

# **The New Political Compass**

*The New Progressives are In-Front, Deep Green,  
Against Big Business and Globalization, and Beyond Left vs. Right*

**By Paul H. Ray, Ph.D.**

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# The New Political Compass

## Executive Summary

**By Paul H. Ray, Ph.D.**

This longish paper shows a new way to picture political constituencies, as a political compass, with four directions, instead of our usual bankrupt left-right description. The new imagery says: east vs west, north vs south, and would allow us to describe any departure from where we now are as being at an angle, say northwest. This image of a compass heading points the way to helpful redefinitions of who constituencies are, and what they stand for, and offers the possibility of a new democratic politics. It also has the symbolic value of pointing out that a compass is orienting us to what we need to see, rather than just labelling someone as right or left.

We are entering into a time of transformation, i.e., changing shape and function, of many of our institutions. Our political institutions are very much in need of repair or replacement, and this paper shows how to look at the emerging culture of our time as a support for positive change. Indeed, it says that political culture, which is the substrate politics rests on, has already been changing for some decades now, and at this point in history, leads to new kinds of political demand. Today's politics is dismal in part because of its rigidity, its corruption, and its inability to supply what people want. We are looking at the political equivalent of what would be called market failure in economics and business: the breakdown of supply and demand. Our democracy is at great risk of turning into a plutocracy: rule by and for the benefit of the rich.

In partisan political terms, we are looking at a slow decline of both left and right, and of both political parties. The term "center" doesn't communicate anything, and my research suggests it is a fiction. Social conservatism is slowly declining as its underlying culture slowly dies off: In the last fifty years, Traditionals have shrunk from about half the population to under a quarter. We are also looking at the demise of the left, since only about twelve to fifteen percent of the people identify with it any more. Big business is distrusted by over 70 percent of Americans and they can get only 14 to 19 percent of the voters, so they depend on money power to keep control. Politicians are rated down there with used car salesmen as an occupation. Voting is still at an all time low.

Figure 2 at the end of this Executive Summary is based on survey data, and shows the casual reader the main idea. A new political constituency is emerging, whom I call the New Progressives, and the easiest way to describe them is that they are at right angles to Liberal left and Social Conservative right, and they are directly opposed to Big Business Conservatism. That means that politics really has two dimensions, but we have not recognized it yet.

There really is no center for timorous politicians to run to: all that is in this center are the politically alienated and ignorant who don't vote. The second dimension pits globalization and big business interests against ecological sustainability, women's issues, consciousness issues, national health care, national education, and an emerging concern for the planet and the future of our children and grandchildren on it.

On the four points of the compass, this new group is definitely not "the center" or mushy middle of Clinton lore. And they are also the biggest of the four constituencies at 36 percent of population and 45 percent of likely voters. I describe the new constituency as New Progressives, because they reflect the concerns of all the new social movements and consciousness movements that have emerged over the last 40 years. Most of their issues are claimed by the Left, and sworn at by the Right, but they don't identify with either left or right. They are no more similar to liberal left or religious right than business conservatives are. And they also reflect the wave of values change that has been slowly moving through American life for the same time period, which gave rise to the subculture whom I call Cultural Creatives. Some 55 percent look like a relaxed definition of who are Cultural Creatives.

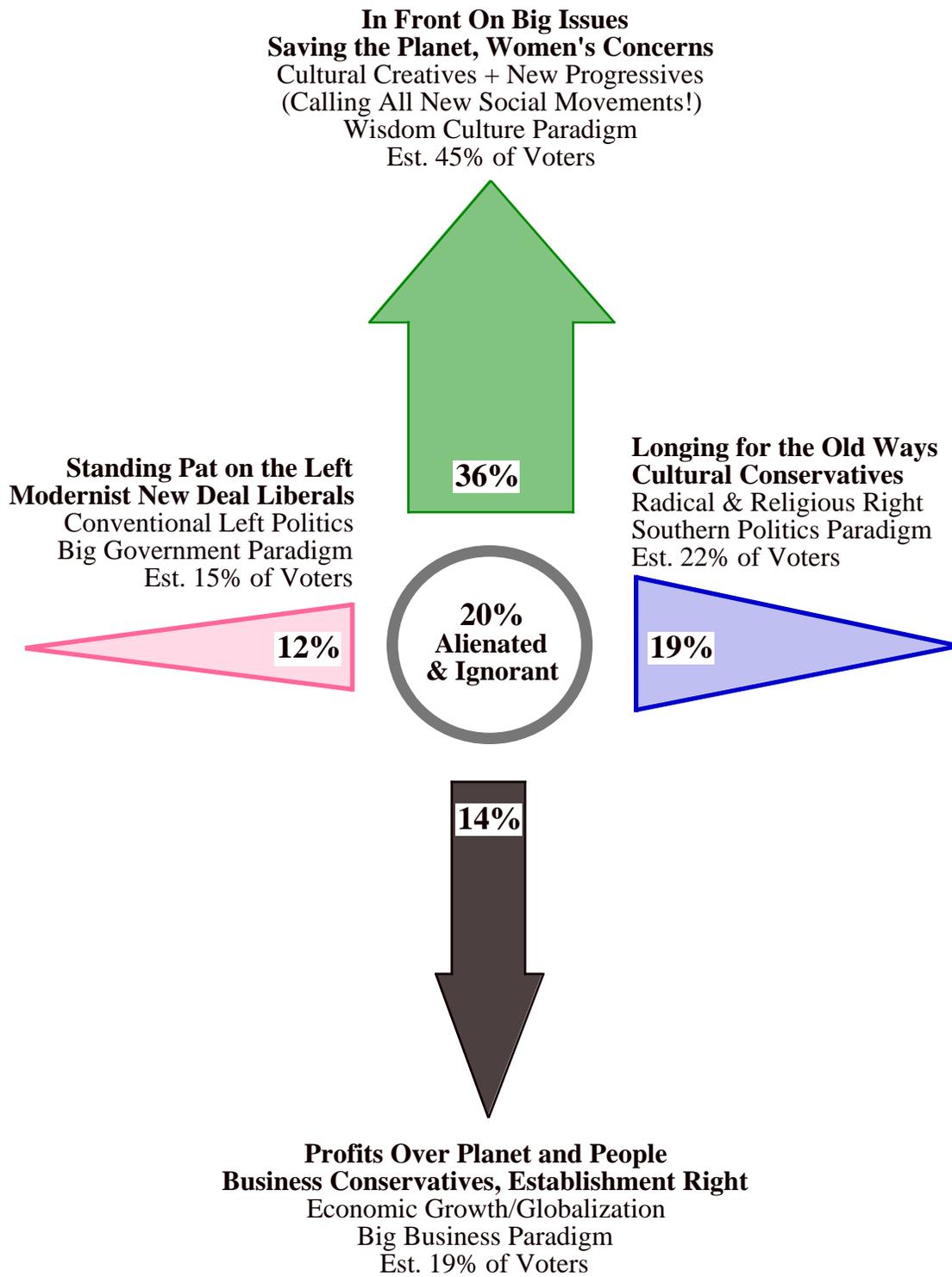
The New Progressives are more likely to be volunteers and give money to good causes, and are more likely to have been in multiple social movement constituencies, and care more about changing the culture, than the rest of society. They are at the intersection of all the movement constituencies, and the marginal cost of mobilizing them should be small. If they are mobilized under a single banner, as a big political tent that contains the movements, they may wind up replacing one of the political parties and dominating American politics for the next generation or more. This paper gives several pages of questionnaire responses by New Progressives to show what they look like on values, attitudes, opinions and issues. What is evident is people want politicians to start dealing with the real emerging problems that threaten our children's future.

The paper describes all four sides of the compass, and then shows how this has emerged from cultural change, answering the question ‘What happened to the Left?’ in detail. In brief, the answer is that the leaders of the left have not kept up with the changes in political culture upon which all of our political institutions and political activity depend. And because those changes grow out of all the new social movements of the last 40 years, the corporate media are very careful not to cover them, or interpret them accurately. They’re mostly bad for business as usual, and it is those movements which also set in motion the Cultural Creatives, who are creating the emerging culture of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

I also show the six underlying dimensions of the wave of cultural change that produced this change, and how the data resembles a wave of change. Imagine politics-as-usual as a tightly knit ball of ongoing conflict that is supported by the cupped hands of the political culture. Without the continual support those webs of agreements, norms, values, social interpretations, worldviews and daily practices, no institution can survive. What happens next if the culture moves on, and the politicians and institutions are so preoccupied with power and locked in their conflicts that they rigidly refuse to change? Probably that they fall out of those cupped hands, splat on the floor! That is, legitimacy and confidence are withdrawn from politics.

I end by speculating on the future of the New Progressives’ politics. Political parties have been declining for a generation or more, and the last round of campaign finance reform will weaken them even further. Nature abhors a vacuum in politics at least as much as anywhere else. We stand at the cusp of a major realignment in political parties, the kind of dramatic shift that happened when the Whig party gave way to the Republican party in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. Any big tent mobilization strategy for political North must start with a recognition of the enormous overlap of the constituencies of all the movements, an overlap occupied by the Cultural Creatives. With effective mobilization and legislative strategies, the political North will rule at some time in the future. A four party political system is quite conceivable, and I speculate on how that would go.

# Fig.2 The New Political Compass



Data from: 1995 Integral Culture Survey and 1999 EPA Survey

April 5, 2002

To the reader:

This is a discussion draft, designed to elicit comment, and start progressives thinking about our political possibilities in new ways. It makes the case that this new phenomenon is not just armwaving (as so much political commentary is) and that there is a real empirical case that we need to see our politics and what's coming in a new, and positive, way. I've tried to include important evidence without being too technical. If you're a number-phobe, skip the hard parts, but be aware that the argument rests in part on the numbers, not just political arm waving.

- If you've gotten this through e-mail, someone thinks you have something valuable to say to me, or at least that you're interested in the topic..
- If you got an earlier version of this before April 5, 2002, then be assured that this version has better writing, a lot more data and analysis, and many of the figures have been revised and improved. So do take a look at it. New versions will probably be posted on our website.

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My e-mail for comments is [paulhray@aol.com](mailto:paulhray@aol.com), or [Paul@culturalcreatives.org](mailto:Paul@culturalcreatives.org)

If you haven't read anything about Cultural Creatives yet, some of this will be less than obvious, and you may need to do some reading. For a brief summary, see our website [www.culturalcreatives.org](http://www.culturalcreatives.org) and it has links to buy *The Cultural Creatives* (Harmony, 2000).

Here's how you can help:

- Help me find egregious errors or holes in the argument.
- See if it triggers new thinking on your part, and let me know what it stimulates by way of new ideas about practical action in politics and social change
- Think of this long piece as a master writeup, from which a large number of smaller, more specialized articles will come designed for lots of publications. It's not likely that anyone will want to publish it in its present form. If you've got bright ideas on what publications would want to publish some kind of specialized or abbreviated offshoot, please let me know. I'm not terribly interested in writing for academe, though I'll read academic stuff if it's pertinent.
- If you know of books or articles that deal with alternative politics and new political culture ideas along lines similar to these, please send me the references. If you can send the article, so much the better.
- Please let me know if this is in good enough shape to start circulating to the various activist and political communities, and if not, what you would suggest by way of rewrites: shorter specialized versions, different style, different offshoot topics, different data runs, etc.
- Finally, this article shows that we need newer data than the 1995 data I had to work from to do the analyses in this article. *If you know who might sponsor a new survey, please let me know.*

Thanks,  
Paul H. Ray

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**Draft for Discussion and Comment. Version 7.3 April , 2002**

# The New Political Compass

## *The New Progressives are In-Front, Deep Green, Against Big Business and Globalization, and Beyond Left vs. Right*

**By Paul H. Ray, Ph.D.**

Every few hundred years in Western history there occurs a sharp transformation. Within a few short decades, society — its world view, its basic values, its social and political structures, its arts, its key institutions — rearranges itself. And the people born then cannot even imagine a world in which their grandparents lived and into which their own parents were born. We are currently living through such a transformation.

Peter Drucker, *Post-Capitalist Society*

I have bad news and good news about political transformation in our time. We already know the bad news part of it, in the way politics has become a truly dismal area of social life, where all across the civilized world politicians are in bad odor, and people are thoroughly fed up with what they see. In short, everyday politics is failing to deal with some of the most important issues of our time, and everyone knows it. Most national politicians seem to be trying to deal with the few easy issues they can handle conventionally, with a long and growing list of things not handled at all, reacting to change in inept ways. A lot of evidence is emerging that voters want politicians to get on with the job of really dealing with the big, difficult, emerging issues of our time, such as global warming, globalization, health care, education, the information society, control of biotechnology, giant corporations out of control, violence around the world, and new fears about the future of their children.

The good news part is that as left vs. right grows ever less helpful to define our politics, a wave of change is going through Western culture. A more helpful image than left-right for our times is to think of a political compass that includes four directions: east vs west, north vs south, and even to talk about departing in any direction at an angle to where we are, say northwest. This image of a compass heading points the way to helpful redefinitions of who constituencies are, and what they stand for, and offers the possibility of a new democratic politics. We could

also state a two-dimensional view of politics using words like right and left, and add forward and back. But since we all “know” that forward is progress and back is regressing, let’s save that for partisan rhetoric and be oriented by compass headings.

Today’s politicians and government officials often react to 21<sup>st</sup> century issues with 19<sup>th</sup> century categories, because that’s when most of our political institutions and mechanisms were set up. Those categories include our favorite concepts and rhetorics. “Normal governance” is still inside a 19<sup>th</sup> century conceptual box. Is it any surprise that political scientists have been telling us for years that the old categories of left vs. right are breaking down, and that both politicians and government officials are as low in public confidence as used car salesmen? Isn’t it obvious that the U.S.’s low voter turnout reflects disgust with politics as usual, including both the absence of good ideas and the dominance of big money? When electorates are not given any salient choices, they hunker down. But they’re not happy with what they’re getting. Survey upon survey shows over 70% of voters unhappy with politics and politicians.

The concepts, solutions and rhetorics of the conventional Left, not to mention their candidates and favorite political processes, are no longer able to bring masses of voters into the polling booths, much less into demonstrations. Both our national elections and our national governance process have fallen prey to big money. The electoral process depends heavily on big money to buy TV ads on stations controlled by the same corporate interests as the business conservatives, and the governance process is being tilted to give preferential access to the same corporate and wealthy interests. This has two disastrous aspects: First, the business conservatives can buy elections so long as voter turnout stays low, and they have succeeded in forcing liberals to copy their money-driven politics. The stinkier politics looks, the more the average voter shies away from it, and the greater the advantage to corporate interests. Second, between the election cycles, the think-tanks of the right are massively supported by foundations that fund only their far-right causes, whose original donors stand to reap enormous corporate profits from key positions. Those think-tanks are cranking out position papers by the gross to feed favorable media coverage of their issues, and favorable consideration from the politicians whose votes are already half-bought.

*Conclusion: Our democracy is nearly a plutocracy: rule by, and for the benefit of, the rich.*

However, my research shows that when you look at the movements and the values that gave rise to the subculture, called Cultural Creatives, which has been emerging for the last 40 years, you can immediately see that there's both an explanation for the decline of the Left, and a way out. It requires facing up to change in the cultural basis of our politics, and then adapting the Progressive movement, and much of the Center as well, to that cultural change, doing our political business in new ways. An immense opportunity is being created by a vast, unsatisfied demand in the electorate for politicians to get out in front on the big emerging issues of our time, rather than finessing them.

The point is that while what's emerging may be claimed as progressive issues, the conventional Left no longer "owns" these issues. Once we look at the cultural changes that emerged with these issues, we can explain the decline of the left, and show where its missing constituency went. To anticipate my argument, it appears that the culture, and consciousness, of what could have been Left constituencies has outgrown the culture and consciousness of most Left political experts and leaders. If our cultural reality is unfolding in new and different ways, and yet our political institutions really depend on left-right as the only distinction that matters, then perhaps none of our conventional political imagery, parties or practice, are even competent to deal with the world around us today.

Note 1: I'm going to give statistical results from the 1995 Integral Culture Survey that show the first stirrings of the political compass (with north-south just half as strong as east-west). As you look at them, think of how all the trends these results were based on have strengthened. Now, after two years of demonstrations and debates on WTO / WB / IMF and on globalization, the second dimension of the political compass should be more fully developed. We should just now be seeing a full fledged two-dimensional political array, and if I were to replicate the key items today, it would show that. There's a giant opportunity here, we just need funders for a repeat survey that adds hot current issues, post 9/11 & postEnron: cost maybe \$25K-50K depending on parameters of survey. If you know of any potential funders for such a survey, let me know.

Note 2: I'm going to be talking about the Cultural Creatives as if you already know something about them. If this article is your first exposure, you can get more information on our website, [www.culturalcreatives.org](http://www.culturalcreatives.org), or you can get our book: Paul H. Ray and Sherry Ruth Anderson, *The Cultural Creatives: How 50 Million People Are Changing the World*, Harmony, 2000. The key thing to know is that I'm talking about a whole new way of life appearing, with new values and worldview, a subculture not just an arbitrary category or stick-on label. Unlike say, *Bobos in Paradise* where the author just "made it up" this is all based on a lot of data, both hard and soft, 14 years of surveys and focus groups, and a lot of in-depth interviews. Yes, there is a definite advocacy stance: but I've also been careful and conservative with the research.

### **Beyond the Demographics: A New Subculture in America**

Everybody knows the protagonists in the Culture Wars. We saw them vividly in the abortion issue, gay rights, the Clinton impeachment. It's the world of Traditionals vs. Moderns, the world according to Jerry Falwell and Tom DeLay vs. the world according to *Time Magazine*, *The New York Times*, but also *Mother Jones* and *The Wall Street Journal*. In this clash, the business right often lines up on the same side as the liberal left, and the big media. Because the fault line is a cultural clash between the values and worldview of small town America, religious conservatives and many elderly people versus the getting ahead, getting and spending, materialist worldview of the dominant institutions of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

However, something crucial is missing from this picture, though the big corporate media who feast on these conflicts won't own up to it. It's the emergence of a third side to these political food fights, the same side that gave rise to all the new social movements, and consciousness movements of the last forty years. And they don't identify with either the Traditionals or the Moderns, and least of all with the big media. I call them the Cultural Creatives, because they are part of most of the creative new aspects of an emerging culture — not just the U.S. but across the Western world.

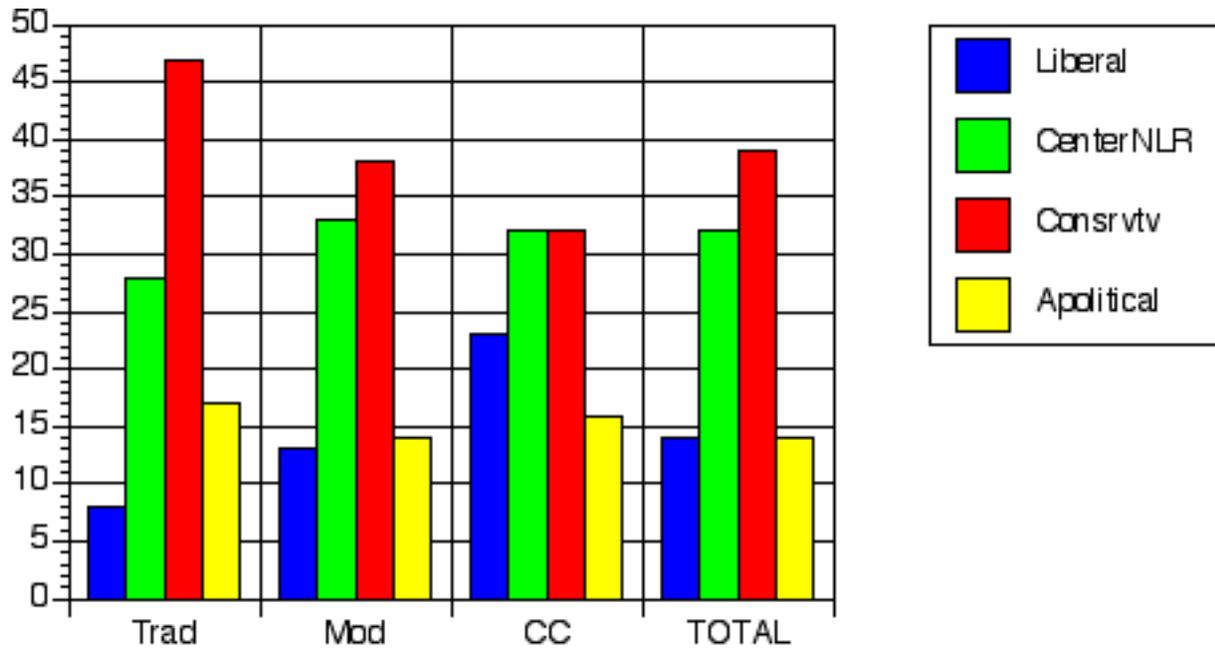
In the U.S., Traditionals are about 24-26% of the adult population (approx. 48 million), Moderns about 47-49% (approx. 95 million) and Cultural Creatives are about 26-28% (approx. 50 million). Across Western Europe in the EU, the Cultural Creatives are about 30-35% of the adult population — the wave of change seems to have gone further and faster there than here.

