healthy economy. Unlike previous worldviews, postmodernism values nature for its own sake. And as long as postmodern values remain unintegrated into mainstream culture (or ridiculed and dismissed by mainstream culture), Americans will lack the depth of commitment necessary for our society to evolve over time toward a sustainable energy economy.

Yet as previously explained, postmodern culture currently rejects modernism and does not appropriately value the achievements of modernism nor the essential values of growth and progress which are foundational to the modernist worldview. And until postmodernism itself can mature by rejecting modernism less and appreciating it more, the culture of postmodernism, including its environmental agenda, will continue to threaten too much of mainstream culture and thus constitute a barrier to political action. This understanding of the cultural issues impacting the problem of climate change leads to the conclusion that effectively evolving mainstream modernist public opinion toward greater concern for global warming first requires evolving postmodern culture as a prerequisite.

This conclusion is supported by an analysis of the modernist demographic. As shown in *figure 1*, and as first described in section 5, the American body politic can no longer be accurately conceived as simply "left and right." The electorate now consists of a wider variety of distinct political positions, which can be grouped as follows: traditionalists, conservative and libertarian modernists (primarily Republican), centrist

Greater cultural acceptance of environmentalism overall ultimately depends on greater mainstream acceptance of postmodern culture as a whole.

independents, liberal modernists, and postmodernists. Analyzing these diverse groups in terms of their current position on climate change action indicates that most traditionalists and conservative modernists are currently hardened against climate change action; they either deny the problem or give it a very low priority. Conversely, practically all postmodernists are very concerned about climate change and are in favor of a wide variety of actions designed to combat it.²⁹ Thus, in the short term, trying to persuade the traditionalists and conservative modernists will be futile, and persuading postmodernists is unnecessary. According to this analysis, the demographic segments that can be, and thus must be, persuaded to take action on climate change are liberal modernists and centrist, independent modernists.

An Evolutionary Analysis of the American Political Spectrum

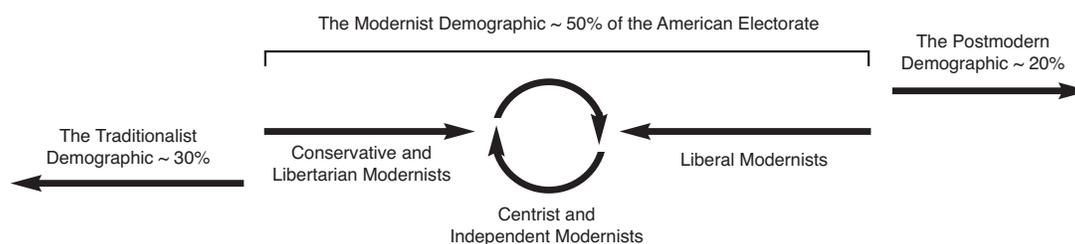


Figure 1.

Narrowing our focus to these two demographic groups (liberals and centrists), we can see that most already agree with the science. They have not been fooled by attempted refutations of climate science or by those who otherwise deny the problem; these demographic segments can see that global warming is real. Further, these two groups are generally aware of the challenge of peak oil and the economic and political problems created by America's reliance on fossil fuels.³⁰ Thus, apart from climate change itself, these liberal and centrist segments can recognize other compelling economic and political reasons to invest in the move to sustainable energy. And finally, liberal modernists and a significant number of independents have supported past government efforts to address "bigger-than-self problems,"³¹ So endemic political selfishness cannot be blamed for the reluctance of these two groups to act on the problem. Moreover, liberal modernist opinion leaders like New York Times columnist Thomas Freidman have been arguing for years that "green should be the new red, white and blue" and that concern for the environment is an important mainstream issue that everyone should care about.³²

Therefore, with respect to these two segments of the electorate—liberal and centrist modernists—existing explanations for the lack of political will advanced by the environmental movement's various camps (described above) do not provide a complete or satisfactory account for why these segments remain largely unwilling to support significant action on climate change. Despite all the good reasons, there is still widespread apathy and even resistance within these modernist segments.