Cultural Creatives are at or just slightly above the national average on all demographics but one. Take age, education, income, occupation, region, religion, race, ethnicity, and they scarcely differ from the national profile. But they are 60% women overall, and in the most active Core Group they are two to one women, 67%. The new culture comes with new values, lifestyle and worldviews, and these cannot be predicted by demographics, because they are deeper than demographics. It's easy to find a typical Modern family and a typical Cultural Creative family, essentially identical on all demographics, but they will live in two different worlds. What they want from life, what's important for the future of the country, and how they live, are all distinctly different. They may seem superficially similar on liberal-conservative, Democrat-Republican surveys as well, but ask what really matters about politics and social issues and you will hear a very different vocabulary, and a different list of concerns. These are concerns about our children's future, about equality for children's opportunities, about health and education, about the ecology of the whole planet, about the inner dimensions of life, about the overweening power of big business, and the role of big money in politics. To a very large extent, this is about women's values and concerns coming forth into the public domain for the first time in history.

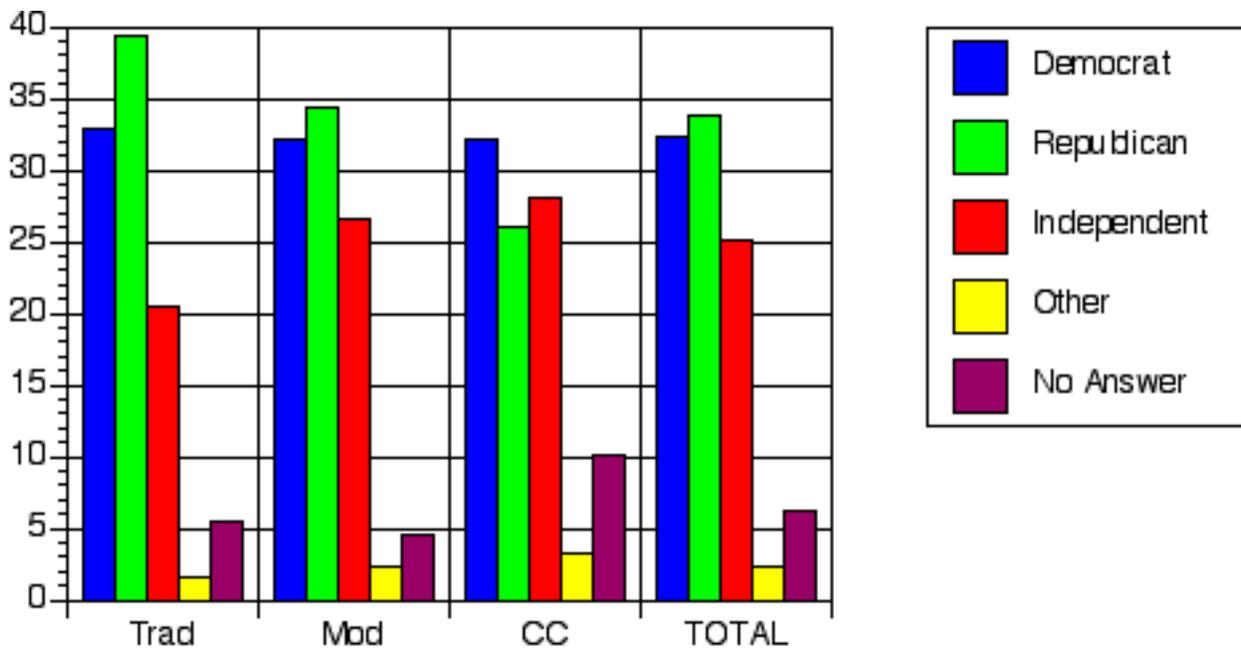
Indulge me in a rhetorical comparison. Let's take a look at what conventional political measures show about the three subcultures. It's dismaying how little they convey.

**The Three Subcultures Self Identified as Left vs. Right:** Sorry to say it's just not very informative: to understand our politics, we need better measures. Cultural Creatives are less conservative than the general population, and there aren't many liberals. End of discussion, fringed with depression. Traditionals and Moderns have more conservatives, followed by people in the center, as does the total population, while Cultural Creatives have an equal number of conservatives and people who are in the center, or neither left nor right. Liberals are such a small minority that their largest percent is among the Cultural Creatives at 23%.

**Political Party Identification:** Here we see the percent of Democrats is the same at one-third across all three subcultures, while the percent Republican is 38% of Traditionals 34% of Moderns, and 26% of Cultural Creatives. It doesn't tell us what we want to know. And that's the point. The new measures we develop will show us something more interesting, however.



**The Three Subcultures, Self-Identified on the Liberal-Conservative Spectrum**



**The Three Subcultures by Political Party Affiliation**

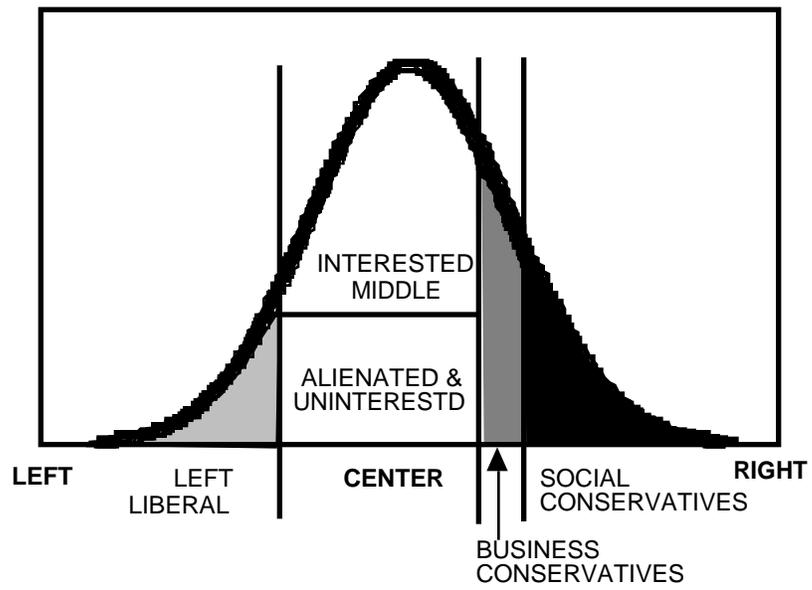
## **Part I. Beyond Left vs. Right: The New Political Compass**

### **Left Vs. Right Doesn't Work Any More**

A century ago, Left vs. Right meant progressives and unionists vs. big business and maybe the Ku Klux Klan. But that was before nuclear weapons could destroy life on the planet, before Vietnam and the peace movement, before the civil rights movement and women's movement, before the insurgent radicals of the religious right came back into politics, and before saving the planet from ecological destruction and globalization became a huge issue. Both the issues and the constituencies of the U.S. have evolved, but our political rhetoric has stayed frozen in century-old lingo and metaphors, and so have our political parties and our politicians. The common belief that the shape of left vs right is simply a bell-shaped curve, with an enormous uninterested and passive Center in between left and right. (See Figure 1) The left is fading down to about one voter in six, while the right has about one in three locked up, while the mushy middle is about half the population. The right is now working to redefine the center.

When we add new data about values and political positions it becomes obvious that this image of our politics is beyond inadequate, it's hopelessly wrong and misleading. In fact, political scientists have been talking about the demise of left vs. right for nearly 20 years. What every social researcher will tell you is that if there's a big undefined middle in between the extremes of a bell-shaped curve like Figure 1, that means there's a mass of unexplained attitudes, behaviors and values that aren't being captured by a distinction like left vs. right. It's called specification error, which says the theory needs to be improved—and so do our working images. And researchers will tell you that whatever that unexplained stuff in the middle is, it probably goes off at right angles to left vs. right, describing something else that's also important. That's what is currently missing from the conventional wisdom of the campaign advisors, the pollsters and the lobbyists. In fact, that "mushy middle" reflects a refusal of politicians and political analysts to look at the full variety of values, concerns and kinds of consciousness that are really operating in the political culture that supports American politics-as-usual.

**Fig. 1 OUR CONVENTIONAL LEFT vs. RIGHT  
IMAGE OF POLITICS\***



\*Areas of figure are proportional to national percentages.

We are in the midst of a change in the political culture that supports and holds our political institutions, but we are not looking “outside the box” to see what is going on. Imagine politics-as-usual as a tightly knit ball of ongoing conflict that is supported by the cupped hands of the political culture. Without the continual support those webs of agreements, norms, values, social interpretations, worldviews and daily practices, no institution can survive. What happens next if the culture moves on, and the politicians and institutions are so preoccupied with power and locked in the mutual paralysis of their conflicts that they rigidly refuse to change? Probably that they fall out of those cupped hands, splat on the floor! That is, legitimacy and confidence are withdrawn from politics. Isn't that precisely why politics looks so dismal today?

One reason we have been misled is simply the mechanics of the way quickie telephone polls are done, because it's simple, cheap and easy to ask “are you liberal or conservative?” and “are you Republican or Democrat?” along with demographics and a few dozen other political questions. But we will see there are also deeper, nastier reasons why this occurs, such as not wanting to give legitimacy to the unfolding conflict of social movements and citizens politics versus the interests of the big campaign funders. So, what if a realistic map of the electorate is really more complex? Then the campaign advisors and instant pollsters have a big expensive problem: their polling might become expensive and slow. And the corporate-dominated media would have to tell a new story, instead of the old left vs. right—one that their paymasters would not like. In fact, the new story looks a lot like the anti-WTO demonstrations, and every other new social movement and consciousness movement that has come down the pike over the last forty years. The new story goes right back to the Sixties.

## **Two Dimensional Politics Makes a Political Compass Image**

Figure 2 shows that instead of left vs. right, today's politics is better described as having a second dimension that captures most of what has been misnamed as the Center. That second dimension gives a whole new picture of how American culture is changing, and changing our politics with it. Our political institutions depend on the rest of American culture, and are changing with it. Just as the economy is really imbedded in the culture and institutions that support it (contrary to the ideology of economists, financiers and big business ideologues), so the polity is also imbedded in our culture and institutions (also contrary to a ruling ideology: that of lobbyists, politicians, and pundits). Once we grasp that cultural change has affected political

constituencies, but the political animals have refused to acknowledge it because of the way they play with shifting coalitions, then we can use what we already know to see more clearly:

What if the past generation's culture wars have succeeded in defining the American ***Liberal Left*** as a liberal rump group consisting of little more than unionists and secular intellectuals, whose fortunes have declined drastically over the past 50 years so they're down to 12% of today's population, and 15% of voters?

What if the Left's values and world view are primarily opposed to ***Social Conservatives on the Right***? What if the social conservatives are defined neither by the rich nor by real traditions, but by the pseudo-traditionalism we learned about in John Wayne and Jimmy Stewart movies, by the mythic image of small town America, circa 1870-1920, and by religious conservatism that also cannot trace its origins earlier than the 19<sup>th</sup> century — whose purported spokesmen are the likes of Jerry Falwell and Tom DeLay? What if they represent mostly the elderly, the less educated, the less affluent, with a tiny upscale leadership who are the ultra conservatives?

*The key answer is what you'll never hear from Social Conservatives: that their base constituency is old and dying off.* Their youth are going to the Moderns and the Cultural Creatives. Their Traditionalist subculture was half the U.S. fifty years ago, and is a quarter today. The actual Social Conservative population is 19% and about 22% of voters. What their triumphalist language is desperately trying to conceal is that in the long run, like their liberal opponents, they too are disappearing.

***With only 31% of the population, and 37% of voters, fitting this image of left vs. right, the very idea of left and right simply doesn't have a future.***

What if a ***New Progressive*** constituency is already forming, refusing to be categorized by the left vs. right political spectrum we have lived with for just over 200 years, with many already insisting that they aren't in the mushy middle either? Indeed, what if they say, like the German Green Party, "We're neither Left nor Right. We're In Front," or ***Going Forward***, for not only issues but processes that show a direction at right angles to "politics as usual"? What if they see women's and planetary perspectives, and the psycho-spiritual interior of our lives, as relevant to our national politics?

Further, what if the crucial opposition to these ***New Progressives*** turns out to be ***Big Business Conservatives*** — represented by the plutocrat faction of both political parties, and the

politicians whom big business buys? You know them: the ones who are degrading our lives in the name of selling progress, taking us *Backward* from what our children and grandchildren need to survive.

Oh, that clash resembles the WTO demonstrators against the power of the transnational corporations who own globalization, you say? It's that, and more. It turns out to be the slow convergence of all the new social movements since the Sixties, and it pivots on planetary issues.

In a larger view, Business Conservatives can't really be lumped in with Social Conservatives, except for their coalition purposes within the Republican party. They resemble the Social Conservatives on a few, limited, political issues, but they resemble the Liberal Left a very great deal on cultural issues—for they're both Modernists through and through. Indeed, what's actually the case is that the people on *both* sides of this new opposition have beliefs that are quite separate from liberals vs. social conservatives, i.e., statistically independent of them. That means these two oppositions must be put at right angles to each other, like the four points of a compass, as shown in Figures 2 and 3.

This new opposition does not represent anything like a “political center” or a “mushy middle”: it has highly defined and emotional positions, a live bomb for our politics, ticking away, as the elites who meet at Davos are intensely aware. If the Davos elites are aware of it, why aren't the rest of us? This opposition does encompass half of the U.S. population. It's probably more important than the left-right opposition, because it is where our future is headed.

This is not just speculation or playing with imagery, it is what the data shows. My data for the New Political Compass comes from a values survey of 1995 that included just enough political information to do this analysis. It's not current, and it doesn't have all the issues and voter behavior we might ideally want; so all the analyses given here are first approximations. Undoubtedly, political scientists will be able to refine these results. However, because it has many issues, plus values, and political affiliation, it points clearly to what is emerging. The data shows a slow wave of cultural change (from new social movements) flooding the various streams that feed a new politics.

Principal components factor analysis shows the underlying structure of the data is in fact two dimensions. It is the opposition of Liberal Left vs. Social Conservative, crossed by the opposition of the New Progressives vs. the Big Business Conservatives. The only thing left in

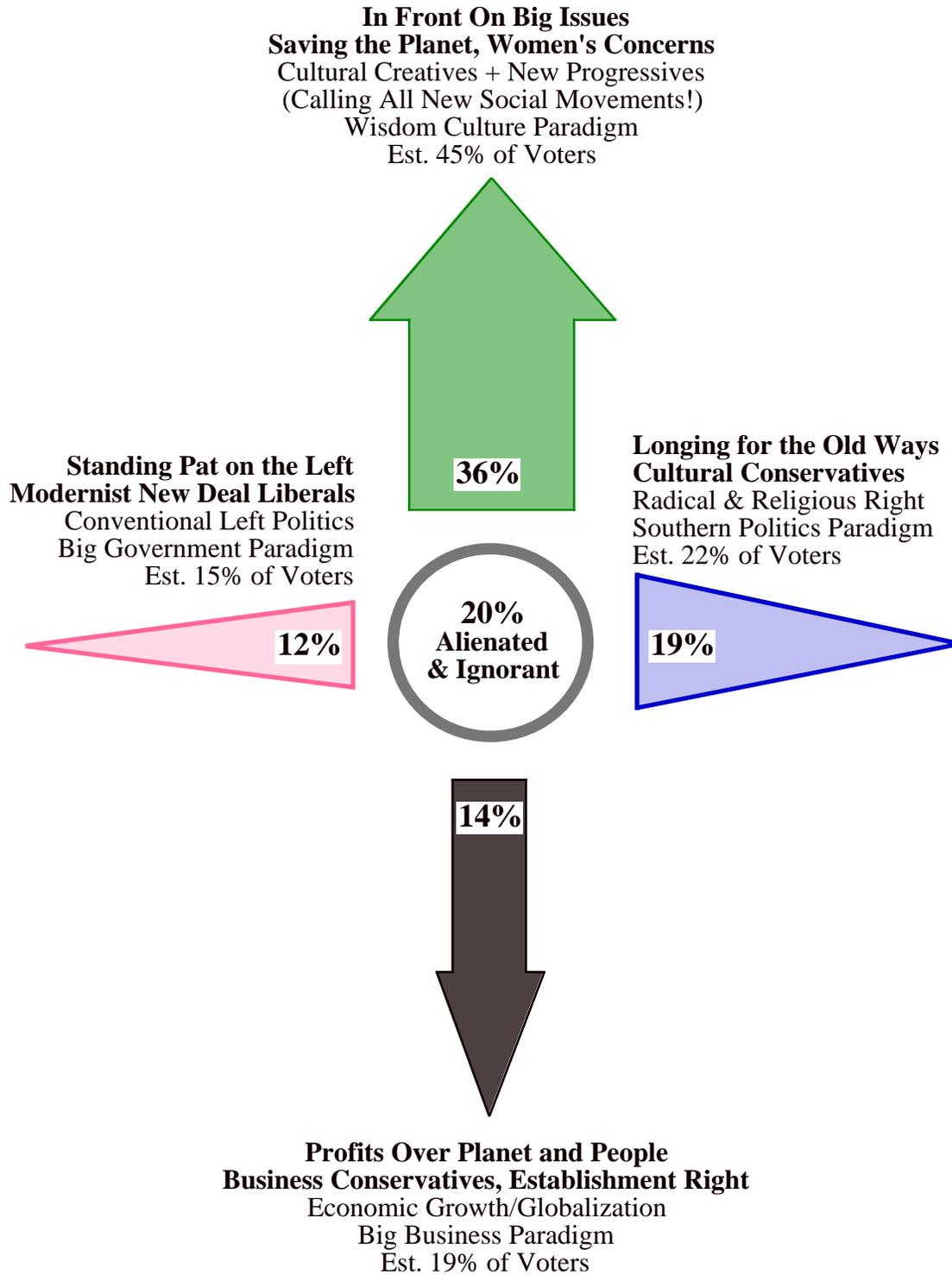
the “center” at the cross-hairs of the diagram is the 20% of the population who are the politically alienated, the ignorant and the decidedly apolitical, and who almost never vote.

I chose the following nine measures to get a political compass precisely *because* conventional politics says they’re all clearly “nothing but” left vs. right. That view is obsolete, and in fact they potentially represent a variety of positions. Each of these constructed measurement scales combined several questionnaire items for greater reliability:

- Religious Right, pro and con
- Civil Liberties, pro and con
- Traditionalism, pro and con
- Liberalism vs. Conservatism, self-declared
- Ecological Sustainability, the strong version, pro and con
- National Health Insurance, pro and con
- Big Business, pro and con
- The Limits to Growth position, pro and con
- Feminism, pro and con

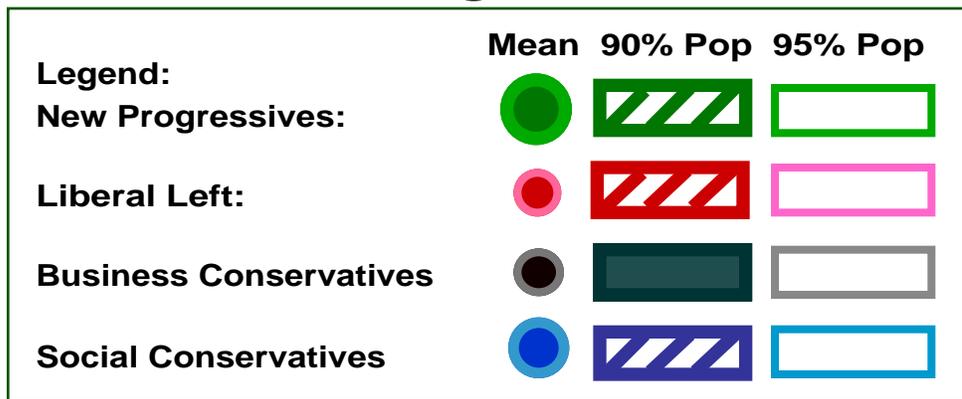
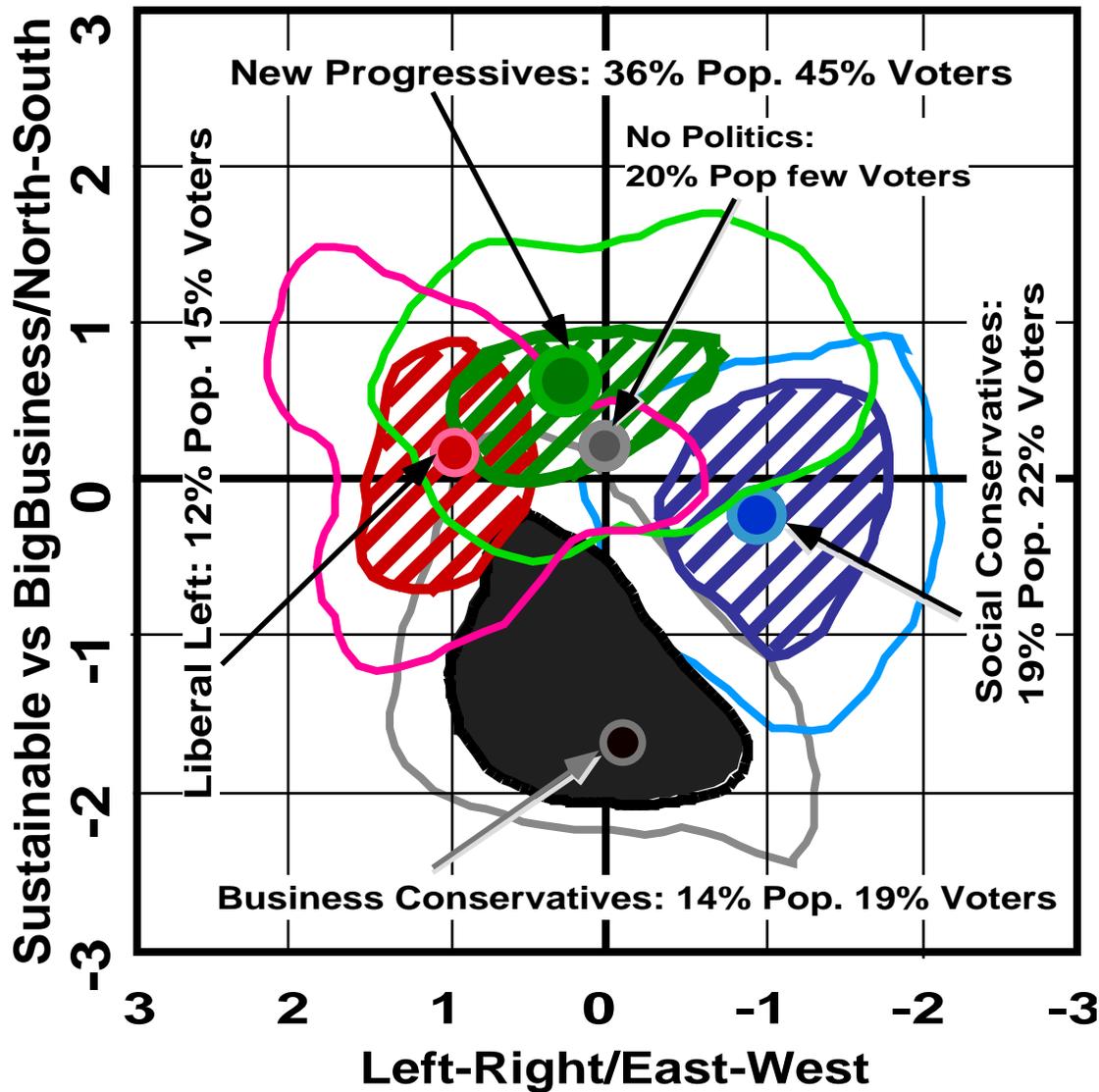
| <b>Table 1. DERIVING THE TWO DIMENSIONS OF THE NEW POLITICAL COMPASS<br/>FROM FACTOR ANALYSIS = PRINCIPAL COMPONENT LOADINGS</b> |  |  |
|--|--|--|
| <b>Variables Used</b>  | <b>Liberal vs.<br/>Social Conservative<br/>Dimension 1</b> | <b>New Progressive vs.<br/>Big Business Conservative<br/>Dimension 2</b> |
| RELIGIOUS RIGHT  | -0.868   | 0.164  |
| ANTI-CIVIL LIBERTIES   | -0.792   | 0.248  |
| TRADITIONALISM   | -0.774   | 0.172  |
| LEFT VS RIGHT  | 0.573  | 0.339  |
| ECOLOGICAL SUSTAINABILITY  | 0.166  | 0.788  |
| NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE  | 0.105  | 0.653  |
| ANTI-BIG-BUSINESS  | -0.298   | 0.581  |
| LIMITS TO GROWTH   | 0.299  | 0.490  |
| FEMINISM   | 0.218  | 0.483  |
| VARIANCE EXPLAINED BY COMPONENTS   | 2.572  | 2.090  |
| PERCENT OF TOTAL VARIANCE EXPLAINED  | 28.574   | 23.225   |
| <b>Average Scores of 5 Political Positions on the 2 Dimensions</b>   |  |  |
|  | <b>Liberal vs.<br/>Social Conservative</b>                 | <b>New Progressive vs.<br/>Big Business Conservative</b>                 |
| <b>ALIENATED/NO POLITICS</b>   |  |  |
| <b>Average Score</b>   | 0.001  | 0.189 N=209  |
| <b>SOCIAL CONSERVATIVES</b>  |  |  |
| <b>Average Score</b>   | -0.954   | -0.139 N=213   |
| <b>BUSINESS CONSERVATIVES</b>  |  |  |
| <b>Average Score</b>   | -0.023   | -1.710 N=121   |
| <b>LIBERAL LEFT</b>  |  |  |
| <b>Average Score</b>   | 1.023  | 0.071 N=127  |
| <b>NEW PROGRESSIVES</b>  |  |  |
| <b>Average Score</b>   | 0.207  | 0.513 N=366  |

# Fig.2 The New Political Compass

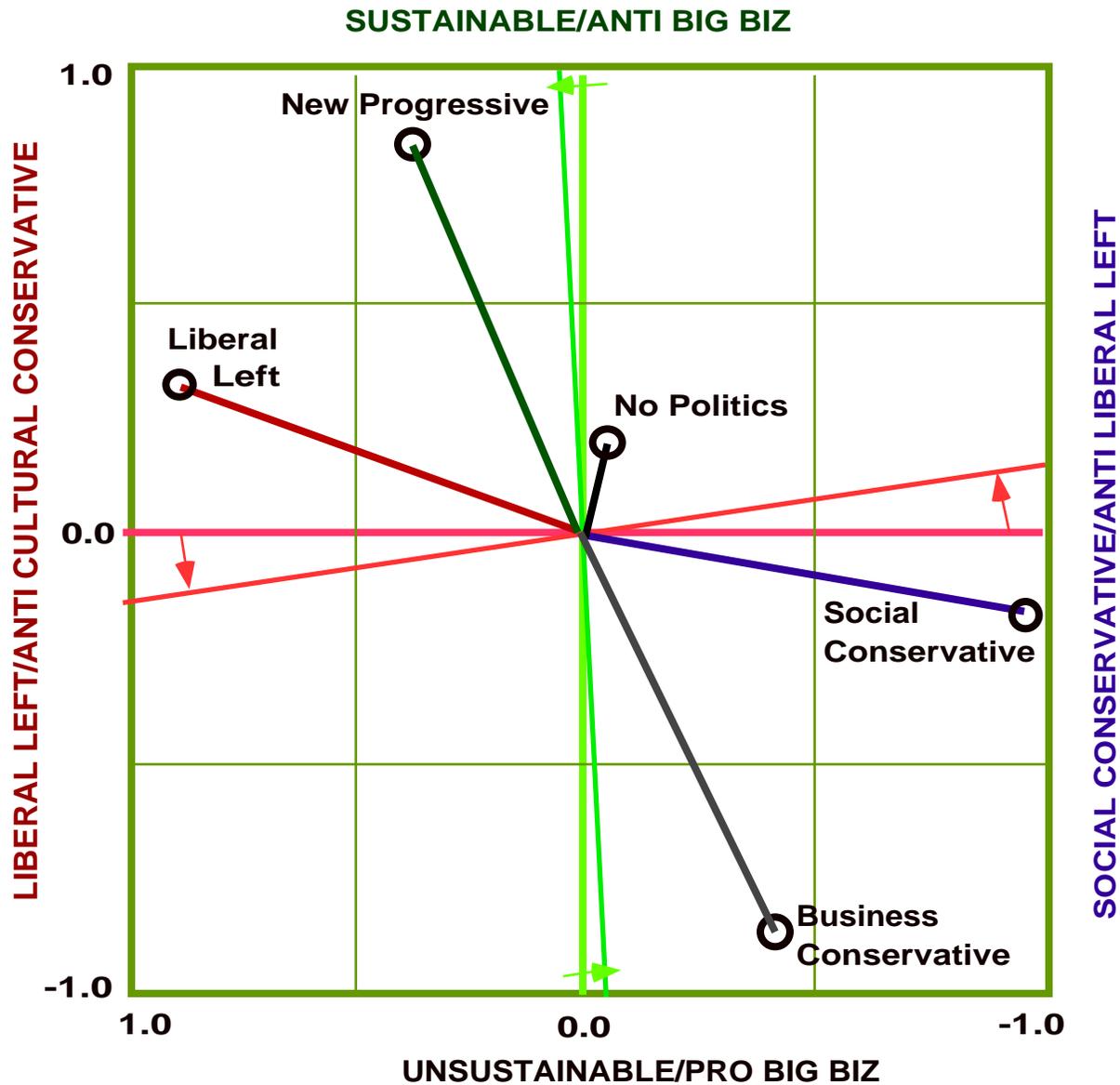


Data from: 1995 Integral Culture Survey and 1999 EPA Survey

**Figure 3: The New Political Compass: Means and Scatter Plot Contour Lines**



**Fig. 4 NEW POLITICAL COMPASS (1995 Data)**  
**Similarity of Political Positions and Values**  
**(ROTATED PRINCIPAL COMPONENTS)**



| ROTATED LOADINGS      | DIMENSIONS |        |
|-----------------------|------------|--------|
|                       | 1          | 2      |
| LEFTRT/CULCON         | 0.914      | -0.139 |
| CULTURAL CONSERVATIVE | -0.953     | -0.174 |
| LIBERAL LEFT          | 0.885      | 0.325  |
| SUSTN/ANTIBIZ         | 0.051      | 0.945  |
| BUSINESS CONSERVATIVE | -0.408     | -0.867 |
| NEW PROGRESSIVE       | 0.377      | 0.848  |
| NO POLITICS           | -0.054     | 0.215  |

**The New Political Compass Diagrams** [see Figures 2 and 3] show that when we look at a lot more information on what is most important in peoples' lives, then Left vs. Right is in the process of evolving into something new. All that remains of the Liberal Left is in the West at 12% of the U.S. adult population (estimated at 15% of voters), and Social Conservatives oppose them in the East at 19% (estimated at 22% of voters). It's not the historical fight between unions and corporations, but a small fairly secular liberal left against a slightly larger social conservative group (including the religious right).

Going Backward, to the political South, are the rest of the conservatives, the Big Business Conservatives at 14% of the U.S. (and 19% of voters) They are the globalized multinational business right. It's a true opposition to what's moving "forward" with the emerging issues of our time — it's the big business destruction of our planetary ecology and of local cultures in the name of globalization.

While they may ally from time to time, the right has diverged. The culturally conservative, Main Street, private enterprise right often oppose the Wall Street big business right: worldwide, traditionalism and globalism are often deep enemies. Social conservatives may be militaristic, but they are local to national, while their business conservative counterparts are national to global, and very pragmatic on many issues social conservatives will die for.

The big business conservatives are exactly opposite the New Progressives, a population whose political positions may look Left to the rest of the polity, but very few of whom identify as "left." Put them in the North, going Forward, trying to define the emerging issues of our time, particularly the planetary ones. But what Figure 3 shows is that they very clearly are emerging from the Left, because that's the only place on the four sides of the political compass where the main parts of two political groupings overlap (partly a function of the fact that the dimensions used fewer variables than the political groupings).

This new form of progressivism is less interested in the liberal left's cultural struggle with the religious right than it is in its own opposition to the pro-globalization forces. As we look at the evolution of the left in this article, it will become obvious that the real "juice" in progressive politics is no longer with the class hatreds, and union and rural-urban struggles of 1900 and grows out of the feminist, ecological, anti-globalization, pro-civil-rights, pro-peace, pro-health-care, pro-education, pro-natural/organic and even pro-spiritual movements of 1960-2000.

As we might expect, Figure 4 shows more similarity of Liberals and New Progressives to each other, and of the two kinds of conservatism to each other. As of 1995 there were not (yet) four completely distinct voter groups. The evolution of a second dimension to politics wasn't complete, but that was seven years ago, and both Left and Right continue to evolve and differentiate into new positions. Since then, the anti-globalization movement came into existence, both in the anti-WTO-IMF-WB form, or in the opposition by Porto Alegre planetary democrats to Davos planetary plutocrats. We must add the press of events to that: the riveting of our attention to world affairs by the World Trade Center attack and its war of anti-terrorism aftermath seems to be reviving the peace movement after 20 years of invisibility, plus the ugly collapse of Enron, which is further delegitimizing giant greedy corporations.

All these should make the second, vertical dimension of the Figures come out much stronger in 2002. **If we can get some new surveys pointed at the role of values and culture in creating a new politics, that data should show us a further evolution toward four distinct positions on the compass.**

**Point of clarification:** When I say "Left," I mean that classic 20<sup>th</sup> century set of positions that were the New Deal / Roosevelt Democrat coalition of the 1930s through 1950s. They are for equality and social justice at the top of the list, embracing racial justice, gender equality, extending the political franchise to more and more groups, and a social safety net, and they are anti-corporate and anti-bigotry. And since that era, a host of issues have been added to Left position statements. However, in an American context (which is all the data I've got), no survey data includes socialists or communists on the Left, and I'm not including them in the analysis. In reality both Left and Right have evolved, and the Right splits ever more clearly into a cultural right and a business right; even though they can often coordinate what they do, using the finely tuned rhetoric of big foundations of the right to create their anti-tax, pro-business lobbying and media campaigns in non-election years. The failures of the Left ideologists to compete with these right-wing thinktanks have allowed the Right to redefine "center" to include what was once the Right, and "right" to include the real extremists of the radical right of Goldwater's day. And I cannot say anything about how the evolution of left vs right plays out in a European or rest of world context.

## Going Forward, or North, are the New Progressives.

At 36% of adults this emerging political stance is the largest segment of the polity, and they're basically unrepresented by politicians, for their issues are the emerging ones that haunt today's politics: for ecological sustainability, with limits to growth and against the dominance big-business and globalization; plus what are often seen as women's perspectives on children, health, education, natural products and personal growth (both psychological and spiritual).

'But isn't this just part of the Left?' you may ask with some incredulity. Apparently not. What is striking is how many of these New Progressives have become less vocal about being on the Left, or have emerged from the Left, or never identified with the Left in the first place and are trying to express a new, more complex stance. These people also identify with issues that the Left claims, but don't identify with the Left at all. They are the Left's lost constituents, and indeed their issues have been ignored in recent national elections. I estimate that they may be about 45% of voters.\*

(\*Since most survey respondents don't admit it if they didn't vote in the last election, we have to estimate their probability of voting from what we know about voting behavior, a less than satisfactory solution, and one that has a fairly wide error band. So I give the percent of voters with a big caution flag. It's a really rough calculated number that gives a sense of how this translates into vote counts, and I cannot guarantee its accuracy. But all indications are that the North on the political compass has by far the most people who are likely to be voters. See the statistical appendix for how the estimate was made.)

**It's a change in political culture, outside the conventional political boxes:** Given the size of these numbers and the issues represented, this suggests that our recent history has been, not just a "failure of the Left with voters," but also a substantial success — at the level of change in political culture. There has been a change in the hearts and minds of many Americans to accept many viewpoints the Left wants to claim. However, I also want to suggest that while the broad progressive constituency has evolved into more sophisticated interests, many progressive leaders are often trailing behind with obsolete rhetorics, perspectives and political culture. They have simply failed to keep track of the evolution of the political culture that supports everyday politics. New progressive leaders would use a new compass reading to get their bearings, to get past secular modernism and an unsatisfying political culture.

To get our bearings we all may need to look at a new values compass. The new world view and values of the Cultural Creatives include women's perspectives on politics, an emphasis on better political process, and an open-minded concern for the interior-life side of politics, including both spirituality and culture. [Perhaps more psychologically and spiritually-minded progressive theorists like Michael Lerner (*Politics of Meaning, Spirit Matters*), Marianne Williamson (*The Healing of America*) and Corinne McLoughlin and Gordon Davidson (*Spiritual Politics*) have a better philosophical compass heading than do today's secular left leaders. Perhaps former senator Mike Gravel's constitutional amendment for citizen initiatives is bold enough to interest this population who want to get out of the old boxes, to create new kinds of political culture and new institutions, not just play with policy alternatives.]

**The Inadequacy of the Muddled Middle:** The cross hairs of the compass show us something equally important — for what's not there. The Clinton “mushy-middle” isn't there. The Anthony Downs “Economic Theory of Democracy” thesis says that “rational politicians will run to the center from either wing, because that's the high ground that gets a majority and wins.” That thesis dissolves, because there is no such one-dimensional center to lust after, or run to. What remains after the North's New Progressives and the South's Big Business Conservatives is a different “center” where we have to put the apolitical, fed up and alienated part of the population who refuse to deal with politics, at 20% of the U.S.—and practically no voters.

Given this picture, we have to abandon our obsolete imagery of political positions as a simple bell shaped curve on a left-right spectrum with a huge number of inattentive middle-position voters in “the center” for timid politicians to run to. That's about refusing to see all the data about values and emerging issues in politics, ignoring the possibility that if they see a bulge in between left and right, that reflects something their favorite pollsters didn't measure, and reality is going off at right angles to left-right. It's a reality shaped by 40 years of the new social movements re-educating Americans on a host of issues and world views.

Instead of the conventional wisdom, this says political culture has evolved, and taken up new concerns, seriously held. And we immediately see what the old left-right rhetoric won't tell us: The 2000 election had no huge mushy mass of voters in the Center worth running to, not for Gore or Bush. Bush could get by playing at being a wink-wink “compassionate conservative.” But when Gore took the advice of the K Street lawyers and ran away from his own book, *Earth*

*in the Balance* to “the center” that was a loser’s strategy. He ignored issues he could have won with: Ecological sustainability to rescue their children’s future, and a host of related issues in health, education, feminism, the (lack of) personal authenticity of candidates and the style of politics-as-usual. These are all the keys to understanding the North’s strong, general desire for politicians to deal with emerging issues.

## **Unmet Political Demand**

At 36% of adults, the North has 70 million people: a huge unmet political demand! If it does turn out to be 45% of the voters, they can win any election easily. Yet, firmly focused on the past, neither political party was paying attention in the 2000 campaign. In American politics this is an inherently unstable situation. A new progressive has emerged who is far out in front on the issues, who values planetary rather than nationalistic interests, ecological sustainability rather than sentimental environmentalism, feminism rather than heroic models, personal growth more than personal ambition, and condemns globalizing mega-corporations more than the religious right. And that new progressive has been effectively invisible for a host of reasons.

It’s very likely that if the Al Gore who wrote *Earth in the Balance* had shown up in the 2000 campaign, he’d have gotten enough of this emerging constituency to now be president. Here is my strong qualitative feel for what happened, though I have no survey data to back it up. Over and over again, in the 2000 campaign I heard a “none of the above” response from Cultural Creatives. They just couldn’t find the energy to get into this campaign, and were sitting on their hands, not liking anything they heard. They felt:

- a) Gore was “completely inauthentic, Mr. Plastic,” or “why doesn’t the real Gore show up?”
- b) Nader “isn’t one of us,” or else “what’s Ralph doing running for president?”
- c) “Bush is an idiot,” or “Bush’s compassionate conservatism is a lie.”

The people expressing these unhappy views were about two to one women. Because they are also the biggest volunteers in American life, and opinion leaders on anything environmental, they normally would carry lots of others along with their enthusiastic participation. Not this time. A dead heat campaign is supposed to raise voter turnout by 5% to 15%. Did you notice that the 2000 voter turnout didn’t rise at all? That was the effect of the New Progressives — mostly Cultural Creatives, and mostly women — sitting back unhappy.

**North Means Being Out In Front:** As a new culture emerges, some of its rhetoric resembles that of the German Greens: “We’re neither left nor right, we’re in front!” or “We’re going forward!” So put them where the emerging issues are: at the north quadrant of the political compass. If we take seriously what Ron Inglehart has been telling us for years about the role of values in the evolution of political culture, at least 1/3 of any Western nation looks to be available for an “out in front” set of policies, programs and rhetoric, i.e., dealing with the real issues that threaten our own future and our children’s futures.\*

\*If you haven’t seen the really interesting development of the idea of “new political culture” in political science, then you may want to look at Terry Nichols Clark and Vincent Hoffmann-Martinot, *The New Political Culture*, Westview Press, 1998, for the key concepts. *It also has an interesting finding that big city mayors seem to be part of the new political culture more than national politicians.* For an amazing amount of cross national comparative data documenting the appearance of a new political culture in many parts of the world, see Ronald Inglehart, *Culture Shift*, Princeton University Press, 1990. As I’ve said to anyone who will listen, *if you study values you’ll see the appearance of new culture*, and Clark and Inglehart do include values in their studies of the changing political culture.

In the U.S., political North is 36% of the population, though it may vary from 20% to 45% depending on the issues. They are 39% Democrat, 28% Republican, and 27% Independent. Only 18% are self-identified as liberal, 49% say center or neither left nor right, and 32% say they are conservative. Yet look at their stands on the issues!

The issues used to identify the North from the survey are given with percent agreeing:

|   |                                 |
|---|---------------------------------|
| Want national health insurance coverage   | 93%                             |
| Anti Big Business                         | 81%                             |
| Pro Ecological Sustainability             | 78%*                            |
| Feminism                                  | 63%                             |
| Against Social Conservatives              | 51%                             |
| Identify with neither Left nor Right      | 49%                             |
| Want action for positive social change    | 36% (highest among all sectors) |
| <u>Believe there are limits to growth</u> | <u>35%**</u>                    |

\*In the 1999 EPA survey a more accurate sustainability measure put this at 90% for Cultural Creatives.