This analysis leads to ICE's above-stated conclusion that in addition to the reasons identified by environmentalists, there is another important factor that is preventing mainstream modernists from supporting action: the underlying cultural conflict that exists between modernism and postmodernism. This underlying cultural issue has not been

properly understood or adequately addressed, either strategically or tactically.

ICE's strategy for evolving center and center-left modernism thus involves removing the barriers that are currently preventing these modernist segments from being otherwise persuaded by the many good reasons to support action that have already been well-publicized by environmental activists on all sides. Removing this cultural barrier to progress therefore entails the following:

A) Evolve postmodern culture by employing the strategy described here, which will utilize the messages and tactics described in sections 9 through 11 that are designed to communicate ICE's principle campaign messages and persuade postmodernists that modernism itself is not the enemy.

B) Once progress has been achieved toward the preliminary goal of measurable evolution within postmodern culture, ICE will then communicate its second set of principle campaign messages, which are tailored to modernism, in an effort to help modernists perceive postmodern culture in general, and environmentalism in particular, as less threatening. This aspect of the campaign involves publicizing and praising the new "modernist-friendly" face of postmodernism and environmentalism so as to reduce resistance among modernists. Once the larger cultural conflict and corresponding distrust on both sides has been lessened, campaigns to address climate change led by other environmental groups will likely become more effective at producing political and economic action on the problem.

C) Demonstrate to both modernists and postmodernists the political contours of a "synthetic position"—a new political stance that transcends the conflict and thus offers a way forward toward a sustainable global civilization that can accommodate ongoing cultural evolution. Informed by relatively new insights into the dynamics of cultural evolution and the conflict between worldviews, our campaign strategy involves more than just trying to change what people think, it also involves expanding what they value, because "people's values influence their thinking more than their thinking influences their values."

* * *

Concluding this section 8, it is important to emphasize that ICE's strategy for making progress on the problem of climate change does not involve the explicit promotion of any particular philosophy or the evolutionary perspective. ICE is not trying to "sell its ideology." Rather, ICE's strategy involves using the power of the emerging evolutionary perspective to help both modernism and postmodernism move forward in progressive directions that are already consistent with the healthy values of these established forms of culture.

Further, in its efforts to move American culture toward a more evolved form of synthetic agreement ICE will not attempt to be "neutral"; it will "take sides" alternatively with both

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modernism and postmodernism as it works to promote the positive, and critique the negative, aspects of both of these worldviews.

Within the developed world, both modernism and postmodernism have become relatively permanent value systems that now exist within the larger "internal cultural ecosystem" of evolving human history. And cultural movement into both of these worldviews will be continuing throughout this century and beyond.³³ It is thus a mistake to think or hope that one of these worldviews will effectively vanquish the other. This is why ICE's essential strategy is to make both of these worldviews more effective and less destructive on their own terms.

9. Principle Strategic Messages for the Two Targeted Demographic Groups

9.1 Campaign messages to the progressive postmodern demographic (unpacked and culturally translated in the talking points in section 10, below):

A) Modernism and its increasingly globalized economy has produced both tremendous blessings and horrific disasters. And while these disasters must now be dealt with, the culture and economy of modernism remains a positive and precious human achievement and an ongoing and necessary foundation for practically all vital forms of the superseding progressive culture. Thus, even as progressive culture attempts to transcend and evolve beyond modernism, if it is to achieve its goals for environmental protection, progressive culture must better understand, respect, and even embrace the positive and foundational role that modernist culture plays in the larger evolving structure of human civilization. In short, anti-modernism is counterproductive.

B) Mainstream modernist apathy and opposition toward the problem of climate change is exacerbated by anti-modernist opinions and rhetoric within postmodern culture. Because concern for the environment arises with the emergence of the larger system of postmodern values, environmentalism cannot be completely separated or distinguished from the postmodern worldview in general. In order to overcome declining support to combat climate change postmodernists must recognize how their goals for environmental protection are being undermined from within their own culture. Postmodernists would thus do well to work to diminish the credibility and cultural authority of these anti-modernist perspectives within their ranks. In short, postmodern culture must itself evolve to be more inclusive and effective.

In short, anti-modernism is counter-productive.