\*\*In the 1999 EPA survey a more accurate limits to growth measure put this at 70% for Cultural Creatives.

**They're largely Cultural Creatives:**

In our book *The Cultural Creatives: How 50 Million People Are Changing the World*, Sherry Anderson and I showed that taken all together, the effect of the new social movements and consciousness movements was to create a wave of change that has been going through Western culture for the last forty years. A moment's thought shows that many of those movements defined the political stances above, and the Cultural Creatives are very close to those stances. Today they are 26% of total U.S. population (24% in 1995, the time of the survey data I'm using here), but are 47% of the New Progressives' opinion leaders (those who feel most strongly about the issues). We will look at the detailed composition of the North below. There we will see that a "wave of change" analysis shows Cultural Creatives to be a majority of the New Progressives. In general, the opinion leaders of both the New Progressives in the North and the Liberals in the West tend to be on the Left, while the general population of the New Progressives no longer identifies with the Left, even though they identify with the Left's issues.

Cultural Creatives are defined by their values: strong ecological sustainability and saving the planet, strong on women's issues, personal growth, authenticity, anti-big-business. A typical Cultural Creative cares intensely about a half dozen of the twenty kinds of new social movements and consciousness movements that emerged since the Sixties, the rest of the country, none to two. The difference is dramatic, and it accounts for where those new values came from. Values are part of what defines a subculture: a whole way of life, with different lifestyles, values and worldviews. I've called them The Cultural Creatives, because all across the Western world, they are literally creating a new culture. They can be contrasted with the other two big American subcultures based on values: the ones having the 'culture wars' between Traditionals (the world according to the religious right and rural Americans) and the Moderns (the world according to Time Magazine, The Wall Street Journal, big government, big business, big media—but also the socialists, communists and fascists of the past century).

If Cultural Creatives are to be induced in large numbers to back a new, coherent position in electoral politics, that position will have to look like North on the Compass. Then they would be a key to higher turnout than in the past, and therefore to getting a working majority in many elections. Cultural Creatives are habitual volunteers, and most have cared about half a dozen of the new social movements in the past. They are also key opinion leaders for many kinds of social change. Politics is part of that, but interestingly enough, it has not been a big part of it —

at least not yet. They just hate it that politicians won't deal with humanity's most pressing issues. Furthermore, much of the change that has resulted from the rise of the Cultural Creatives is through changing hearts and minds on the cultural side, through the movements in Civil Society, not on the political side of social movements operating in the Polity, or through political parties in electoral politics. The North represents unfulfilled political demand. Therefore we can expect this to change, drastically.

### **It's the Effect of the Social and Consciousness Movements.**

What gave rise to the 50 million Cultural Creatives were the new agendas and the brand new reframings of our social reality by the new social movements of the last 40 years: Cultural Creatives are overwhelmingly the common constituencies of all these movements: environmental becoming an ecology movement, anti-globalization, movements against violence and oppression, social justice, civil rights, women's lib, anti-nuclear and anti-war becoming a peace movement, student movement, gay lib, and a newly emerging environmental health movement. And they are the common constituencies of movements we don't usually see as political, or even as social movements, because they are mass changes in consciousness: human potential movement, holistic and alternative health care, organic food and vegetarian movements, psychedelic and hippie movements, spiritual psychology, new religions, even the despised New Age movement.

There's a 40-80% overlap in the broadest constituencies of any pair of movements for which we have data, and that overlap is occupied by the Cultural Creatives. Those same people are going from movement to movement, retaining loyalties from one to the next, acting as the continuity among the movements, and they account for the convergence of all the movements onto a common worldview and set of values.

### **The "reframings" of reality by new social movements are a key to change in worldviews.**

In the civil rights movement did Martin Luther King, Jr. say, "we delivered the vote, and it's time Blacks got theirs"? No, Whitney Young of the Urban League, and A. Philip Randolph of the Sleeping Car Porters Union had already tried that, and it hadn't worked. Whites believed civil rights was "*their* problem, not ours." Instead King framed the issue in his speeches in terms of what all Americans believe in their better moments, and in terms of the promises they made to

themselves in the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. He told Americans that if segregation oppressed and diminished “the Negro people” then all Americans were oppressed and diminished. And Americans could take in that reframing. King’s position was all the more potent for society in joining it to Gandhian nonviolence. And the Cultural Creatives concern today for “authenticity” grows directly out of the civil rights movement’s concern for “walking your talk.”

In 1962 Betty Friedan did not say that women’s problems were crashing through the glass ceiling for better pay in a left economic argument, but said that fundamental problems existed for a majority of humanity, whose views were excluded from public life, and who were diminished in the home, and in most gender relations, and these problems are located in the social and cultural system of sexism. In the same year, Rachel Carson did not repeat NIMBY phrases about keeping pollution out of our back yards, nor talk about conservation of beautiful nature spots. In the *Silent Spring* her reframing was: This is about the death of nature, and if the birds and insects die, your children will soon follow. Both reframings were at the core of their movements.

All three reframings were successful, and they and the nonviolence, were soon copied by the anti-nuclear and anti-war movements, who renamed themselves the Peace movement, because that’s what they were for, instead of what they were against. And the chiropractors and other alternative medicine practitioners decided to frame their work as different in providing for real health, real wellness for the whole body, not just catastrophic medicine for a body part. In fact, all the new social movements and consciousness movements used reframing, to redefine parts of social reality, to provide new diagnoses and explanations for events, to bring new evidence for their positions and new moral interpretations about what that meant. Today, the moral terms of discourse that the West is learning to live by have come from all those movements.

Another key reframing was the importance of self-awareness and the primacy of one’s inner experience, and especially the primacy of both over the words of external authorities. It started with the women’s movement, but quickly went into every one of the consciousness movements, and the peace movement as well. A variant of it was in the nonviolence training for sit-ins in the civil rights movement. It was an article of faith with the Hippie movement and psychedelic movement. Later on, it also found its way into the spiritual side of the ecology

movement, and back into the theologically liberal churches. This came with an insistence on the validity of cultural change as a response to social and political problems.

While this form of inner directedness is a central issue in every spiritual tradition, elevating spiritual experience and states of consciousness over the texts of holy books, it was a new phenomenon in conventional American life. Only rarely was it a sign of spiritual enlightenment, but it was often a sign of inner searching, and of greater maturity, and most importantly it was carried into political action work by volunteers. They were most unhappy to find that there is no place for such considerations in conventional American politics, and indeed that one's inner life must be hidden. For a huge portion of Cultural Creatives women, it was an offputting aspect of their encounter with the macho secular left that their inner life and growing psychological sophistication not only didn't count, but was held against them. To most left politicians, this was embarrassing at best, and often something to sneer at, and put down. At the core, it was an argument over what is reality: is the universe ultimately spiritual or just dead stuff?

Not one of the new social movements and consciousness movements framed things primarily in terms of the hard Left's history of class analysis, any more than they'd frame it in terms of the values of the Religious Right, Wall Street or Main Street business conservatives. Even traditional left concerns about economic equality remained in the background, as part of progressive thought, but not central to the new analyses that were being put forth, even if they were about various aspects of social justice and social, gender, racial and ethnic domination. These movements developed new moral stances, new explanatory analyses, and new tactics and strategies around new issues. New movement members were often a heterogeneous mix of political positions and identities. Few of the new movements grew out of the mainstream of the Left, nor indeed, were they supported by many mainstream politicians until they were already successful. They were considered "too far outside the box" of conventional political agendas.

So, as each movement grew in size, Progressives eventually adopted the movement's views as their own — not without conflict and controversy, but they came around. Indeed, many far left splinter groups were decades in finding some twist of ideology to justify including the new movements in their class analysis. Conventional liberalism came to define itself as delivering the economic goods to increase equality, but that seems not to have been enough for *any* new social movement. As Rabbi Michael Lerner eloquently demonstrates in *The Politics of*

*Meaning*, the Left's political programs and practices are based primarily on economic benefits and a materialist worldview. That makes their positions hard to enlarge when they have completely lacked the inner dimensions of psychology and spirituality.

Such a history did not cause most new social movement supporters to gratefully think of themselves as supported by the Left. To the contrary, they often felt that "those people on the Left, *over there*, have finally seen the importance of our work, even if they don't really get it about where we're coming from." The new social movements and new consciousness movements often recruited people who had been on the Left, but they did not originate with the Left, nor depend on it. Even though many of their leaders felt some kinship or identification with the Left, there were enough tensions with Left political groups that this only called for alliances, not a Left identity. Most ordinary movement folks seemed to be evolving beyond liberal positions focused on delivering on straight economic issues. Those were seen as valid, but insufficient.

From this perspective, however much the Left wants to increase numbers and clout by claiming the new social movement positions as its own, and however much conservative opponents long to brand such positions as being on the socialistic Left, these are the rhetorics of 'outsiders' to most movements. The labels didn't stick, nor did they make movement members leftists. Perhaps the most open-minded view is that we were all hamstrung by the paucity of our left-right imagery and language.

### **Emerging Issues on the North Agenda**

Just a few key issues were used to identify the political North on the Compass. But the 1995 survey gave quite a large number of values statements and political attitudes that have important political implications that are correlated with North on the compass. Table 1 lists a number of statements from the 1995 survey that show how distinctive the political demand of the North is. It gives percent on the North saying very important, or agreeing with each statement, compared to national percentages. What they demonstrate is a common worldview that drives the production of political issues, most of which conventional politics is doing poorly with. Read it and watch a picture of massive amounts of unfulfilled political demand unfold right before your eyes.

### Table 1. Distinctive Values and Opinions of the North's New Progressives

(This table should be quite valuable for message and program development to the New Progressive constituency. Note that the Political North is by definition more heterogeneous than the Cultural Creatives, who are a bare majority, and it include many people identified in earlier research as Moderns. Showing "distinctive" values and opinions means they take stronger stands than the other 3 sectors. Those items where New Progressives are stronger than average, but not as strong as other groups, or differ from Total U.S. by only a couple of percentage points, are excluded.)

Actual Values Items in Questionnaire: Percent saying, "very important" or "extremely important"

| How important to your life is...  | New Progressives | Total U.S. |
|---|------------------|------------|
| helping other people  | 83.47%           | 76.25%     |
| the belief that every person has a unique gift to offer                                     | 75.88            | 66.80      |
| having something to show for your efforts   | 74.25            | 67.18      |
| developing more self-awareness—that is, not sleep-walking through life                      | 73.17            | 65.73      |
| getting out of debt   | 70.19            | 65.93      |
| getting better control over your finances   | 69.11            | 62.36      |
| creating better relationships with friends and co-workers                                   | 68.56            | 60.52      |
| having your work make a contribution to society   | 66.94            | 54.25      |
| living in harmony with the Earth  | 66.12            | 53.28      |
| knowing that you've made a difference in the world  | 59.62            | 45.85      |
| finding your purpose in life, rather than making money                                      | 57.45            | 47.30      |
| discovering new things about yourself   | 57.18            | 47.39      |
| developing deeper relationships with your friends   | 56.64            | 48.5       |
| wanting to be involved in creating a better society   | 53.66            | 41.12      |
| desire for a new way of life in America   | 51.22            | 42.66      |
| needing to express your own creativity  | 49.86            | 42.57      |
| optimism about new developments in our culture  | 46.88            | 38.71      |
| involvement in volunteer work   | 34.69            | 26.35      |
| putting more time and effort into your psychological development                            | 32.79            | 24.52      |
| looking for ways to create social change  | 28.46            | 18.34      |
| <b>Values statements in Agree/Disagree Format Percent Agreeing "Somewhat" or "Strongly"</b> |                  |            |
| We need to treat the planet as a living system  | 91.06            | 86.97      |
| Corporate greed and shortsightedness are harming our country                                | 87.80            | 81.47      |
| Business corporations make too much profit  | 76.15            | 65.64      |
| Government should shut down industries that keep polluting the air                          | 69.11            | 62.55      |
| It's better to protect jobs than endangered species and forests (% DISAGREE)                | 59.89            | 50.97      |
| I'd pay more taxes to help solve our environmental problems                                 | 51.49            | 41.60      |

**(Table 1 Cont.)** Note: Opinions on issues are more open to new information, and thus change faster than values, because they are not as deeply rooted, nor set life priorities as strongly.

| Actual Opinion Items in Questionnaire: Percent saying, "very important" or "extremely important"                                | New Progressives | Total U.S. |
|---|------------------|------------|
| <b>How important to your life are these fears or concerns?</b>  |                  |            |
| getting, or keeping, health insurance that covers your needs  | 96.48            | 91.41      |
| getting all the health care you and your family may need  | 96.21            | 89.19      |
| that we spend too much time "fixing things" after the fact, instead of finding the source of our problems                       | 92.41            | 81.18      |
| that we spend too much time "fixing things" after the fact, instead of doing more to prevent our problems                       | 92.14            | 82.63      |
| violence against women and children   | 92.41            | 83.11      |
| how much child abuse there is   | 89.97            | 80.60      |
| that you may not have enough to live on in retirement   | 89.70            | 81.76      |
| dealing with long term, or chronic, illness   | 89.16            | 81.56      |
| that our children are getting low quality education   | 89.16            | 83.98      |
| that family life is declining   | 88.89            | 82.53      |
| that pollution may destroy farmlands, forests and seas  | 87.80            | 73.65      |
| that women and men don't get equal pay for equal work   | 85.37            | 68.05      |
| that our politics is getting too polarized, nasty and gridlocked  | 82.93            | 73.46      |
| that traditional values are declining   | 82.66            | 75.58      |
| problems of the global environment: global warming, destruction of rainforests, destruction of species, loss of the ozone layer | 81.84            | 67.95      |
| that the quality of government services is low  | 78.86            | 71.81      |
| pollution that may affect your health   | 77.78            | 66.41      |
| that our current way of life is not sustainable ecologically  | 71.27            | 53.19      |
| whether you or your spouse can keep a job   | 70.46            | 63.51      |
| whether you or your spouse can get another job  | 66.67            | 60.71      |
| that more women should be top leaders in business and government  | 65.58            | 47.59      |
| that multinational corporations increasingly control our fate   | 65.58            | 53.67      |
| that America is not competitive enough economically   | 65.58            | 58.49      |

**(Table 1. Cont. ) Opinions on Social and Environmental Issues.**

| Actual Opinion Items in Questionnaire:<br>Which of the following statements fits the way you see things?                            | Percent Agreeing |            |
|---|------------------|------------|
|   | New Progressives | Total U.S. |
| Americans should have more respect and reverence for Nature   | 92.68            | 83.20      |
| We need to rebuild our neighborhoods and small communities  | 89.16            | 83.40      |
| Humans are meant to be stewards over nature and preserve it   | 87.26            | 82.05      |
| Humans are part of nature, not its ruler  | 83.47            | 75.39      |
| America needs a health insurance plan that covers everyone, rich or poor, for all illnesses   | 81.30            | 68.82      |
| We live in a time when our need for healthier communities has become critical   | 80.76            | 70.08      |
| I feel a need to live in a city that works for me, not against me   | 79.67            | 74.23      |
| Business needs to do more to clean up its environmental messes  | 79.40            | 71.91      |
| We must change the way we do business to save the environment   | 76.15            | 62.64      |
| I want us to return to a simpler way of life with less emphasis on consumption and wealth (slightly less than Social Conservatives) | 75.34            | 67.66      |
| Americans need to consume a much smaller proportion of the world's resources  | 71.54            | 61.29      |
| I'd pay 10 percent more for consumer goods if I could know this would save the environment  | 69.65            | 53.86      |
| America needs a single set of educational standards, and national funding of education  | 67.21            | 56.95      |
| Business is already asked to pay too much for cleaning up the environment (DISAGREE)  | 67.21            | 58.78      |
| All of life needs to be preserved, even species we don't have a use for   | 66.94            | 54.92      |
| We need to develop a whole new way of life for long run ecological sustainability   | 66.67            | 52.80      |
| I'd pay 20 cents more per gallon for gasoline if I were sure it would pay for environmental cleanup                                 | 66.67            | 52.80      |
| Workplaces would be less stressful if employees had more control over their own work  | 65.31            | 59.36      |
| I agree with those ecologists who see Earth as a giant living organism  | 64.50            | 52.90      |
| Most people have too many possessions   | 62.87            | 55.79      |
| Health insurance is the responsibility of the individual; government should keep out of it (DISAGREE)                               | 60.70            | 45.66      |
| Most pollution problems are already being cleaned up by business (DISAGREE)   | 60.16            | 51.80      |
| I'd pay 25 cents more per gallon for gasoline if I were sure that it would stop global warming                                      | 58.81            | 42.76      |
| Managers who measure "productivity" don't see what really makes business work   | 56.10            | 47.20      |
| There is no way that economic growth can go on forever in a finite world  | 53.66            | 43.24      |
| Redwood groves are sacred   | 48.51            | 36.00      |
| People waste too much of their lives at work  | 42.28            | 36.10      |

**Table 3: Challenges and Opportunities of the Coming Decades**

- Continued acceleration of technological change in four areas: information-technology, communications, materials technology, bio-technology, nano-technology. All lead to:
  - Information society, with better communications worldwide = “one world”
  - Enables globalization of markets and threatens many indigenous economies
  - Change in the material basis of civilization:
    - Making it easier to invent new solutions to many global problems
    - Potential for industrial-technological disasters on an unprecedented scale
- Globalization of big business, big media, big finance
  - Market takeover: markets and self interest, removal of constraints on corporations
  - Growing power of Big Media, Big Corporations, Big Finance, combined with shrinkage of Big Government
  - Business conservatives succeed in making incomes vastly more unequal
  - But also a planetarization of ecological consciousness, especially against the Bigs
- Ecological crisis, heading toward an overshoot of the carrying capacity of the Earth
  - Environmental destruction, and species extinctions, worldwide
  - Global climate change
  - Damage to health of humans and ecosystems from manmade chemicals
  - Overpopulation of poorer countries matched by overconsumption of richer ones
- Culture Wars become harsher: Traditionals vs Moderns
  - Neo-traditionalism & fundamentalism strengthen as a reaction to Modernism
  - Traditionalism continues to lose credibility in the larger culture
  - Conservative movements keep trying to reverse new social movement trends: especially social safety net, human rights, feminism and new spiritualities
  - Revivals of ethnic nationalism, as a counter to globalizing culture
  - Terrorist actions in support of ethnic nationalism and fundamentalism
- Justification of dominant Modern culture gets ever more difficult
  - Inability to justify, or to reverse, the destruction of ecologies and species worldwide
  - Growing inequality of rich and poor, everywhere
  - Anomie and cynicism keep growing
  - Attempts to boost the militarization of society for a permanent “war on terror” further delegitimize Modern politics and make Modernism more fragile

**We Need Programmatic Ideas and New Images for “Going North”:** All the above issues suggest a long list of programmatic themes, often closely linked to the new social movements. But despite their common constituency, the movements have not yet consolidated into a general movement for change, and overcome their internecine bickering among movement leaders. Clarifying that what they have in common is Going North may help reframe what movements

want as a cluster of related political issues that can be refined in a common language for a common constituency.

The very idea of a new compass heading beyond left and right can give a better way of talking about departing from ineffective old ways, and it directly points to a dream constituency — huge numbers who have a background of interest in the movements, and a tendency to get engaged in the issues. Once we clean up the way citizen participation works in the new politics, then we can use a constituency-based structure for sorting out any number of new programmatic ideas for national politics. It gives a way of ordering promising new changes, such as those proposed by Ted Halstead and Michael Lind in *The Radical Center* or by Andrei Cherny in *The Next Deal*. We just won't want to call our constituency "the radical middle," "radical center," or any other such inept and misleading image. The actual center is not radical, it's apolitical, alienated, and ignorant. The true constituency for change is savvy about interpersonal relations, about what is happening across the planet, and about many aspects of the need for real change.

#### **The Biggest Theme is Danger to Our Children's Future:**

***"Out in Front" on the Issues Means Dealing With Our Children's Future:*** What most upsets the people of the North part of the Compass is that politicians are not dealing with the issues that affect their children's future. Historically, these have been seen as women's concerns. No longer. A full eighty percent of Americans are very worried that their own children and grandchildren will inherit a worse world than they themselves grew up in. It is a deep anxiety, but it has no present focus. Though it is important, it is easily pre-empted by whatever is more urgent. In that respect, it's rather like buying life insurance, indefinitely postponable until some crisis comes along to remind us how risky life really is, and how transitory. It is easily arguable that our inept and corrupt politics is about to harm us. The West is about to face a cascade of crises that political business as usual cannot handle, whether it is led from the right or the left.

**Let's state the obvious: A political discontinuity is coming.** The fact that the North exists in massive numbers, and is being ignored, shows the political version of market failure: the supply of political goods offered at election time, and in everyday governance, is not being matched with the voter demand. In fact, the supply of political goods fits the South on the Compass, where money is coming from Business Conservatives. Today they represent only 14%

of the people, but about 80% of the money. This is inherently unstable, for Nature abhors a political vacuum as much as any other. If politicians won't adapt to the values and concerns of the North, they'll be replaced. If the political parties won't adapt, they'll die — or split into contending parties.