9.2 Campaign messages to the mainstream modernist demographic (unpacked and culturally translated in the talking points in section 10, below):

A) Environmental activists sometimes seem to be determined to sacrifice

economic vitality and personal choices in the name of the environment. However, political action aimed at protecting the environment and addressing climate change need not damage the economy or curtail individual freedom, which are so critical to our uniquely American character. This apparent conflict stems from the cultural origins of the contemporary environmental movement, which arose in the second half of the 20th century partially as a result of the abundance and innovation created by the American economy. Because the ideology of progressive environmentalism has only recently emerged in our culture, it tends toward an immaturity or brashness in its positions. Thus, recognizing the evolutionary immaturities of progressive culture in general, and of environmentalism in particular, can help us understand and forgive some of the environmental movement's stridency and lack of respect for the achievements of mainstream modernism.

The challenge of climate change can actually be an important stimulus for the next great phase of global economic development.

B) The challenge of climate change can actually be an important stimulus for the next great phase of global economic development. A successful transition to a new energy economy will enable America to maintain its position as a global leader in innovation and in economic might. Recently, many leading environmental activists have come to better respect business and work in partnership with economic interests. Indeed, the environmental movement is evolving beyond its countercultural origins and beginning to appreciate the long-term evolutionary significance of our industrial civilization, as well as the counterproductive and potentially destructive results of attempting to elevate the value of environmental protection above all other values.

10. Campaign Talking Points

The preliminary talking points below have been crafted using the communication strategy outlined in *The Sizzle Report* developed by the environmental marketing firm, Futerra communications.³⁴ These talking points, together with the strategic campaign messages expressed in section 9 above, will be further developed and refined during the process of producing the communications vehicles outlined in ICE's media tactics, described in section 11.

10.1 The primary mission of ICE is to help our society evolve. We want a global civilization we can be proud of; a civilization that can connect everyone and give everyone an opportunity to share in the world's growing wealth and creativity; a civilization whose economy is based on the foundation of clean and renewable energy; and a sustainable civilization wherein hunger, poverty, and environmental degradation are increasingly diminished.

10.2 We imagine a future economy of cheap, clean energy for everyone. The next major step toward the evolution of a wealthy and sustainable global civilization involves a shift to an energy economy that is not dependent on fossil fuels, and the world of increasing abundance this will make possible. This transition can be

accomplished through a variety of approaches. We are not advocates of a single approach; rather, we are working to produce the prerequisite political will and economic demand that is necessary for the development and implementation of practically all new solutions.

10.3 Globalization is demanding a radical new energy model. Whether we like it or not, increasing globalization is a major theme of the 21st century. And as the populations of China, India, and Brazil become modernized, they will adopt the consumption habits and middleclass lifestyle that we enjoy in the developed world. However, under the current economic/energy model this will result in catastrophic resource depletion. People in the developing world want what we have and we cannot stop them from pursuing modernization. Given this situation, it is our responsibility to evolve ourselves—to evolve here in America and in the rest of the developed world—so as to lead the way into a new economic/energy model that can be sustainably used by us, and exported to developing countries.

10.4 If we cannot evolve beyond fossil fuels as our primary source of energy, the developed world's relatively prosperous economy cannot be sustained, nor can it be adopted by the rest of the world. **In addition to global warming and climate change, the realities of peak oil, overpopulation, loss of biodiversity, and water shortages require our global economy to evolve toward a sustainable energy base.** The alternative is the gradual disintegration of modernist civilization together with the inevitable cultural regression that would follow. And given the 21st century's population bubble, the failure of modernism during this century would be a significant disaster with far-reaching consequences for our global civilization.

10.5 At ICE **we seek to facilitate the natural tendency for people to evolve on every front of development.** First and foremost, we seek to help people find healthy and sustainable expressions of their respective worldviews, allowing each to better work together with the others in our increasingly small global commons. Additionally, we want to facilitate the natural process of cultural evolution by helping the developing world to become more modern, the developed world to become more postmodern, and finally by helping those who are already postmodern to become aware of more complex and integrated perspectives in their outlook. And just as important, we want to protect people's rights to be who they are, we want to preserve the option to resist evolution and retain traditional forms of culture, provided such cultural practices do not diminish life for the rest of us.

10.6 Our plan for cultural evolution begins at home. Much of the American public's resistance to embracing political and economic programs designed to reduce environmental degradation in general, and climate change in particular, stems from an historical opposition that exists between the two major cultural demographic segments identified by ICE as "modernism" and "postmodernism." Naturally antagonistic to each other, these worldviews produce tensions that result in conscious and unconscious opposition on both sides. Reducing this opposition requires a change in values and in the perception of the values held by those in the other "camp," if you will. This is the focus of cultural evolution: the transformation and integration of competing perspectives within the U.S. body politic. Our plan to produce cultural evolution around the issue of climate change thus involves improving the perspective of each worldview with respect

to the other—bringing them closer together by moving them both forward in history.

10.7 Postmodernism must become less anti-modernist. Our new understanding of cultural evolution reveals how mainstream modernist apathy and opposition to the problem of climate change is exacerbated by anti-modernist opinions and rhetoric within progressive postmodern culture. Our culture's emerging concern for the environment is a significant evolutionary achievement. But in order to overcome declining support to combat climate change postmodernists must recognize how their goals for environmental protection are being undermined from within their own culture. Anti-modernism is counterproductive and postmodernists would thus do well to work to diminish the credibility and cultural authority of these anti-modernist perspectives within their ranks. In short, postmodern culture must itself evolve toward a more inclusive understanding of cultural evolution.

10.8 What's wrong is not simple, and neither are our proposed solutions. So we invite our audience to learn more by visiting our website, watching our videos, and reading our proposals. While the transition to a sustainable energy future is an ongoing project that will likely take decades, what we do in the next five years will be critical to our long-term success. For those who wish to work with us, our website outlines a five year plan that describes and facilitates a variety of actions that individuals and organizations can take that will make a difference. Visitors to our website and social media outlets will find help with spreading the word about these issues on the internet through social media and the blogosphere, help with contacting State and Federal representatives with targeted messages, and information about how each person can participate in this emerging social movement for cultural evolution.

10.9 This movement for cultural evolution is what many of us have been waiting for. **This is a new perspective that can help us live up to the challenges of our age.** And this new perspective results in a new kind of solidarity, indeed a new kind of global patriotism that transcends our limitations while including the best of what has come before. It feels good to be on the right side of history, and participating in this emerging movement is not only noble, it's also inspiring! Our website includes potential dates for our "celebrate evolution" events that are being held in major U.S. cities. These events will include speakers, workshops, music and art, and an epic party.

11. Communication and Media Tactics Designed to Accomplish Campaign Goals

ICE's tactics for its Climate Campaign Plan are a subset of its overall tactics for visibility and influence, which are designed to gain recognition and credibility within both mainstream modernist and progressive postmodern media channels, as well as within progressive segments of academia and the NGO community. As outlined and budgeted in ICE's attached Business Plan, this overall strategy first involves using ICE's philanthropic funding to engage public relations professionals to publicize the fact of: i) ICE's organizational launch and cultural mission; ii) its support by major philanthropies; and iii) its plans to influence public opinion on climate change and other major issues. Once ICE's initial launch is publicized, this will be quickly followed by a targeted PR

campaign designed to strategically place ICE's climate change "communication vehicles," garner high visibility for its campaign messages, and drive traffic to its website and other on-line locations where its messages are communicated.

ICE's tactics for influencing public opinion and building political will to combat climate change will be guided by the strategy, talking points, and principle messages outlined above in this Climate Campaign Plan. Although the "brand positioning" of ICE will be as a traditional policy institute that the media can understand, in practice it will pursue not only scholarship and policy research, it will also employ journalism, use marketing tactics, and conduct grass roots organizing. Once substantial funding has been secured, ICE will roll out its campaign in a sequential series of six month segments designed to incorporate learning and allow for a trial and error approach. *Figure 2* illustrates the time line for the implementation of ICE's communication tactics and includes provision for careful measurement and analysis after each sixth month segment of the campaign.