### **There May Be Just One National Politician in the North**

Everyone asks, so I have to tell you: In the U.S. I have seen just one national politician running on a “North” platform of the kind that Cultural Creatives and New Progressives will like: Rep. Dennis Kucinich, a Democrat of Cleveland, Ohio. In the 2000 election, in a district that had previously voted 61% and 68% Republican, looking safely Gingrich-ite before Kucinich, he ran a pure “North” campaign and won with 75% of the vote, far ahead of the standard bearer of his party. His platform was entirely that of the North, and the Cultural Creatives: Create a cabinet department of Peace for both home and abroad; do everything we can to live up to the Kyoto Accords, i.e., make the economy subservient to the ecology; and run a citizens campaign without the influence of big money. Notice that it's “not news” in the Modernist media. Kucinich's recent speech condemning the Bush administration's war policy and destruction of civil liberties, reminding voters that they're an unelected bunch at that, is also a pure North position. His speech fits a movement-based position, and fits the revival of the peace movement in 2002. This demonstrates what can win for the North's New Progressives, time and again. And yes, Kucinich was a big city mayor.

This is a serious job opportunity for politicians who can think outside the box, and who can authentically appeal to the political North.

## The Rest of the New Political Compass

### The Liberal Left is in the West Part of the Compass:

Given the above, is it any wonder that we live in a period when the Left is in disarray? It's partly due to the Right's success in identifying them with ineffectual big government and taxes, and partly due to the collapse of socialist and welfare state economics worldwide. And it's partly due to being out of tune with the new social movements that have been crucial to cultural change that came prior to political change. Pragmatic Americans want what works, and it doesn't look like the Left works. In the U.S. the Left gets the loyalty of about 12% of the population, though issue by issue it will range from 10% to 15%. Because of low voter registration and turnout they are about 15-17% of voters. Since progressives cannot call upon the money that the Right commands, they are nowhere without the people power they have lost. So, those liberals in Congress who gave in to the blandishments of big money are losing out, and their numbers shrink to a pitiful few. We need to look at how a new form of progressive political forces can revive the fortunes of the people who care, and whether they can improve their political culture to win back this critical new cultural constituency who have wandered away in search of a better politics, or no politics at all. Color them pretty in pink, for they are no longer the healthy blood red of the communists or socialists. Amazingly enough they are only 51% Democrat and 22% Republican with 23% Independent.

The issues used to identify the Left from the survey are given with percent agreeing:

|   |                                     |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| Want national health insurance coverage     | 93%                                 |
| Against Social Conservatives                | 88%                                 |
| Anti Big Business                           | 77%                                 |
| Against the Religious Right (+pro-choice)   | 76%                                 |
| Pro-Civil Liberties                         | 57%                                 |
| Feminism                                    | 57%                                 |
| Pro-Immigrants                              | 51%                                 |
| Identify with Left                          | 44%                                 |
| Anti-Private Enterprise (Main Street)       | 44%                                 |
| ??Don't' believe there are limits to growth | 27% (check this, it looks backward) |

**Sidebar:** Grace Lee Boggs is an 80 year-old radical activist from Detroit, who acts as a wisdom figure on the far left. Here's her diagnosis of the rhetoric of the radical left.

### **The Rhetoric of Radicals**

By Grace Lee Boggs, *Michigan Citizen*, Dec. 2-8, 2001

This is something very much on my mind these days. As I put it a few weeks ago , “Everything else may have changed since September 11, but not the rhetoric of radicals. We are still shouting at people instead of listening to them. We are still trying to get people to think like us, when our aim should be to get people thinking for themselves. Too many of us still believe that we have the answers - which no one can possibly have now that the collapse of the World Trade Center towers has brought to an end the unquestioning technological and economic optimism of the 20th century.”

I followed this up with a quote from Starhawk. “We on the Left can be as devoted to certain words and political forms as any Catholic was ever attached to the Latin Mass. We incant ‘imperialism’ or ‘anti-capitalist’ or ‘non-violence’ or even ‘peace’ with an almost religious fervor, as if the words alone could strike blows in the struggle.” {See [www.starhawk.org/](http://www.starhawk.org/) Only Poetry Can Address Grief: Moving Forward After 9-11}. ...

Most of us who identify as radicals view our language as liberating because over the last forty years, in response to the identity movements, we have struggled to eliminate the racist, sexist, homophobic ingredients that are built into our culture. But we still believe that we are the ones who have discovered the Truth which needs to be preached to the unenlightened. We are still not challenging ourselves to talk and write in a way that encourages the mutual exchange of ideas and acts like a midwife to people birthing their own ideas. Until that happens, our language is limiting knowledge and is therefore oppressive.

Creating new language begins with thinking dialectically, in other words, with recognizing that reality has changed and therefore that ideas that were once liberating have become abstractions that are like chains on our minds.

### **Going Backward on Quality of Life and Destroying the Planet, is in the South:**

Directly opposite the North, going Backward, are the Business Conservatives. Their views are in the ascendant, making plutocracy the dominant political rulership of the planet, not either democracy or authoritarianism. Their ideology is to sacrifice everything for economic growth and corporate profits. You can see how extreme their view is by the second diagram which shows them off in the far south, much farther away from the mainstream of American beliefs and values than the other groups. That is a fact that the emerging politics can take advantage of. Most polls show that, by more than two to one, Americans don't trust big business. The lives of our children and grandchildren are at risk because of them, and 70% of Americans know it. Nevertheless, they have the most money to spend and are in control from doing just that, colonializing the political sector the way they are colonializing the Third World, by buying up anyone of importance, and manipulating the laws to suit themselves. Capitalism as a system of markets has triumphed, in part because markets are more efficient than command economies, and in part because of the accumulated, and rapidly growing, money and power of corporations. This is all about money power, counting dollars instead of votes, since the Business Right were never numerous. They are 69% Republican. In the U.S. they get the loyalty of about 14% of the population, and issue by issue are 10-15% of the population. Color them black, for the death of the planet.

The issues used to identify them from the survey are given with percent agreeing:

|                                      |   |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| Pro Big Business                     | 78%                                     |
| For-Private Enterprise (Main Street) | 74%                                     |
| Against Limits to Growth             | 64%                                     |
| Anti Social Conservatives            | 63%                                     |
| Identify with Right                  | 61%                                     |
| Anti-Social Change                   | 59%                                     |
| Anti-Sustainability                  | 41%* their leaders are stronger on this |
| Anti-Feminism                        | 35%* their leaders are stronger on this |
| Anti-National Health Insurance       | 36%* their leaders are stronger on this |

**Social Conservatives are in the East Part of the Compass:** Social Conservatism wants to rule out most changes in society by fiat, and to roll back changes from the past generation, to keep social codes unexamined and unchanged. Many of their favorite social codes are precisely the ones that have been challenged over the past 40 years by new social movements: discrimination against people of color, against women, against gays, against women wanting abortions (unless they are well off), against the poor, etc. The Religious Right (whether authoritarian Catholic, Jewish or Muslim fundamentalist, or Protestant fundamentalist or evangelical) is still numerous, and can still pack a wallop, but they are slowly declining in the U.S. Color the general population of cultural conservatives true blue for patriotism, and singing the blues, because their culture has slowly declined from half to under a quarter of the population since World War II.

Today political social conservatism is 19% of the population, ranging from 18-24% from issue to issue. (Many who agree with them have no politics.) It is also the Southernization of American politics: the manipulation of ethnic hatreds and xenophobia by an exploitative political over-class. Worldwide, fundamentalism is still gaining in power and influence in reaction to the power of modernism, especially in its capitalist form. But in the U.S. all that is really necessary is for those in the North to get organized, and this rear-guard of the electorate will be dwarfed in importance. Some 47% are Republican, but the sum of Democrats and Independents equals that.

The issues used to identify them from the survey are given with percent agreeing:

|                                      |   |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| Anti Big Business                    | 90%                                     |
| For Religious Right (anti-abortion)  | 77%                                     |
| Anti-Civil Liberties                 | 77%                                     |
| For Social Conservatives             | 76%                                     |
| Anti-Immigrants                      | 68%                                     |
| For-Private Enterprise (Main Street) | 63%                                     |
| Identify with Right                  | 60%                                     |
| Against Social Change                | 50%                                     |
| Anti-Feminism                        | 36%* their leaders are stronger on this |

**The True Middle is a Duh! Muddle:** There are 20% of Americans who don't know or care about politics, take no stance, and don't participate at all. Many are migrants, and many are poor and uneducated, and just as many are alienated from politics. Some could be brought back into the process, but most of them you wouldn't want, because they are ignorant, often willfully so. Color them gray. They call themselves Democrat or Independent, but if you look at their place on the political compass, they lean to the North and East. In fact they tend to be alienated Americans.

Their strong positions on the issues are worth noticing:

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| For National Health Insurance coverage | 87% |
| Anti-Big Business                      | 73% |
| Pro-sustainability                     | 58% |
| Anti-Immigrant                         | 53% |
| Pro-Feminist                           | 46% |

## **Q: What Happened to the Left? A: Cultural Change**

We have a new answer for that perennial moan of the Left, "What happened? What did we do wrong? With all the good issues that are going our way in the minds of voters, how could we lose?" The answer appears to be not in political positions but in culture: that activists on the Left failed to keep up with the cultural changes in their natural constituency. There is a host of emerging issues that the Left claims, and the Right condemns, but the voters who favor those issues don't identify with the Left any more than with the Right.

The new social and consciousness movements have raised issues that have been consistently seen as "outside the box" for establishment politicians for the last forty years. All are potentially huge political issues, with a powerful resonance for tens of millions, and yet their common constituency is no more "on the left" than the general population. And that's the paradox for the Left. What will energize this population is bringing all those issues onto the political agenda with a big new political party. So why can't the Left mobilize them? Progressives want to believe that they "own" these issues, if only because the Right opposes them all. If having an analysis were enough, they *should* own those issues, and lead those social change efforts. But worldwide, a large portion of the overlapping constituencies who agree with

several of the movements are just as unimpressed by the politics of their would-be allies on the left, as they are of their obvious opponents on the right. Cultural change is enveloping the political sector, and it has not been any kinder to the left than the right. The fact is that the Left began during the French Revolution, in 1789, and it is an essential part of Modern society, just as much as the Right is. Within the beliefs of Modernism, having just one without the other is like having up without down: nonsensical. Nevertheless, each side of Modern political thought has sought to eliminate the other. As we go beyond Modernism, it is natural to go beyond Left and Right.

The problem of leaders of the Left in times of cultural change is unrequited love. Claiming to be on the good side of the issues isn't enough, because their old, established political habits of rhetoric and political organization don't work for Cultural Creatives and women in the North:

1. They hate the group dynamics normal to leftist (or rightist) meetings, and won't go. A desire for "good process" is natural to Cultural Creatives — while the normal political process is built around gearing up for nasty conflicts, and was formulated in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It's archaic, and it depends on mobilizing hatreds and old unresolved angers. The internal rhetoric of normal politics is self-justifying and psychologically naïve. Their external rhetoric is for idealizing one's own side and denigrating the other side. Where's win-win and good process? Nowhere.
2. They find the Modernist "presentation of self" that politicians use to be phony and inauthentic, so they distrust or dislike the politicians of both left and right parties, and want new ones. The new ones need to operate from a more developed persona to impress Cultural Creatives.
3. Many are seriously unimpressed with the well-known politicians and union leaders of the left: Crummy style, inauthentic personally, bereft of innovative ideas, out of touch with emerging issues of the planet, too nationalistic, too macho in their posturing, not women-friendly, not interested in rebuilding community. In other words, they're too much in the style and rhetoric of the Modernist culture that Cultural Creatives have already left behind.
4. Many see the psychology of *both* left and right as primitive: blaming, shaming and name-calling; vicious infighting with implicit imagery of violence; political groups splintering into ever-smaller factions; projecting one's own evil onto the other side; using old rhetoric that no

one believes in any more; always into fights and not innovative conflict resolution; party activists and leaders who seem emotionally undeveloped and spiritually empty.

5. They won't read left publications because they don't like the writing style or the rhetoric. It is notable that the successful environmental, holistic health, women's, peace, and planetary publications have learned not to use leftist rhetoric because it doesn't work for their people.
6. Their personal life goals and purposes are poorly addressed by current politicians of left or right, and their strongly held moral concerns are ignored by the political process.

**What the above says is that Cultural Creatives react to the *culture* of conventional politicians and political operatives, of both left and right, the way they react to skunks at a picnic.** Despite what ideologs want to believe, they don't like leftist culture any more than rightist culture: their Modernist worldview, values, public personae, or normal presentation of issues, even if they agree with them on the substance of many issues.

But there are straightforward political problems too:

1. The big hot button of our era is that 80% of most populations believe their own children and grandchildren are going to inherit a far worse world than they grew up in, and they're deeply worried. They don't believe politicians will address the issue, and are concerned that big business is the real problem. There's an immense vacuum on this. Nature abhors a vacuum.
2. They are equally unimpressed by the semi-marxist class-injustice rhetoric of the left, and by the fundamentalist or corporate rhetoric of the right. They see life as more complicated than that, if only because it doesn't capture a single one of their key issues and values, and often because it directly offends some value position.
3. They believe that the left's favorite solutions are ineffectual, and that the right's are harmful. What they are prepared to believe in is evolving: more complex, more realistic, yet altruistic.
4. They want political change that can support fundamental, structural change in society — not mere policy rhetoric and change of window dressing within the old styles of Modernist politics.
5. They don't always want new institutional rules of the game, or new constitutions, but rather new interpersonal and social processes, both for elections and governance, that can take some of the crookedness, ugliness and violence out of politics-as-usual. And they'd certainly be interested in having some new rules.

6. They also want new rules and processes for media, to improve the quality of their mirroring of our social, political and economic life, and to improve public opinion processes. Right now, they hate the way the media are dominated by what's good for big business.
7. They will also be interested in involving civil society organizations in new ways, opening up the political process to give more channels of influence of civil society organizations into politics. That should strike fear into the heart of the lobbying fraternity.
8. Most of all, they'll want the power of Big Corporate Money out of politics. And they see both left and right as having been bought by big money, which they hate. Today's liberals lack virtue in the eyes of the Political North.

In Figure 3 the New Progressives out In Front aren't very far out in front. If you take the positions on the east and west as normal differences from the cross-hairs of 0,0 then you can see that In Front is only a short distance North of No Politics. It's not that they don't feel strongly about individual issues, however, but rather that the whole package gives a little more ambivalence. What the data shows is that all the issues in this complex of issues are closely related. But without a strong political party to articulate the issues, and without a large public conversation on the issues, they have not yet firmed up as political issues in the public mind. Politics today allows personal opinion to become public opinion only when there are groups to articulate the issues in public forums and get some form of media coverage. And practical politicians don't yet agree that these issues are "inside the box." What we're seeing here are attitudes and values that are *almost* hot-button political issues. They await a political call, in publically formulated issues. Unfortunately, it may not be from any of the established groups. But if my estimate that they are 45% of voters is at all close, the North will win over the long run.

## The Great Wave of Change Points North

The key to understanding the North quadrant of the New Political Compass is in seeing the wave of change that has been passing through our culture. It is a change in values and worldviews has been going on in the Western world for 40 years. It is possible to simply say that by this point, every person in the Western world has been affected by the various new social and consciousness movements that have re-educated the West since the Sixties. One result has been the emergence of the Cultural Creatives as a distinct subculture. But another result has been the creation of the North's unfulfilled political demand for a new set of political institutions, not just some new political programs. The new demands are seen as "outside the box" by politicians and pundits, and are therefore ignored by Moderns.

There are degrees of accepting these changes toward Cultural Creativity, however, so it's not just a matter of belonging to a new subculture, or not. In fact most Americans and Europeans have some exposure to these new values, lifestyles and worldviews. Only the more extreme Business Conservatives and Social Conservatives are in strong reaction against these trends, and the rest of the culture has some degree of acceptance of them. There is no need for an "us vs. them" conflict of Cultural Creatives with the Traditionals and the Moderns, because there is considerable overlap of worldviews, values and lifestyles.

To anticipate the empirical findings: With a Wave of Change analysis, we can see that the 14% who are in the Core Group of Cultural Creatives are the farthest along in changing toward a new culture, and that an additional 24% of the U.S. are in late transition toward full blown CC values and worldview. Thus, a loose definition of who is a Cultural Creative gives us about 38% of American culture who are far along in accepting the new culture. That's about 73 million adults in the U.S. And it is they who account for the New Progressives in the North of the Compass. Some 56% of New Progressives are in the Late Transition Group or in the Core group of Cultural Creatives. Turning it around, 44% of the Late Transition Group are in the North, and 70% of the Core Cultural Creatives group are in the North.

The Wave of Change analysis shows the effect of new social movements and consciousness movements giving rise to the new political agenda that can be represented as people going Forward, or North. Let us look at some data about how far that wave of change had already gone as of this 1995 survey, because it will show not only where this new political direction has come from, but why it has the peculiar character that it does.

In a new analysis from the 1995 Integral Culture Survey data, I found a way to statistically describe the wave of change that has been passing through the West over the last 40 years as a result of the massive re-education and reframing of issues that those social and consciousness movements gave as their gift to modern society. Here's why it makes sense:

- a) What Sherry Anderson and I saw in our 60 in-depth interviews with Cultural Creatives was that on average most take about 10 years (from 5 to 15 years) to bring their lives into alignment with their professed values. You didn't just change your mind one day, and step across a category boundary. It was not a quick and easy crossing of a line, but a lloonnngg, ssllooww change of values, worldview and lifestyle — often done without much social support.
- b) Therefore, most people classified as Cultural Creatives in the survey are still in transition at any given point in time, and so, most likely are a whole lot of other people whom classified as not- Cultural Creatives. The way I did the estimates earlier made sure that the estimates of who was in each subculture “made sense” by using subculture categories like a market segmentation tool that could make good predictions of what people would do. It did not take change into account. So when it showed Cultural Creatives would do things differently it gave a careful, lowball estimate, reflecting tighter, better predicting clusters.
- c) Therefore, any static cross sectional picture of the population should be showing where people are in that slow-moving wave of change, more than just clean boundaries among groups. Rather than show boundaries, we should show degrees of change from “being in reaction against any change since the Sixties,” to “no change at all since the Fifties” to “small changes” to “lots of change to toward the Core Cultural Creatives” to the Core Cultural Creatives. This requires we use all the data we have, and thus it gives us new information we didn't have before.
- d) When you think of cultural evolution this way, there should not be an “us vs. them” boundary between Cultural Creatives and the rest of the society, because many more people have been affected to some degree by the Great Wave of Change than just the Cultural Creatives population. And when you restate the data to pick up this new understanding, that's exactly what you get: gradual degrees of departure from the late Fifties position, on six broad measures that are roughly independent of each other.

- e) In fact, because of the statistically conservative estimation techniques I employed in earlier analyses, it turns out that there are many, many more people who are very far along in their life transitions, but not in the way I'd originally conceptualized the problem. It turns out that there are Moderns and Traditionals who have changed their lives a lot, as well as Greens, and they are, all of them, still transitional to the Core Cultural Creatives group.

### **Somewhat Technical Sidebar**

In previous analyses, the primary use for the subculture distinctions was predicting consumer behavior and connections to good causes. The choice of measures was optimized around those predictions, and not politics. There's no free lunch: this departure will worsen consumer behavior predictions while it improves these predictions for political and cultural change. In the present analysis we've extended the measures to also include citizen behavior, political identities and political causes, showing the results as a wave of change passing through the culture. This goes beyond the "values reflect subcultures" argument to allow for the possibility that many Americans have been influenced to one degree or another, whether we should consider them full fledged Cultural Creatives or not. Happily, it's an even more hopeful result than before.

I constructed measures that used any questionnaire item that reflected emerging values or policy positions that had not existed before the Sixties. While it used many measures that had identified all three subcultures in the past, it also included a much wider range of information about respondents than just the measures that classified them as Traditionals, Moderns or Cultural Creatives. I also left out anything that might reflect old positions, like having fundamentalist beliefs. Principal components factor analysis with rotation showed that these change measures made up six dimensions of values listed below.

The strategy I adopted was to show a spectrum from reactivity and/or no change on these values (being negative on each dimension), through neutral (which means some slight change compared to the 1950s norms), to having changed most values, so that even if they were neutral on one or two, none were negative, which corresponds neatly to the Core Cultural Creatives position. By making new scores that were simply positive, neutral or negative (+1,0-1) I could construct a permutation lattice of all possible positions. The negative signs are not merely a matter of saying that people were pro-change or not, but acknowledging that many of the new social movements, say feminism, created a backlash from cultural conservatives among Traditionals, while others like ecology, created a backlash among Business Conservative Moderns. It's important that there have been elaborations of new conservative ideology against elements of the emerging culture, and we want to capture those here. The lattice can be ordered from all-negative=reaction against change, then no-change, small change, to combinations that were clearly transitional to the Core group, to all-positive=Core Cultural Creatives. Thus, I could show how far that wave of change had passed through the culture as of the survey date of 1995.