Tactics Timeline for Each Six-Month Segment of the Campaign

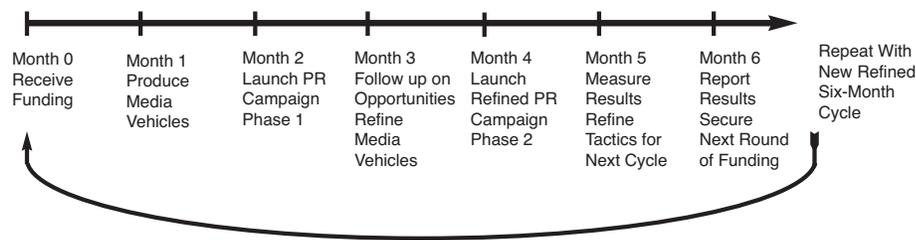


Figure 2.

Following the strategy of influencing its two targeted demographic segments, ICE's tactics are divided into distinct communication packages targeting both postmodernism and modernism respectively.

11.1 Communication tactics for postmodern culture

Unlike the modernist mainstream, who can be reached through conventional media channels, postmodernists rely far more on word-of-mouth and online social networks within their worldview's "grapevine." Gaining visibility in this demographic segment thus heavily depends on relationships and reputational credibility. But once an idea or cultural message becomes fashionable or otherwise recognized within this demographic, it is often repeated and spread by postmodern luminaries on their blogs, through Facebook/social media, in interviews, and at conferences. Toward this end, ICE's association with EnlightenNext will be highly useful in gaining visibility for its messages within postmodern culture. After two decades of award winning journalism and influential activism within the postmodern demographic, ICE Partners Carter Phipps, and Elizabeth Debold are very well connected with many postmodern spiritual luminaries and can expect to garner significant attention for ICE's campaign.

ICE will also be communicating with postmodern culture in general, and postmodern environmentalists in particular, through their established media channels, including: magazine, newsletter, and journal articles, blogs such as the Huffington Post and others, principal interviews and podcasts, and on its website. Further, ICE will produce short video segments designed for "viral distribution" on YouTube and across the internet.

ICE will also use social media such as Facebook and Twitter. All of these media tactics will be amplified by the work of third-party public relations professionals who will be engaged by ICE to "get the word out" about these communication vehicles.

In addition to these conventional methods of communication and publicity, ICE will also employ internet business marketing tactics, such as using Google ad words and Facebook ads to "drive traffic" to its communication vehicles. ICE will also experiment with controversy-stimulating activism, such as a webpage that identifies "well-meaning underminers" whose anti-modernist extremism is working against the goals of the environmental movement.

Moreover, ICE's campaign will include a grass roots organizing and membership component designed to build community and recruit volunteer activists to assist the cause. This aspect of the campaign will begin with mini-conferences billed as "Celebrate Evolution" events in cities with large postmodern populations. These events will partner with local organizations friendly to ICE's mission and will include speakers and workshops, art and music, and a party. In addition to these live events, ICE's website will include pages for "evolutionary activists" where those who support ICE's campaign can take actions such as sending a prewritten email to targeted political leaders, signing a petition, filling out a survey, recommending ICE to Facebook friends, and similar online actions. A recent report by the National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy has cited the lack of effective grass roots organizing as a contributing cause of the environmental movement's lack of success.³⁵ ICE will thus make sure that broad based public participation in its mission remains a key component of its overall strategy and tactics for cultural evolution

As ICE's climate change campaign gains experience and refines its strategy and message, it will produce a longer documentary video with high production values designed to air on public television and gain viewers through YouTube and other internet locations.

11.2 Communication tactics for the modernist mainstream

Although ICE's postmodern communication tactics will inevitably gain a certain amount of visibility within mainstream media channels, ICE's tactics will also include a distinct component targeted for mainstream media. This will include a variety of 800 word op-ed articles targeting newspapers, longer articles written for mainstream political magazines, and TED-style presentations designed to be presented at conferences and other live venues.

The modernist component of ICE's campaign will be initiated after the completion of two six-month campaign cycles targeting the postmodern segment, or otherwise in the second year of the campaign. This two-step approach is in keeping with ICE's strategy of first achieving measurable results toward its goal of reducing anti-modernist sentiments within postmodern culture. Armed with the measurable results of its first two campaign cycles, ICE will then communicate this shift in attitudes among

ICE's tactics are divided into distinct communication packages targeting both postmodernism and modernism respectively.

postmodern environmentalists to the larger modernist demographic in an effort to help the environmental movement appear less threatening to the mainstream economy and culture.