**Sidebar: Six Dimensions of the Wave of Change Analysis:**

One particularly valuable use of the six dimensions of the Wave of Change analysis is to guide the construction of themes for speeches, direct mail, and advertising addressed to Cultural Creatives and the carriers of change that moves to the Political North.

- **Anti-materialism:** This is the revulsion against “doing it just for the money,” success-driven behavior, materialistic status display, over-spending and over-consumption. It comes partly from egalitarian rejection of a status-and-money-driven society by both the Left and the hippies, and partly from movements like voluntary simplicity and ecological sustainability that worked more from concerns for ecological sustainability and go beyond Left vs. Right. In effect, it is an emerging rejection of the personal success projects used to create support for the Modernist culture, and to justify Modern life to households, who see it as not only improving their own life chances, but those of their children. It shows a mutual rejection between Cultural Creatives and those Moderns who aspire to what the corporate media are selling. The negative side of this dimension is of course, pro-materialism, status display, over-spending and consumerism. It tends to run North-South.
- **Pro-civil-liberties and anti-Traditionalism:** This can reflect an older ACLU progressive position on civil liberties and personal freedom found on the Left throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, coupled with a newer rejection of the backlash, authoritarianism, intolerance and racial bigotry of social conservatives. It can also reflect new positions drawn from the civil rights movement, women’s movement, gay lib, animal rights, which are usually claimed by the Left, but whose adherents also can go beyond Left vs. Right. It also draws from the post-Sixties parts of the consciousness movements that are for new spiritualities, oriental religions, and innovative lifestyles rejected by the Right. In effect, this dimension shows a mutual rejection by many New Progressives and the Religious Right. It tends to run Northwest-Southeast with a negative side in Social Conservatism..
- **Ecological Sustainability:** This dimension is a much stronger view than conventional feel-good environmentalism, focused on managing environmental problems better. This emerging post-Eighties dimension wants outright prevention of ecological destruction, a slowing of economic growth for saving the environment, a concern for planetary ecological problems in all domains, changing the way we do business to save the ecology, and it’s also an anti-big business, anti-globalization position. It is a key to the emerging North-South dimension,

reflecting the mutual rejection of many Cultural Creatives and Big Business Conservatives. The negative side is Business Conservatism.

- **Person-Centered:** This dimension is largely unchanged from variables that originally created the Cultural Creatives classification. It is not especially New Age, but rather a mainstream concern for relationships, altruism and idealism, plus a concern for personal development over the whole adult lifecycle that includes both psychology and spirituality. While it certainly can include many New Age adherants, they would be a tiny minority of those who score positive on this dimension. Many aspects of this dimension reflect women's concerns going public for the first time in Western history, which notably, are quite accepted by Cultural Creatives men, eliminating the gender gap within Cultural Creatives. Many Traditional and Modern women also share these views. Negative scores on this dimension reflect male-dominant attitudes and materialist rejection of these inner concerns, both of which are strong among Traditional and Modern men. There's a slight tendency to be North or West vs. South or East.
- **Futurist, Planetary Progressive:** This dimension directly reflects feminism, concern for the long term effects of our actions (and our childrens' futures) and wide planetary concerns. These are additional "outside the box" concerns beyond the ecological sustainability or person-centered dimensions. It may be seen as that wider synthesizing view characteristic of many Cultural Creatives. The opposite side, with negative scores, can be seen as conventional, narrowly focused, acceptance of short term and nationalistic goals and concerns, typical of the conventional wisdom. It tends to be Northwest vs. Southeast.
- **Neither Left Nor Right:** This is the surprising last dimension, and apparently it is independent from the others because it is explicitly political. It amounts to rejecting the standard expression of political differences that Modern nations have used since the French Revolution. It is a large population, some of whom are genuinely independent of parties and positions and focus tightly on the merits of particular candidates, others of whom are alienated from the policies, the analyses and positions, and the political processes of both Left and Right. While many are quite unconscious about the sources of their dissatisfaction, others want new political parties to choose from, and some want a new, more democratic politics. Many would agree with the statement, "I'd just like to see a *Second* party," feeling that both parties have been bought by the same big money interests. Negative scores on this dimension reflect identifying with either the Left or the Right, or politics as is. It is a North-South dimension.

The results of a wave of change analysis are shown in two diagrams that actually look like a wave. In the course of the analysis it became obvious that the three subcultures are all in transition from no change to the position of the Core Cultural Creatives. In fact, we have a double picture formed by taking a more complete picture of all relevant variables, more than were used in the original classification into values subcultures that identified Cultural Creatives.

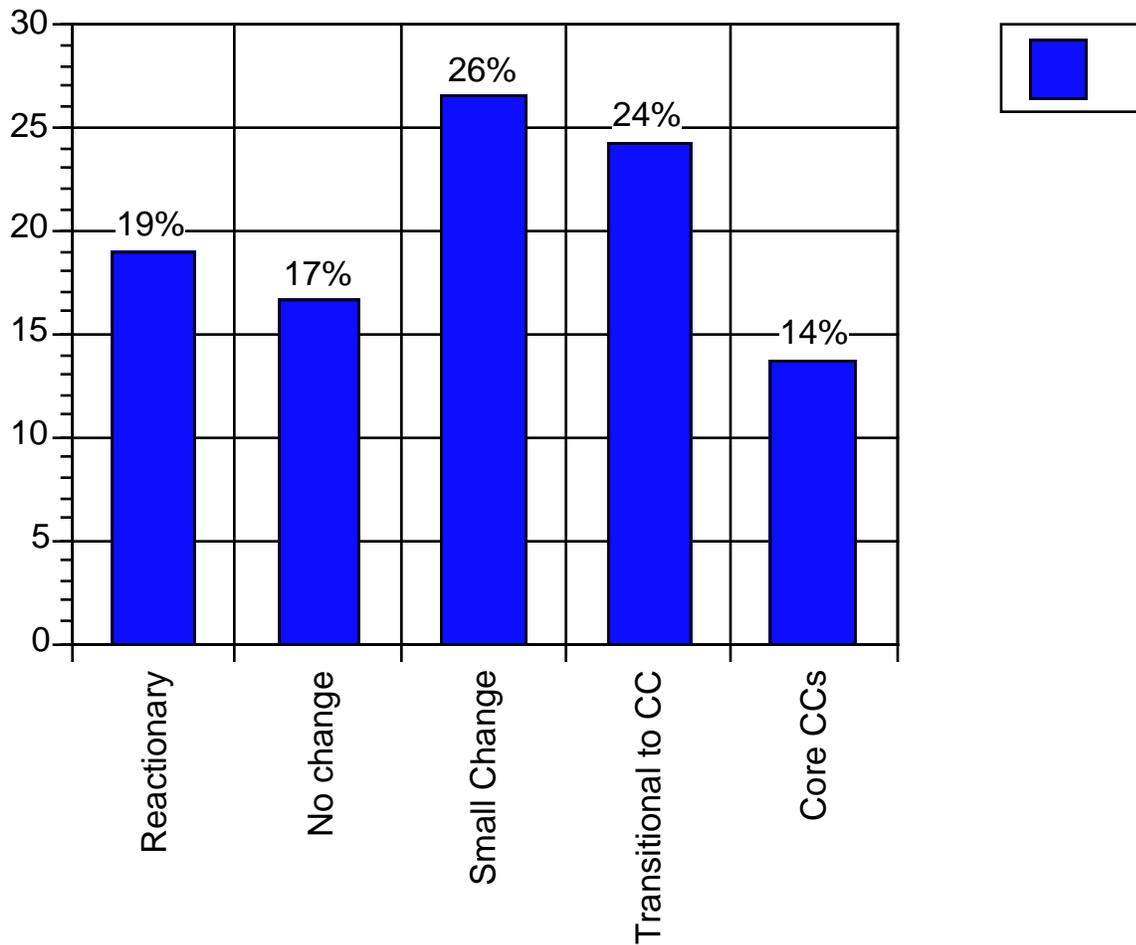
First, on the horizontal dimension there are four degrees of change before the level of the Core Cultural Creatives group:

- a) A mostly or all negative reactionary position against what has emerged from the Sixties on, overwhelming any positive response: 18.9% of the U.S. population.
- b) A pattern of no change, neutrality or just one positive change balanced by a negative: 16.6%.
- c) a small transition with two strong positive changes balanced by two or more very negative positions: 26.5% of the U.S.
- d) a large transition that is just short of the Core CC group: 24.3% who are in many respects nearly indistinguishable from the original notion of who is a CC, except that just over half of them could as easily be considered Moderns or even Traditionals!
- e) the Core Cultural Creatives Group with four to six dimensions being positive changes, and no negatives, now comes out a little larger, with a few Moderns and Traditionals added to the original 11% estimate to now give 13.4%.

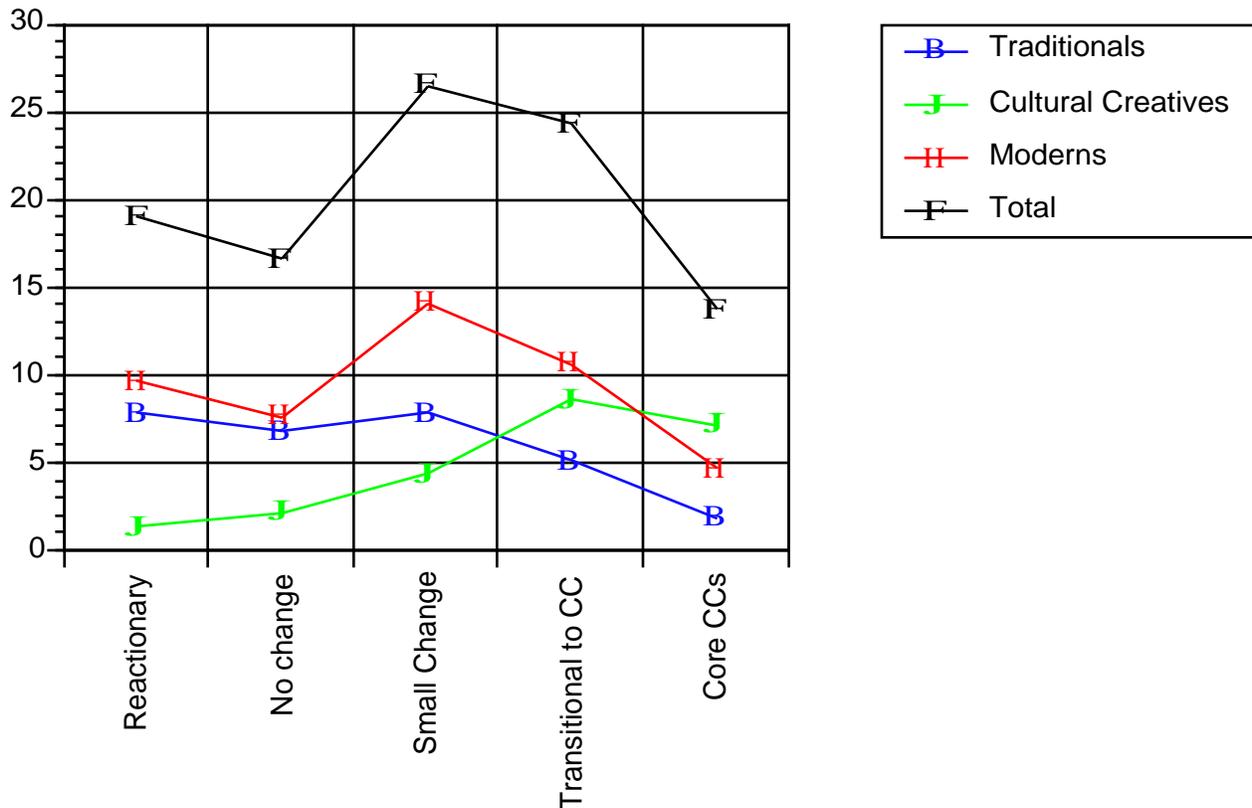
Second, each of the three subcultures can be compared on the degree to which they actually have made a transition to the new values and worldview that has been emerging over the last 40 years. While we'd like all the Cultural Creatives to have made that transition, in the light of far more variables than before, that cannot be. Many of the additional variables reflect social and political concerns not used previously to classify Cultural Creatives, because the previous classification was used for consumer behavior and alliance to good causes. So the Wave of Change is as much a political as a social change picture. It shows a larger population who have made the transition to a Cultural Creatives worldview and values. The previous estimate may have been too conservative, in that it required purchase behavior to validate it.

Both Traditionals and Moderns have a lot of people in reaction against the wave of change created by the new social movements and consciousness movements, and slightly fewer standing pat at no change. If we put the reactionaries and the no change group together, reflecting a view of American culture popular in the Fifties, we get 35.5%, slightly less than the 38% who have changed very far toward the Core Cultural Creatives stance.

**Percents of the Wave of Change**



### Percents of the Wave of Change by Subculture and Total



For the whole population, the Small Change level is 26.5%, and that is the peak of the distribution. The Moderns have the most people at the level of a Small Change, just one or two positive scores, balanced by one or two negative scores, and this is at a moderate level for Traditionals and Cultural Creatives. But the difference is of course that the Cultural Creatives keep tilting up to the right, while the Traditionals tilt up to the left. It is not very difficult to see this as the results of a wave of change: The Cultural Creatives stream is very far along, while the Traditionals and Moderns are slowly moving in their direction, except for the social and business conservatives going the other way in a reactionary pattern typical of the far right.

*Among other things, all the diagrams suggest that the original Cultural Creatives estimate was extremely conservative statistically when it said that about one in four Americans fit the definition of the Cultural Creatives subculture. If we are prepared to talk of trends to Cultural Creativity in a slowly changing population, we'd have to say that well over one in three Americans fit this trend. Here's why:*

When we look at the measure of a Wave of Change, we find that those who are in Late Transition to being Cultural Creatives are 24% of the total, plus the Core group at 14%, so that we could easily make a case for a relaxed view that 38% of Americans are far along in the transition to adopting Cultural Creatives values and world view. In this view, we don't require that a tightly defined subculture exist, where everyone is pretty much the same. Rather, people are taking up changes in their lives by many different paths. It takes away the "us vs. them" character that defining a homogeneous subculture lends itself to. In this view, the trend to Cultural Creativity is more widespread through the population than the original Cultural Creatives subculture estimates would have led us to believe.

By incorporating politics and the role of political positions in our analysis, we include citizen behavior, political identity and political causes with the wave of change. What this appears to do is allow a looser definition of who's "in or out," and less defined boundaries.

That population who have gone through a Large Transition has :

1. 4% Traditionalists who look exactly like the Core group, except that they are social conservatives and do not care about civil liberties;
2. 9% Moderns who look exactly like the Core, except that they are money-and-status oriented;
3. 11% Greens who look exactly like the Core Cultural Creatives, except that they are uninterested in personal growth and spirituality.

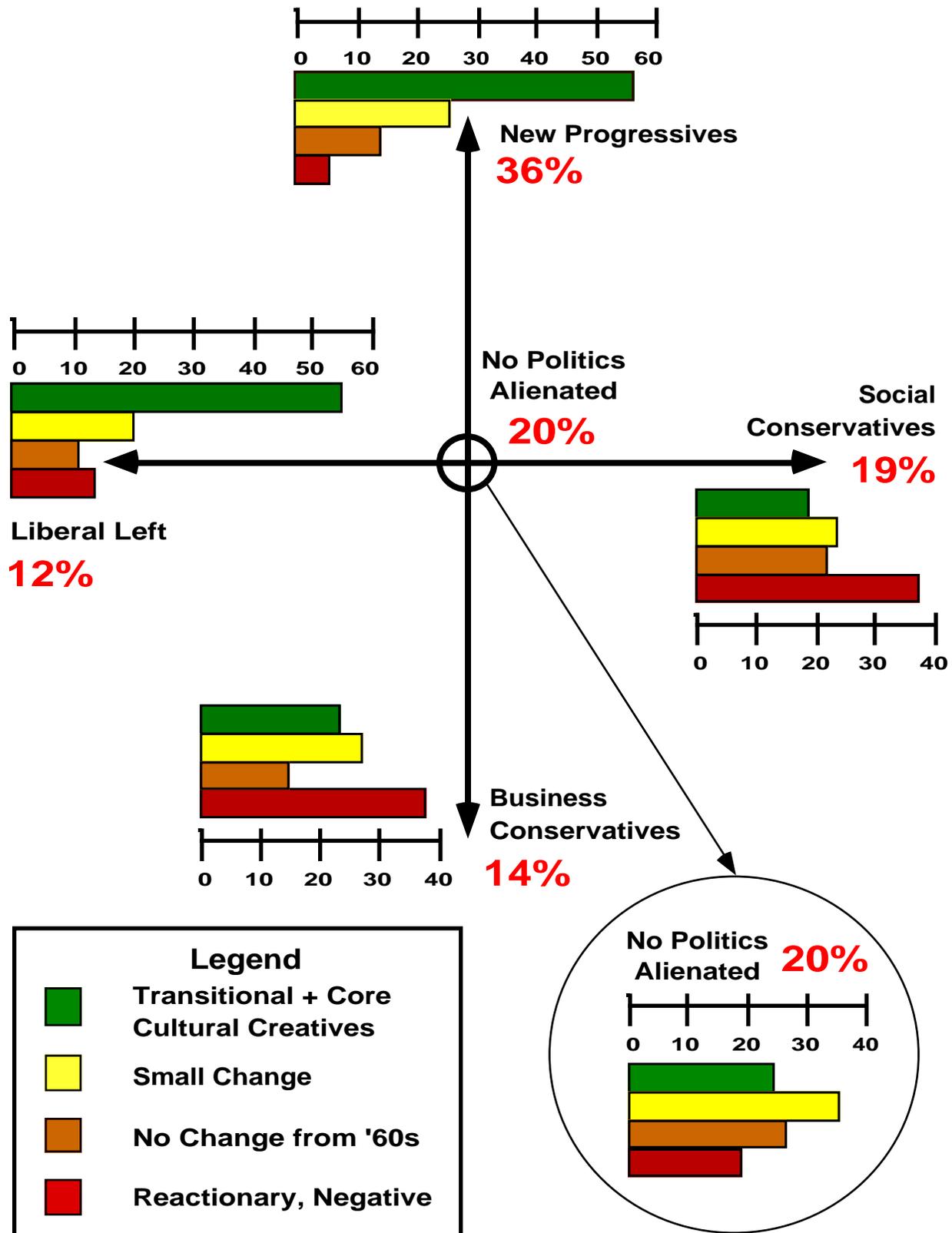
Because the Large Transition level is so close to being the same as the Core CC level, we can regard all of that level as being a definition of who is peripheral to the Core group. And in fact each cell of that peripheral group have just as much in common with each other as they have with the earlier cells of their own stream of change. If we think of it in that way, we get a new, heterogeneous late stage of change that is 24% of the population, and the Core Cultural Creatives are 14%. The Peripheral group plus the Core group make the late wave of change 38% of the population. In effect, that is a broader definition of who is involved in Cultural Creativity, rather than trying to make an estimate of Cultural Creatives as a static subculture.

In some ways this is a more satisfying portrayal because it shows the various paths to becoming a CC and it shows that this change in values does not really have an in-group vs. out-group quality against mainstream culture. Rather we have a gradient of change. A large majority of the mainstream population are, undergoing some degree of values change, by gradual degrees with few boundaries. If there is a true boundary, it is on the other side of the chart, in the

vicinity of that 19% of the population who are in reaction against the new values, going the other way. They reflect the reaction of Modern materialism against new ecological and spiritual values, and the reaction of the religious right against other new values such as feminism, and spirituality that can't be tied to the Bible.

**One key to understanding the North direction of the New Political Compass is in this wave of change, growing out of the convergence of all the new social movements and consciousness movements .** Some 56% of New Progressives are Transitional or Core Cultural Creatives. Turning it around, 44% of Transitional Cultural Creatives are in the North, and 70% of the Core Cultural Creatives are in the North. Interestingly enough, 55% of the Liberal Left are Transitional or Core Cultural Creatives too. Their problem is that there are only one third as many on the Left as there are New Progressives! In general, however, the Wave of Change gives a very similar picture for both the Liberal Left and the New Progressives, accepting the wave of change. And it gives a similar picture for the Social Conservatives and the Business Conservatives, both rejecting the wave of change. Of course, a lot more is going on across the four positions, so they cannot simply be collapsed into the old left-right. The original factor analysis showed that .

# New Political Compass and Wave of Change



## Part II. The Future of the New Progressives' Politics

From the view of the conventional Modernist Left, all the above is a disaster. From the view of political innovators, those who are part of the Green Party, the women's movement, the peace movement, the jobs and social justice movement, and the anti-globalization movement, all of the above will seem like a heaven-sent opportunity. While most of their leaders came from the Left, they are staking out new positions in vaguely defined "new-but-progressive" directions. They are a big part of the evolution of the Left from its stuck, old, embarrassed "we're not really socialists or communists" place to a real contribution to the future of our species on the planet. And their best constituency is the Cultural Creatives, who are at the intersection of all those movements and are an eminently mobilizable constituency. It is a population who are used to public advocacy, who care intensely about the issues, and who are used to the reframings used by each of the movements. It only requires importing the movement rhetoric into the practical politics of a new progressivism, and jettisoning the decayed ideological rhetoric of the old union movement, the New Deal and the old socialist left.