Because climate change is "a condition to be managed more than a problem to be solved,"³⁶ ICE's campaign for action on climate change will continue indefinitely. The campaign's goals and messages will evolve along with public opinion and the culture at large, continuing to target the "pressure points" where the evolutionary perspective can make a difference and where incremental cultural evolution can be achieved.

Although ICE will eventually undertake other campaigns designed to produce cultural evolution on other fronts of development beyond environmentalism, it plans to continue with this signature campaign as long as it has the resources to do so.

ICE will help the environmental movement appear less threatening to the mainstream economy and culture.

12. Countering Objections

Objection 1: Attempting to change people's values is social engineering, and people will resent it and resist it.

Answer: In some sense, every form of social or political activism is an attempt to change people's values. ICE is not manipulating people into any ideology, it is simply helping them move forward in the directions they already value, to find more powerful ways to build common ground with individuals across the political spectrum. Ultimately, the emerging evolutionary perspective represents an important new perspective on how human consciousness and culture develop, and while some will reject it, others will appreciate and embrace it, especially once ICE demonstrates how these new insights can bring greater clarity, and better solutions, to many of the major problems of our age.

Objection 2: Why wouldn't the goals of this Climate Campaign be better accomplished by academics specializing in sociology or behavioral psychology, or even by credentialed environmental scientists?

Answer: ICE is not holding out its proposed contribution to the challenge of overcoming political apathy toward climate change as the only, or even the primary solution to the problem. The effective amelioration of climate change will necessarily involve many different kinds of organizations working simultaneously on multiple fronts. Nevertheless, ICE's distinguishing strategic strength, which differentiates its proposed contribution from the work of other like-minded groups, is found in ICE's unique understanding of the postmodern worldview in general, and the environmental movement in particular. That is, even the most casual analysis of the situation shows how many (if not most) environmental activists are embedded within the postmodern worldview. And again, this worldview is the primary source of environmental values and so it cannot be dismissed or erased from consideration.

Recognizing these cultural realities, ICE brings a unique competency to see the



postmodern value system both objectively and critically from the outside, as well as sympathetically from the inside, which gives ICE the ability to help improve and evolve postmodernism. This power to help a politically significant portion of postmodern culture develop beyond the immaturities of its countercultural origins will in turn help the central component of the environmental movement to become less threatening to the mainstream and thus more effective in building political will to combat global warming. Accordingly, ICE's aim is to employ its unique competency in the understanding of cultural evolution to work directly to influence public opinion as outlined in this Campaign Plan, and to also work indirectly with like-minded organizations to help these organizations become more effective in navigating the often perplexing cultural components of this "wicked problem."

Objection 3: These theories of cultural evolution are not properly peer reviewed or otherwise supported by academia or science.

Answer: Integral philosophy has been gradually gaining academic favor, but it is still emerging as a new field of knowledge. Moreover, its "transdisciplinary" character adds to the challenge of finding acceptance within the highly specialized contemporary culture of academia. It will thus take time for these ideas to become more broadly explored in the academic realm, and ICE will support and even participate in further academic research to explore and test the application of Integral philosophy in the course of its work. However, we feel the opportunity presented by these new insights to positively impact the political realm is simply too important and urgent to wait for the decades long process of gaining mainstream academic acceptance. At the same time, our work at ICE will continue to examine the latest academic thinking and research. Indeed, we will endeavor to keep abreast of all applicable academic work, and strive for academic standards of rigor and documentation. Further, it should be noted that much of integral philosophy's understanding of the evolution of consciousness and culture is based on the peer reviewed discoveries of developmental psychology, which have also been used as a foundation for other related forms of social philosophy, such as the widely respected views of German Philosopher Jürgen Habermas. Yet it is also important to emphasize that although integral philosophy makes explicit use of social science research, it is not a social science itself and thus does not rise or fall on research. Indeed, it resists the attempt to reduce all valid knowledge to only what "science" can prove.

Objection 4: Cultural evolution is a massive undertaking and a long-term historical process. ICE's evolutionary goals are thus unrealistic given its limited resources and lack of recognition by the established society. Further, climate change is at a tipping point, we do not have time for a long term, evolutionary approach.

Answer: The evolutionary emergence of modernism is what has produced the challenge of environmental degradation and climate change, and these problems can only be effectively ameliorated through further cultural evolution. In fact, there are many examples from history wherein small groups have made big differences. Further, the pace of cultural change depends

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on the urgency of problematic life conditions; as the effects of climate change become more acute and concern about the problem grows, the move toward meaningful solutions will accelerate. Given our analysis, there are real opportunities to have a small but significant and lasting impact on how Climate Change is represented and understood by important demographics. That can in turn speed up whatever natural societal processes emerge to address these issues. Thus, the evolutionary approach to the challenge is an approach worth trying, and an approach worth investing in.

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Endnotes

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3. The terms "modernism" and "postmodernism" describe large scale cultural value structures that have been documented in numerous studies. See, e.g. Robert Inglehart, ed. *Human Values and Social Change* (New York: Brill 2003); Paul Ray and Sherry Anderson. *The Cultural Creatives, How 50 Million People are Changing the World* (New York: Harmony Books 2000); Clare W. Graves, "Levels of Existence: An Open System Theory of Values," *Journal of Humanistic Psychology* (November 1970); Jenny Wade. *Changes of Mind: A Holonomic Theory of the Evolution of Consciousness* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press 1996); and Jeremy Rifkin. *The Empathic Civilization* (New York: Tarcher Putnam 2009). See also the discussion of these cultural structures in ICE's Premises and Principles of the Evolutionary Worldview paper.

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6. The Pew Poll results are sourced from: <http://www.pollingreport.com/enviro.htm>. The Harris Poll results were reported in the November 2011 issue of *The Nation Magazine*, which also quoted Scott Keeter, director of survey research at the Pew Research Center for People and the Press, who confirmed that this is "among the largest shifts over a short period of time seen in recent public opinion history." See also, Mark Dowie, *Losing Ground: American Environmentalism at the Close of the Twentieth Century* (The MIT Press, 1997).

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14. See World Wildlife Fund-UK: The Common Cause Report, The Case for Working With Our Values (September 2010). http://assets.wwf.org.uk/downloads/common_cause_report.pdf
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18. See The Common Cause Report, pp. 27-39. See also, Think of Me as Evil? Opening the Ethical Debates in Advertising, also sponsored by World Wildlife Fund-UK and written by Tom Crompton, author of The Common Cause Report. <http://www.pirc.info/projects/advertising/>
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20. For a discussion of the indicators that the postmodern demographic is growing at a decreasing rate compared to its boom in the 1990s, see ICE's Premises and Principles of the Evolutionary Worldview paper, pp. 6-13.
21. Wilber, Excerpt D, Part IV, part 2 of The Kosmos Trilogy, published on: <http://wilber.shambhala.com>
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26. Naomi Klein, "Capitalism vs. The Climate" in The Nation Magazine (November 2011) <http://www.thenation.com/article/164497/capitalism-vs-climate>
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28. See Robert Inglehart, ed. *Human Values and Social Change* (New York: Brill 2003); Paul Ray and Sherry Anderson. *The Cultural Creatives, How 50 Million People are Changing the World* (New York: Harmony Books 2000).
29. See the definition and discussion of the postmodern worldview in ICE's Premises and Principles of the Evolutionary Worldview paper, pp. 9-13.
30. Almost all modernist liberals are democrats, and climate science is well recognized among Democrats. Centrists are harder to pin down. But according to The Nation Magazine, "Today, 70–75 percent of self-identified Democrats and liberals believe humans are changing the climate—a level that has remained stable or risen slightly over the past

decade." (November 2011). <http://www.thenation.com/article/164497/capitalism-vs-climate>

31. For example, increases in government entitlements have been generally favored by Democrats since Franklin Roosevelt's depression era New Deal legislation.

32. See, e.g. Thomas Freidman's article: The Power of Green.
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35. See http://www.ncrp.org/files/publications/Cultivating_the_grassroots_final_lowres.pdf; and
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