There are openings for a whole new kind of political rhetoric about what would be the desirable shape of a new society, what I'm calling a "Wisdom Culture" in my next book. And it is both future-oriented, and explicitly in contrast to the unwise Modern culture of today, the very one that got us into the mess we're in with giant corporations, ecological destruction, vastly destructive armaments, oppression of women and children around the globe, etc.

It is very important that this is about women coming into politics and they want to do it with a new style. For leftists to complain that Cultural Creatives women are too soft and psychological, and just don't want to fight it out in the rough and tumble of politics as usual, manages to miss the point completely. These women, and men, are going to *change* "politics as usual". They are not going to put up with the same old bullshit. The Left will either have to adapt to that, or die. The Cultural Creatives women are going to insist on more authenticity in politics, both in terms of process and substance. I don't recommend betting against them.

I'm talking about New Progressive politics, instead of Left politics, to suggest that it is possible to get out *in front* of the issues, and in a new style, with new rhetoric. The whole planet is going into eco-spasms over and over again in the next decades, and globalization will be on the agenda. And both social justice concerns and personal authenticity concerns are highly correlated with concerns about ecology. These are inseparable issues. But they will not be

fought out on the old political platforms of the last century. New political platforms will be needed, as well as new politicians, new political styles, new campaign rhetorics, and new ways of governing. I repeat: The Left will either have to adapt to that, or die. I'm betting that real Progressives will adapt to the emerging culture.

The convergence of all the new social movements and consciousness movements into one big mega-movement, a general movement for change, has been going on so gradually that it has been unremarked in political circles. It wasn't really until the WTO demonstrations in Seattle that the leaderships of the diverse movement groups could see each other as potential allies. They tend to think in terms that see politics as the only arena that counts. But in fact the cultural side of the movements has been converging for 20 years or more, and it has been preparing the ground for a new political constituency to "suddenly" emerge. We are now at the stage of needing to link together thousands of small groups who have had an unfortunate tendency to stay narrowly focused — because that's what Modern culture teaches you: to succeed, you gotta focus on the task at hand. And we're all children of Modernism. As all the diverse, fragmented constituencies start to emphasize all the values they have in common, then they can let go of their tendency only to pay attention to surface differences of opinion. As the WTO demonstrators found, and as every group of Cultural Creatives I've met has found, once people get together and tell each other their stories, and lay out their heart's longing for a better world, they have this wonderful discovery of big bunches of allies whom they didn't know were there, people whom they like to hang out with.

Hanging out together doesn't sound like conventional politics until we realize that *trust* is the absolute foundation on which a new politics must be rebuilt. We've had forty years of the dissolution of political trust with media-driven politics, and we've lost the basis in personal contact that our earlier democracy was built on. The dirtiness of Washington politics has grown from a lack of trust, and has fed a lack of trust. All our political institutions have been weakened by it. The role of the news media, trivializing politics into a spectator sport, playing up the pointless scandals, doing horserace election coverage, demanding ever larger amounts of money for campaigns, manipulating news coverage, has been just as destructive and irresponsible. And in the last two decades, the money politics of corporations and big business conservatives has swollen to a level of corrupt buyouts of politicians and parties that we've never seen before. The politics of plutocracy has worsened cynicism and distrust to a crisis point. I suggest all of the

above puts us near a break-point, one where discontinuous, nonlinear changes become both feasible and necessary

One part of the antidote is to get to a retail politics by way of citizens meetings, where they rediscover one another through emphasizing common values. The Religious Right routinely does this in church basements, and it has been doing it for forty years, having started with mutually suspicious little congregations full of doctrinal wars. They learned to put aside differences, building on a base of common values, if not common doctrines. The far right is every bit as schismatic as the far left. But they overcame it in the name of winning. Ronald Reagan's strategy of going on speechmaking tours throughout the Seventies not only built the far right wing of the Republican party, and made him the logical choice for the extremist faithful, it was also an investment in bringing millions of ideological outsiders into national politics. We need something that parallels this buildup to bring the North into the center of political processes. Unfortunately, we won't have the big right wing money, so we will have to do it with People Power instead.

In the next decades "going north" may become the preferred strategy for a new politics, and People Power is the antidote to a world of ills. If it succeeds, it will do so because we've rebuilt the cultural base of citizen politics, learning about values and social inventions from civil society organizations. I'll make a fearless forecast: American People Power will offer the best chance to get going on a new politics, combined with bringing over the best people and ideas and money sources who are fed up with the old system. People Power will build on common values and experiences, with better group process, with redefined programs, with new places to meet and new styles of meeting, with a systematic reeling in of all those who journeyed far to share what they've learned, with a discovery of wise elders in our midst, and with a rediscovery of idealistic potential leaders who've stayed away from the stink but will come back to play in a worthy game. Bringing the new values back into politics will be the best antidote to the religious right, and it will scare the bejeezus out of them because they thought they owned the subject of values.

Materialist Modernism and its cynicism has led us to our current political impasse. As we start working on the civic culture that can support politics, we will be working on a critical piece of the next American culture, which will step by step replace every single institution in Modernity. It will turn out to be not just a bigger, better Western culture, but part of an emerging

planetary culture. Every piece of it will need to be rethought, starting with a recognition that where all this came from were the citizen's movements. That gave us the new values, new worldview, and new ways of life at the household level. Now the time has come to take it out of our personal context and play in a bigger game. The time has come to reinvent every single organization in politics.

## Realigning Politics with the New Political Compass

**Imagine a Four Party System that reflects the alignment we saw above:**

### **1. Moving Forward with the Cultural Creatives: 36% of the people, 45% of the voters.**

It hardly matters whether a New Progressive party appears with a broader base under a Big Tent including all the new social movements, or a wing of the Democratic Party breaks off and helps create the Big Tent. We stand at a watershed in politics where the parties are weaker than they have been in over a century, and campaign finance reform will weaken them further. It's even possible a New Progressive movement could finally find a way to take over a corrupt and moribund Democratic Party after campaign finance reform takes effect. The party apparatus might be worth something. The key will be responding to unfulfilled political demand in new ways, and setting new agendas and new political practice in place that will energize the New Progressive base.

There's room for immense creativity around the emerging agenda of the new millennium. After all, the emerging Wisdom Culture Paradigm is undefined, unclaimed ground, so there is lots of flexibility in defining it. It will want to draw upon the themes of all the New Social Movements however. 60% of Americans identify with two or more themes of the new social movements: Greens, Women's Lib, Civil Rights, Peace, Jobs and Social Justice, Gay Lib, the Planetary problematique, Complementary and Alternative Medicine, etc. Cultural Creatives tend to be people who identify with a half dozen or more of the 20 kinds of movements, and they can be the core group pushing the new changes. Those movements have prepared the ground over 40 years by changing civil society, which will permit a new politics to eventually be created. Civil society serves as the matrix in which politics is imbedded, for it is there that enough

political trust can be regained to rebuild our politics—after 50 years of the decay of retail politics in the era of TV, that is a critically necessary reconstruction effort.

There are numerous opportunities for a Big Tent approach: The next politics, call it an Integral Politics (more integrity, more tendency to integrate than fragment society) can unify various themes with a Wisdom Culture rhetoric and theory. It can touch a nerve with the deep concerns of the electorate, and appear solid, not flakey. Voter unhappiness with Congress, established parties, liberals and conservatives is at an all time high.

A New Progressive Party is conceivable, if they do the grass roots work and find attractive candidates. Waking the Green Party out of its slumber is possible. The alternative to new parties is to develop new coalitions within and without established Democratic Party circles, and make a good faith effort to lead the party in a new direction, and then when the power of money politics speaks more strongly to the leadership, finally break off a wing of the Democratic Party with much ado and fanfare, getting lots of media coverage.

This raises a key question: What can trigger defections to a new political alignment?

- a) attractive candidates who stand above the muck
- b) programmatic ideas that speak to positive values
- c) ability to address hot-button issues that the others won't touch
- d) healing the loss of political trust that has devolved politics over the past 40 years
- e) ability to do good process, in political mobilizing and everywhere else

## **2. Standing Pat with the Establishment Left: 12% of people, 15% of voters**

This would have just remnants of the old New Deal coalition, especially University Intellectuals, Labor and the Blacks. They're kind of a rump of the Democratic Party. Low turnout kills them. They can't get voter turnout among lower status populations who favor them—apathy and discouragement. Those who have marinated themselves in big money have been paralyzed on many issues, and lost their people power. Those who have claimed to stay with the poor have both remained unattractive to their base, and lost out to well-financed opponents. The Big Government paradigm has become discredited as voter affluence has grown. This could change fast in a deep recession, but what seems to be happening is an evolution of progressive thought to the In Front direction. The New Progressives often refuse to identify themselves as either left or liberal, so they've left the old labels and old loyalties behind. At a

guess, the left will continue to ossify until it disappears. They cannot really win more than a small share of the vote in a multi-party system, nor dominate a big Democratic Party. Most of their supporters will eventually tag along behind the New Progressives. Some may even race over to get in front of a nice new parade...

### **3. A New Social Conservative Party Emerges: 19% of people, 22% of voters**

This is not only the epitome of the Religious Right with its cultural politics of nostalgia, prejudice, intolerance, but a reflection of the Southernization of American Politics. Today, it has taken de facto control of Republican primaries because of radical right volunteers, who are foot soldiers for the cause. But they're unhappy that big money always wins out with Republicans, and the time draws nigh when they'll want to try their luck as an independent party. Turned into a party, this group will always turn off mainstream voters, and can't get above 25% of the population. In their case, the ability to get turnout can work in their favor, since 20% of the population could still turn out to be 40 plus percent of the electorate.

However, it's a return to the old Southern pattern of playing off hatreds of the have-nots against one another to the benefit of elites. It is destructive to democracy, and opponents should be able to take advantage of that. Many of them seem to want to repudiate the Founding Fathers' separation of religion and government and that's scary to plenty of Americans. Their politics of divisiveness when allied with economic conservatives leads to a "circle the wagons" approach that favors the interests of the top 10% against the lower 90%, banana republic style. Much of their Reagan-era coalition with economic conservatives would be hard to maintain in a four party system, however. Most of all, their base population is aging and slowly declining. They can make a minority conservative party, but that's all.

Any Progressives should hope that in the Bush era the two wings of the far right manage to further alienate each other. The more likely outcome is that the Bushies will see militarism and a perpetual war against terrorism as their ticket to keep unity across all conservatives. In that case, it becomes essential for the Liberal Left and the New Progressives to make an alliance as well. In that case, a growing desire for peace will be joined to anti-militarism, anti-big business, anti-globalization. It will shape up as a battle between idealist pro-planetary people, and a Right that has major splits between pro- and anti-globalization forces, but agrees on creating a new imperialism. Their problem is that the sum of both kinds of conservatism is still just 33% of the

population, and 41% of voters. That means that as the New Progressives become powerful, the real conservative agenda may be to further suppress voter turnout. Their next step would be to kill off democracy, declaring the U.S. some kind of garrison state republic in which the military and a national police force damp down real voter participation with intimidation. Most of the social conservatives will not be bothered by this development if it's wrapped in the flag.

#### **4. Destroying the Planet with the Business Conservatives: 14% of people, 19% of voters, 80% of the money**

These are George Bush's folks (father or son). They have tons of money from big business, but few foot soldiers, except for astro-turf pseudo-activists they can buy, and run from PR firms. They're losing control of Republican primaries, except for their ability to buy the work. Their strength is in their ability to buy the Congress, and to influence the ongoing conduct of government between elections through their lobbyists. The business elite's paradigm will work just so long as there are opportunities for great affluence opening up. Defectors will be legion in a general downturn. It's a politics of economic growth and big business at any cost, supporting globalization, and weakening democracy and nationalism and their own country. The growing concern about planetary destruction is hard for corporate interests to shake, so that they need to do ever more to get government on their side against pro-planet, pro-ecology, pro-people interests.

This is a trans-national plutocracy in the making, and any political party they back should be exposed for what it is, a sellout of the people to the corporations they dislike and distrust. The big problem in attacking them is their support by the corporate media, which will distort anything to support their masters. But in a four party system, they will have a hard time buying elections, unless they can push things into an anti-democratic Latin American style of plutocracy. We may have to continually watch for the day that the endless war on terrorism is turned just a bit more so that they can roll out the army on their side. Their weakness is that American nationalism has not historically looked beyond its shores for very long, and it will be hard to get social conservatives to go along unless there is endless war. Plutocracy-serving nationalism would need to be turned into an Imperial America, one that sees itself at the center of that trans-national plutocracy. Would they like to be the next Caesars? Probably.

### **5. Ignoring It All with the Muddled Middle: 20% of people, practically no voters.**

It's a population alienated from politics, and usually not following the political news. Many of their key concerns those of the New Progressives, while others resemble social conservatives, so a few may be drawn back into politics if their concerns are addressed. Many others are ignorant about democracy as well as uneducated. Most will remain irrelevant, no matter how many parties there are.

Indeed, it's possible that the structural logic of the American system is so much based in a two-party logic, that even if new parties appear, that just leads to mergers and realignments so that third and fourth parties are temporary, and we just wind up with two parties all over again. Since political parties aren't defined or limited under the constitution, but are hobbled by state laws, it's hard to guess how they'll change. Bet on institutional inertia — until it breaks down.

### **The Downside: Four Corner Politics Could Still Be Stuck in Left-and-Right**

Most of the media discussion of left vs right is intellectual laziness, because it so poorly describes our everyday reality. To proponents of a New Progressive party, it should be anathema, because so long as they are a minority, and left-right is the dominant way of seeing the world, they are lost. But even a world of four political parties could turn out to be not much fun, and get us nowhere. In a polity that is strictly organized around left right lines, there is a rush to the center, which is not where they are, and whoever is on the fringes is marginalized, left or right. That is because values-laden parties would be outside the box in terms of the issues that could be introduced. Traditionals need enemies worse than they need friends, and might easily decide that the New Progressives will do for demonization. Should the New Progressive have too big a fight with Traditionalist Conservatives, both would be pushed to the outside in any deal making. Thus, only the modernist conservatives and the modernist liberals would be able to make deals. The legislative coalition-making might then line up “left to right” as:

|                         |                           |                               |                                     |
|-------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <b>New Progressives</b> | <b>Modernist Liberals</b> | <b>Business Conservatives</b> | <b>Traditionalist Conservatives</b> |
|                         |                           |                               |                                     |

It would mean each faction could make deals only with its immediate neighbors. If we assume that there were rough parity in numbers then there would then be two patterns for deal-making:

**a) Left-Right Polarization:**

|  |     |  |
|--|-----|--|
| <i>Coalition of New Progressive<br/>plus Modernist Liberal</i> | vs. | <i>Coalition of Business Conservative<br/>plus Traditionalist Conservative</i> |
|--|-----|--|

This would resemble multi-party systems that have lined up left vs right in European legislatures for the last 150 years. So long as the Progressive Coalition got its 60% share of the voters they'll be happy. Two problems: a) It may take many years before a New Progressive Party could overcome the institutional barriers to third and fourth parties that Democrats and Republicans have put up in the states, so that New Progressives may not get their share of voters for some years. a) A large majority of voters might refuse to identify themselves as "on the left" so the obvious leftists would have to accept a label as some kind of "new" progressive," and be a minor ally. Bottom line: the likely outcome is temporary dominance of the Right as New Progressives get organized, plus the resistance of the Democrats to change. *Plus ça change, plus çest la même chose.*

**b) Center vs Extremes:**

*A Centrist-coalition of Modernist Liberals plus Modernist Business Conservatives can exist on an issue by issue basis but not for all issues. Their numbers are too few for permanent centrist status. They'd try to label either the New Progressives or the Social Conservatives as "extreme" on particular issues.*

This could only last so long as the New Progressive party is being hamstrung by an inability to overcome barriers to entry created by state election laws, and therefore has far fewer in Congress than its real numbers. In the short run it might resemble the dominance of a single big center-right party, as we often see in parliaments. It also fits the tendency of flexible (some might say opportunistic) politicians like Clinton to seize the center. It might be an alliance against change. *Plus ça change... and déjà vu, you-all.*

## **The Upside: Real Four Corner Politics As Perpetually Shifting Coalitions:**

The whole game starts to be fun when four distinct political parties and positions exist. With four distinct positions, we should expect all the coalitions to be unstable in a system of rational bargainers. As the biggest party, however, the New Progressives have the best opportunities to make the most bargains, especially if they can be flexible. It's "Sittin' in the catbird seat" — the place of the one who can do deals with anybody, and is always be a party to some coalition or other.

- There will be certain values-laden positions where Traditionalists and New Progressives can agree, holding their noses, even though they will be offended by the content of each other's religion. They may try to reduce some of the secularism of government, or may agree on certain kinds of environmental issues that offend big business.
- There will be many change-oriented positions where Modernist Liberals and New Progressives can agree, even though very secular liberals will be turned off by the fact of Integralist spirituality and vice versa. Most of the progressive agenda should be in good shape.
- There will be a limited number of issues focused on the economy and government efficiency where New Progressives and Business Conservatives will agree.

Today's New Progressives are most opposed to Big Business Conservatives, especially pro-globalization ones, meaning there are few good deal-possibilities, other than occasional agreement on what's efficient. So, Business-Conservatives can be expected to fight hard against the new players because it reduces the power of big money. They will try to recruit Traditionals against the New Progressives. This parallels today's situation where no deal-making is possible between Traditionalist Conservatives and Modernist Liberals — which is why the a Conservative coalition is today in the catbird seat. But if New Progressives could also be in the catbird seat, then they are a direct threat to the frequent hegemony of Business-Conservatives. So it is worthwhile for New Progressive to ask how they might change to take that seat. When I quote "neither Left nor Right but in Front" I am pointing to the New Progressives' desire to climb into the catbird seat by redefining what a "middle position" is. But it would not be today's centrism.

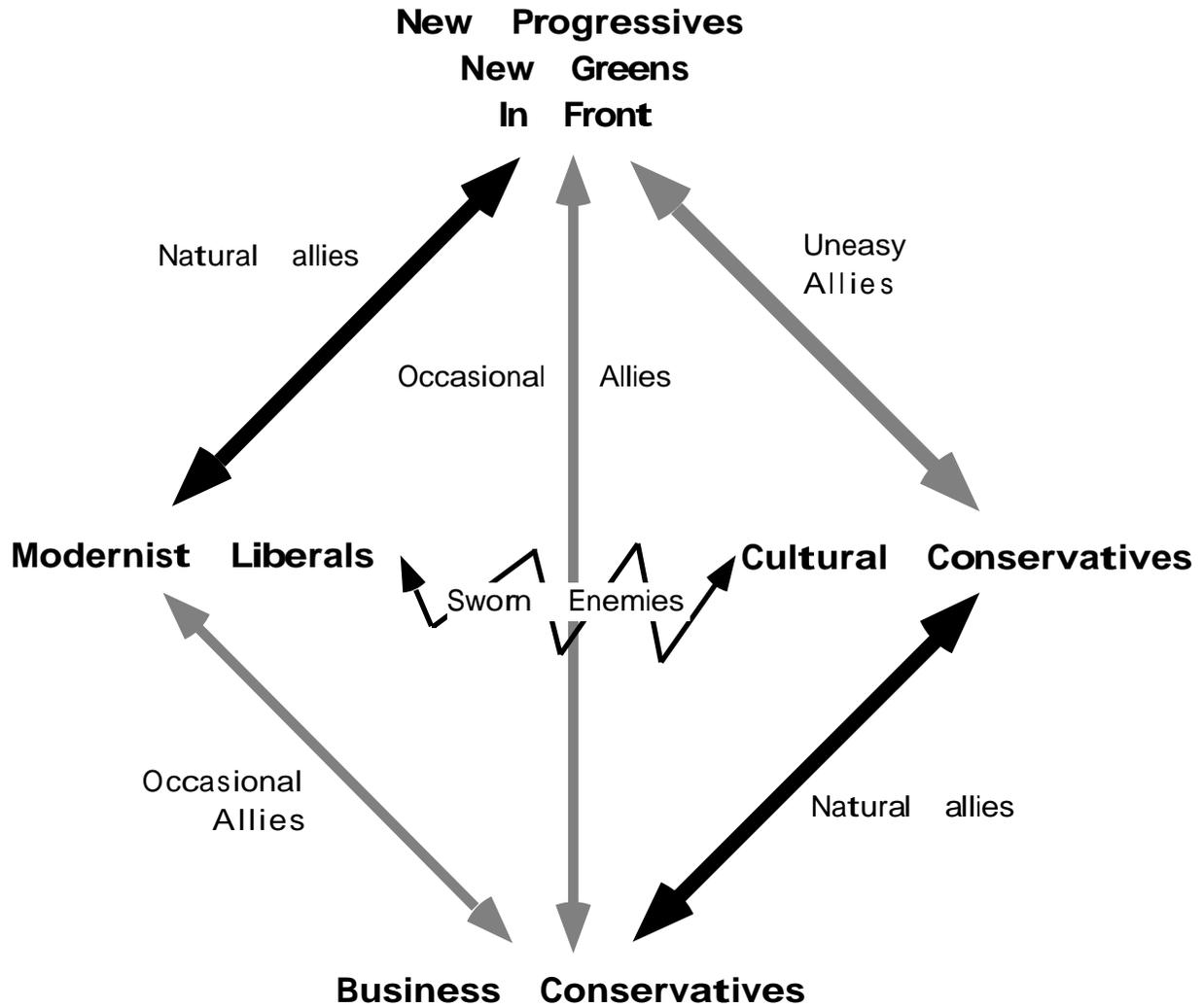
Intelligent Liberals will welcome the New Progressives, because for the first time, there could be situations where the Liberals are in the catbird seat. They could play on the opposition of the New Progressives versus the Business Conservatives. And intelligent Traditionalists may

grudgingly accept the New Progressives, because it might occasionally put the Traditionalists in a catbird seat for the first time too. They too might be able to play on the opposition of the New Progressives and the Business Conservatives.

As the news media evolve toward infotainment, it is quite possible that they will love all the above, for it would provide an ever changing spectacle. Whether it makes for "progress toward the Good" is not as clear as we might wish, but it should have the virtue of airing out all the issues. Moreover, it will certainly give a voice to those huge constituencies who want new policies that honestly come to grips with our dangerous future, and care for the whole planet, not just our nationalistic back yard. At that point it will be hard for the media to ignore those issues, and the public agenda will be decisively tilted toward new values and world views.

In summary, if the New Progressives can form a Party In Front they might be able to set themselves up to deal with all the other three sides: with the social conservatives around bringing morality and civility back into social life, with the left on social justice and ecology, and with the business right on economic efficiency issues. The other three parties could each make deals with only two others. If the party really gets In Front, and gets its fair share of the electorate, it can always nudge out an alliance of business and social conservatives. And it can always open a door to a red-green coalition. But the real point is its ability to dominate the emerging issues. If it does this, it will always get the Cultural Creatives' vote, which immediately springboards it to first place. If trust is restored to the electorate in the process, then voting rates will go up, and the New Progressives should benefit most.

### Sitting in the Catbird Seat Able to make deals with anyone in a Four Party System



## Statistical Appendix A: How the New Political Compass Was Derived

### SCALED VARIABLES USED TO CLASSIFY POLITICAL POSITIONS

CULCON=CULTURAL CONSERVATIVE

BIZCON=BUSINESS CONSERVATIVE

MODLIB=MODERNIST LIBERAL LEFT

INFRONT= "IN FRONT" - THE NEW PROGRESSIVES

### Variables Used to Classify Respondents Into the Positions of the New Political Compass

|                         | <b>Political</b> | <b>Compass--</b> | <b>Position</b> | <b>Variables</b> |
|-------------------------|------------------|------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| <b>Input variables:</b> | <b>CULCON</b>    | <b>BIZCON</b>    | <b>MODLIB</b>   | <b>INFRONT</b>   |
| RELIGIOUS RIGHT         | +                |                  | -               |                  |
| NEO-TRADITIONALISM      | +                | -                | -               | -                |
| ANTI CIVIL LIB          | +                |                  | -               |                  |
| NATIVISM                | +                | -                | -               |                  |
| NATL HEALTH INS         | -                | -                | +               | +                |
| FEMINISM                | -                | -                | +               | +                |
| SUSTAINABILITY          |                  | -                |                 | +                |
| PVT ENTERPRISE          | +                | +                | -               |                  |
| ANTI BIG BIZ            | +                | -                | +               | +                |
| LIMITS TO GROWTH        |                  | -                | -               | +                |
| SOCIAL CONTRIBUTION     | -                | -                |                 | +                |
| LEFT VS RIGHT           | -                | -                | +               |                  |
| NEITHER                 |                  |                  |                 | +                |

### Summary

CULCON & BIZCON AGREE=5 OPPOSED=2 EMPHASIZE/DIFFUSE=5

CULCON & MODLIB AGREE=1 OPPOSED=8 EMPHASIZE/DIFFUSE=2

CULCON & INFRONT AGREE=1 OPPOSED=4 EMPHASIZE/DIFFUSE=8

BIZCON & MODLIB AGREE=2 OPPOSED=5 EMPHASIZE/DIFFUSE=4

BIZCON & INFRONT AGREE=0 OPPOSED=6 EMPHASIZE/DIFFUSE=5

MODLIB & INFRONT AGREE=4 OPPOSED=1 EMPHASIZE/DIFFUSE=8

The classification into political positions was very straightforward. Four political position variables were created for each survey respondent according to the table above, which has all the values-laden-yet-political issues or stances that the survey would yield. Earlier analyses had shown each input variable made a valid measurement scale by combining questionnaire items. The plus and minus scores sum up simple cross-tabulation percents. In the table, a plus adds the variable on the left to the position score, and a minus subtracts from it. A blank means that the cross-tabs showed those favoring a position are neutral or split on the issue, and the variable isn't used. A blank doesn't show "no relationship" so much as "no clear direction." I used both correlations and cross-tabs to decide which were blanks. The assignment reflected both my knowledge of where the political groupings stand, and the percents and correlations in the survey data.

Each respondent then got a mean score on each of the 4 position variables, adjusting scores to be in the same range. Each survey respondent was assigned to a political position based on which position variable had the highest score. Then those who were obvious nonparticipants in politics (nonvoters, don't care about politics) were recoded, to take them out of the overall political position assignment, and put into the fifth, No Politics position.

The vertical and horizontal axes of the New Political Compass are from a factor analysis of the input variables. They reflect the overall "property space" of political positions.

## Improve for paper

I'm using some of the same values measures two different ways: to identify political groupings and to identify subcultures. I need to state all that more clearly.

Statistically the paper should be seen as a way to \*display\* that data, with none of the statistics being seen as implying "a causes b". The same values questions that are in that political picture were also used to derive the original Cultural Creatives depiction, and the depiction of the Wave of Change. All these cultural phenomena are in fact using the \*same\* values in different domains of our lives: living at home, purchasing, giving to good causes, volunteering, working, politics, etc. So when you see a cross tabulation of Cultural Creatives or Wave of Change by New Political Compass, it's really the same underlying questionnaire items displayed in two different summaries. BY DEFINITION, most Cultural Creatives will be in the North, and most Traditionals will be in the East. It's a little less obvious that Moderns will be heavily Liberals, or Business Conservatives or Apolitical, but since they are the rest of the sample, the result still is in no sense independent.

**THE TWO DIMENSIONS OF THE POLITICAL COMPASS****PRINCIPAL COMPONENT LOADINGS**

|                                     | <b>Liberal</b>   | <b>NewProg vs</b> |
|-------------------------------------|------------------|-------------------|
|                                     | <b>Vs SocCon</b> | <b>BigBizCons</b> |
|                                     | <b>1</b>         | <b>2</b>          |
| RELIGIOUS RIGHT                     | -0.868           | 0.164             |
| ANTI-CIVIL LIBERTIES                | -0.792           | 0.248             |
| TRADITIONALISM                      | -0.774           | 0.172             |
| <b>LEFT VS RIGHT</b>                | <b>0.573</b>     | <b>0.339</b>      |
| ECOLOGICAL SUSTNBLTY                | 0.166            | 0.788             |
| NATIONAL HEALTH INS                 | 0.105            | 0.653             |
| ANTI-BIG-BUSINESS                   | -0.298           | 0.581             |
| LIMITS TO GROWTH                    | 0.299            | 0.490             |
| <b>FEMINISM</b>                     | <b>0.218</b>     | <b>0.483</b>      |
| VARIANCE EXPLAINED BY COMPONENTS    |                  |                   |
|                                     | <b>1</b>         | <b>2</b>          |
|                                     | <b>2.572</b>     | <b>2.090</b>      |
| PERCENT OF TOTAL VARIANCE EXPLAINED |                  |                   |
|                                     | <b>1</b>         | <b>2</b>          |
|                                     | <b>28.574</b>    | <b>23.225</b>     |

**MEANS OF 5 POLITICAL POSITIONS ON THE 2 DIMENSIONS**

|                                     | <b>Liberal</b>   | <b>NewProg vs</b> |
|-------------------------------------|------------------|-------------------|
|                                     | <b>Vs SocCon</b> | <b>BigBizCons</b> |
|                                     | <b>1</b>         | <b>2</b>          |
| <u>APOLITICAL N= 209</u>            |                  |                   |
| MINIMUM                             | -1.899           | -1.879            |
| MAXIMUM                             | 3.037            | 2.073             |
| MEAN                                | 0.001            | 0.189             |
| STANDARD DEV                        | 0.819            | 0.790             |
| <u>SOCIAL CONSERVATIVES N=213</u>   |                  |                   |
| MINIMUM                             | -2.530           | -2.454            |
| MAXIMUM                             | 0.990            | 1.676             |
| MEAN                                | -0.954           | -0.139            |
| STANDARD DEV                        | 0.629            | 0.810             |
| <u>BUSINESS CONSERVATIVES N=121</u> |                  |                   |
| MINIMUM                             | -2.234           | -3.939            |
| MAXIMUM                             | 2.097            | -0.081            |
| MEAN                                | -0.023           | -1.710            |
| STANDARD DEV                        | 0.927            | 0.744             |
| <u>LIBERAL LEFT N=127</u>           |                  |                   |
| MINIMUM                             | -1.404           | -1.664            |
| MAXIMUM                             | 2.896            | 2.032             |
| MEAN                                | 1.023            | 0.071             |
| STANDARD DEV                        | 0.872            | 0.767             |
| <u>NEW PROGRESSIVES N=366</u>       |                  |                   |
| MINIMUM                             | -1.621           | -1.136            |
| MAXIMUM                             | 2.840            | 2.301             |
| MEAN                                | 0.207            | 0.513             |
| STANDARD DEV                        | 0.861            | 0.668             |

**NON-VOTER/VOTER ANALYSIS**

DATA

USE POLVAR22 (VOTERNOPOLSES3 RACE NAGE PCOMPAS5 WAVENET5 C8LIVES CYNICAL3 RELIGRT3  
POLITID)

SAVE VOTEREST

LET NONVOTER=0.0

LET ESTVOTER=0.0

LET PROBVOTE=0.0

REM OBVIOUS NONVOTER SET = 1

IF VOTER=2 OR VOTER=. THEN LET NONVOTER=1

REM SETTING INITIAL VALUES: HIGH SES

IF SES3=1 THEN LET PROBVOTE=0.8

REM SETTING INITIAL VALUES: MID SES

IF SES3=0 THEN LET PROBVOTE=0.6

REM SETTING INITIAL VALUES: LOW SES

IF SES3=-1 THEN LET PROBVOTE=0.4

REM NONWHITE

IF RACE&gt;1 THEN LET PROBVOTE=PROBVOTE-0.1

REM AGE=18-24

IF NAGE=1 THEN LET PROBVOTE=PROBVOTE-0.2

REM AGE OVER 70

IF NAGE=5 THEN LET PROBVOTE=PROBVOTE-0.1

REM ALIENATED MODERNS

IF C8LIVES=3 THEN LET PROBVOTE=PROBVOTE-0.1

REM NOT CYNICAL

IF CYNICAL3=-1 THEN LET PROBVOTE=PROBVOTE+0.1

REM POLITICAL ID AS STRONG LIBERAL OR STRONG CONSERVATIVE

IF POLITID=1 OR POLITID=5 THEN LET PROBVOTE=PROBVOTE+.1

REM FAR ALONG ON THE WAVE OF CHANGE = SUPPORTS A LOT OF CC CAUSES

IF WAVENET5&gt;=2 THEN LET PROBVOTE=PROBVOTE+0.1

REM ON THE RELIGIOUS RIGHT

IF RELIGRT3=1 THEN LET PROBVOTE=PROBVOTE+0.1

REM KEEPING PROBABILITY OF VOTING IN 0-1 RANGE

IF PROBVOTE&gt;1 THEN LET PROBVOTE=1

IF PROBVOTE&lt;0 THEN LET PROBVOTE=0

REM SETTING PROBABILITY = ZERO FOR NONVOTERS AND NO POLITICS

IF VOTER=2 OR VOTER=. OR PCOMPAS5=0 THEN LET PROBVOTE=0.000

REM SETTING CUT POINT AT P<=.50

IF PROBVOTE&lt;0.5 THEN LET NONVOTER=1

IF NONVOTER=0 THEN LET ESTVOTER=1

RUN

**TABLE OF PCOMPAS5 (ROWS) BY ESTVOTER (COLUMNS)****COLUMN PERCENTS**

|            | NonVoter | EstVoter | TOTAL  | N      |
|------------|----------|----------|--------|--------|
| NoPolitics | 53.77    | 0.00     | 19.98  | 207.00 |
| SocCons    | 13.77    | 21.66    | 18.73  | 194.00 |
| BizCons    | 5.45     | 18.59    | 13.71  | 142.00 |
| LibLeft    | 6.75     | 15.05    | 11.97  | 124.00 |
| NewProg    | 20.26    | 44.70    | 35.62  | 369.00 |
| TOTAL      | 100.00   | 100.00   | 100.00 |        |
| N          | 385      | 651      | 1036   |        |

TABLE OF PCOMPAS5 (ROWS) BY ESTVOTER (COLUMNS)  
ROW PERCENTS

|            | 0.000  | 1.000 | TOTAL  | N      |
|------------|--------|-------|--------|--------|
| NoPolitics | 100.00 | 0.00  | 100.00 | 207.00 |
| SocCons    | 27.32  | 72.68 | 100.00 | 194.00 |
| BizCons    | 14.79  | 85.21 | 100.00 | 142.00 |
| LibLeft    | 20.97  | 79.03 | 100.00 | 124.00 |
| NewProg    | 21.14  | 78.86 | 100.00 | 369.00 |
| TOTAL      | 37.16  | 62.84 | 100.00 |        |
| N          | 385    | 651   | 1036   |        |

TABLE OF WAVENET5 (ROWS) BY ESTVOTER (COLUMNS)  
ROW PERCENTS

|        | 0.000 | 1.000 | TOTAL  | N      |
|--------|-------|-------|--------|--------|
| -1.000 | 40.82 | 59.18 | 100.00 | 196.00 |
| 0.000  | 54.07 | 45.93 | 100.00 | 172.00 |
| 1.000  | 44.89 | 55.11 | 100.00 | 274.00 |
| 2.000  | 26.19 | 73.81 | 100.00 | 252.00 |
| 3.000  | 16.20 | 83.80 | 100.00 | 142.00 |
| TOTAL  | 37.16 | 62.84 | 100.00 |        |
| N      | 385   | 651   | 1036   |        |

TABLE OF WAVENET5 (ROWS) BY ESTVOTER (COLUMNS)  
COLUMN PERCENTS

|        | 0.000  | 1.000  | TOTAL  | N      |
|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| -1.000 | 20.78  | 17.82  | 18.92  | 196.00 |
| 0.000  | 24.16  | 12.14  | 16.60  | 172.00 |
| 1.000  | 31.95  | 23.20  | 26.45  | 274.00 |
| 2.000  | 17.14  | 28.57  | 24.32  | 252.00 |
| 3.000  | 5.97   | 18.28  | 13.71  | 142.00 |
| TOTAL  | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 |        |
| N      | 385    | 651    | 1036   |        |

TABLE OF C8LIVES (ROWS) BY ESTVOTER (COLUMNS)

## ROW PERCENTS

|       | 0.000 | 1.000 | TOTAL  | N      |
|-------|-------|-------|--------|--------|
| 1.000 | 54.87 | 45.13 | 100.00 | 226.00 |
| 2.000 | 19.75 | 80.25 | 100.00 | 81.00  |
| 3.000 | 61.88 | 38.12 | 100.00 | 160.00 |
| 4.000 | 39.72 | 60.28 | 100.00 | 141.00 |
| 5.000 | 15.20 | 84.80 | 100.00 | 125.00 |
| 6.000 | 15.52 | 84.48 | 100.00 | 58.00  |
| 7.000 | 28.89 | 71.11 | 100.00 | 135.00 |
| 8.000 | 20.91 | 79.09 | 100.00 | 110.00 |
| TOTAL | 37.16 | 62.84 | 100.00 |        |
| N     | 385   | 651   | 1036   |        |

TABLE OF C8LIVES (ROWS) BY ESTVOTER (COLUMNS)

## COLUMN PERCENTS

|       | 0.000  | 1.000  | TOTAL  | N      |
|-------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| 1.000 | 32.21  | 15.67  | 21.81  | 226.00 |
| 2.000 | 4.16   | 9.98   | 7.82   | 81.00  |
| 3.000 | 25.71  | 9.37   | 15.44  | 160.00 |
| 4.000 | 14.55  | 13.06  | 13.61  | 141.00 |
| 5.000 | 4.94   | 16.28  | 12.07  | 125.00 |
| 6.000 | 2.34   | 7.53   | 5.60   | 58.00  |
| 7.000 | 10.13  | 14.75  | 13.03  | 135.00 |
| 8.000 | 5.97   | 13.36  | 10.62  | 110.00 |
| TOTAL | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 |        |
| N     | 385    | 651    | 1036   |        |

## Questionnaire Items Used to Make Measurement Scales

### NoPolitics

None of the above: Not interested in politics, Not registered & Centrist, Not registered & Independent party

### Left vs Right

PolitID =very=+2 to somewhat=+1 liberal/ somewhat=-1 to very conservative=-2 (center /nonpolitical=0)

I'm concerned that the Religious Right is gaining too much power and influence

I'm concerned that leftists and big government have too much power and influence

### Health Insurance

America needs a health insurance plan that covers everyone, rich or poor, for all illnesses

Health insurance is the responsibility of the individual; government should keep out of it

### Social Change

How important to your life is:

wanting to be involved in creating a better society

desire for a new way of life in America

optimism about new developments in our culture

having your work make a contribution to society

looking for ways to create social change

### Feminism

I'm concerned that women and men don't get equal pay for equal work

I'm concerned that more women should be top leaders in business and government

Women should never have to return to their traditional roles in society

### Anti immigrant

Illegal immigrants are putting too big a burden on American health care

America needs its diversity of ethnic groups

If we don't stop foreigners from coming here, it will endanger our American way of life

Illegal immigrants are putting too big a burden on America's schools

### Neither left nor right

Very liberal or very conservative=-2, Somewhat liberal or somewhat conservative=-1

No politics=0, Have some politics + centrist=+1, Have some politics + neither left nor right suits me=+2

### Anti big biz

Corporate greed and shortsightedness are harming our country

Business corporations generally strike a pretty fair balance between making profits and serving the public

Business corporations make too much profit

### Pvt Enterprise

Most government programs could be done better by the market

Private enterprise should be unleashed to solve our social problems

### Limits to Growth

It's better to protect jobs than endangered species and forests

We need to limit economic growth to save the environment

I'm concerned that America is not competitive enough economically

There is no way that economic growth can go on forever in a finite world

We need *more* economic growth to take care of human needs, not less growth

**Sustainability**

I want us to return to a simpler way of life with less emphasis on consumption and wealth  
We need to rebuild our neighborhoods and small communities  
Humans are part of nature, not its ruler  
Humans are meant to be stewards over nature and preserve it  
Redwood groves are sacred  
I agree with those ecologists who see Earth as a giant living organism  
Americans need to consume a much smaller proportion of the world's resources  
We must change the way we do business to save the environment  
We need to develop a whole new way of life for long run ecological sustainability  
Most people have too many possessions  
I have too much "stuff" and too many activities cluttering up my life  
Business needs to do more to clean up its environmental messes  
All of life needs to be preserved, even species we don't have a use for  
There are just not enough resources for more people to live decently on this planet  
I am worried that world overpopulation may create a major ecological collapse  
I'd pay 25 cents more per gallon for gasoline if I were sure that it would stop global warming  
I'd pay 50 cents more per gallon for gasoline if I were sure that it would stop global warming  
I'd pay 20 cents more per gallon for gasoline if I were sure it would pay for environmental cleanup  
I'd pay 50 cents more per gallon for gasoline if I were sure it would pay for environmental cleanup  
I'd rather pay more for very high mileage cars, or electric cars, than higher gasoline prices  
I'd pay 10 percent more for consumer goods if I could know this would save the environment  
I'd pay 20 percent more for consumer goods if I could know this would save the environment  
I'd pay 25 percent more for consumer goods if I could know this would save the environment  
I'd pay more taxes to help solve our environmental problems  
We need to treat the planet as a living system  
Government should shut down industries that keep polluting the air  
I'm concerned that our current way of life is not sustainable ecologically  
I'm concerned that pollution may destroy farmlands, forests and seas  
I'm concerned about problems of the global environment: global warming, destruction of rainforests, destruction of species, loss of the ozone layer

**ReligRight**

How important to your life is having enough time for church work?  
I have been born again in Jesus Christ  
Abortions should not be legal except when there is a threat to life  
I believe the literal truth of the Bible, including the worlds' creation in six days

**Traditional**

I'm concerned that traditional values are declining  
It's important for women to act more like women, and men to act more like men  
I want a world where people live by traditional values  
We'd be better off if we returned to our traditional ways of doing thing

Anti civil liberties

Government should shut down pornographic movie theaters and book stores  
Extremists and radicals should be banned from running for public office  
Abortions should not be legal except when there is a threat to life