

PLOUGHSHARES FUND Cultural Strategy Report



Moore + Associates

PLOUGHSHARES FUND

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Executive Summary

Since the first atomic bomb test in the deserts of New Mexico, people of conscience have worked to halt the march towards nuclear holocaust. This resistance has taken many forms, from mass marches to voting referendums, from ploughshares actions to massive open air music concerts. Through it all, culture has proven itself an effective tool for change.

This report was commissioned by Ploughshares Fund to help assess where nuclear weapons are as an issue in today's culture and to serve as the basis of a potential cultural strategy that could complement existing funding and operational activities.

In Section One of this report we define culture and the theory of change for cultural strategy, the framework that guides this report. Social change happens when people's beliefs shift and they act on their new beliefs. People's beliefs shift when the culture that defines and reflects their beliefs shift. Culture shifts move our collective beliefs past a tipping point, leading to a cascade of changing laws and mores. Policy advocacy and traditional organizing must be a part of an overarching cultural strategy, not an appendage to a campaign.

Section One also identifies proven tools and techniques that can be applied to the cultural strategy for the nuclear disarmament sector.

Section Two explores the role culture has played in the nuclear disarmament movement from the Trinity test through to the present moment. Understanding the cultural history of nuclear weapons allows us to develop effective cultural strategies moving forward. This section pulls out core themes, of MAD and surviving the nuclear apocalypse, the humor of the Cold War, and the roots of the cultural attitudes we aim to shift, including the ideas that nuclear weapons are on the one hand, heroic, on the other, benign.

Section Three presents a roadmap for developing a first of its kind comprehensive cultural strategy for the nuclear disarmament sector. The recommendations aim to achieve near-term campaign wins and/or long-term transformational changes in the dominant beliefs about nuclear weapons. These current cultural attitudes include:

- Nuclear weapons are no longer a problem;
- Nuclear weapons are the last best hope;
- The only problem with nuclear weapons is that bad guys have them; and
- Deterrence is real and it works.

A primary recommendation is to piggyback the nuclear disarmament sector's cultural change efforts onto one or more dominant issues with greater cultural currency such as public health or national security. We also recommend focusing the cultural strategy on two primary audiences that encompass critical demographics for accomplishing long-term cultural shift goals and policy wins: young people (millennials in particular), and members of peace-conscious faith movements

Any successful cultural strategy requires a Logic Model to serve as a foundation for program planning and basis for evaluating cultural strategy interventions. We recommend that any RFPs or grant applications you develop include a request for a logic model, wherein the applicants describe the program intervention; its intended audience; the means of dissemination and amplification; the objectives it aims to achieve; and a manageable (and meaningful) evaluation plan. Without having this type of data for previous cultural efforts within the nuclear sector (ie: the Give Peace a Dance campaign) we are unable to assess how these efforts could have been designed more effectively to achieve the desired impact and reach.

We then present a menu of options for executing the cultural strategy within four investment opportunity “buckets.” These strategies will allow the disarmament sector to create a meaningful ladder of engagement for the proposed target and existing audiences that reaches beyond the typical requests for financial support or contacting elected officials about a policy initiative. We believe all of our recommended options are viable, but it will require further research and planning to choose which to prioritize. When pursuing cultural strategy initiatives there has to be a willingness to take risk, stick with a direction long enough to get results and accept that some efforts may not work.

The investment opportunities include:

1. **Existing Grantees:** fund your existing grantees or other organizations already in the disarmament space to add cultural strategy to their existing portfolio, working with the support of cultural organizers (or cultural strategy experts);
2. **Independents:** directly fund cultural and campaign specialists and other independent providers unaffiliated with the current disarmament sector;
3. **Partnerships:** fund interdisciplinary or collaborative partnerships, bringing together nuclear disarmament organizations with other advocacy organizations and approaches; or
4. **Related Groups:** fund groups specifically chartered to address the related issues (national security, health, and budget) to add nuclear disarmament to their existing campaigns.

Section Three then provides examples of cultural strategies that Ploughshares Fund could invest in at three different funding levels: \$200,000, \$500,000, and \$1 million. The section concludes with eight next steps for Ploughshares Fund and its colleagues to follow to lay the groundwork for a sector-wide cultural strategy plan before engaging grantees or partners.

1. Meet with message research firms, for example [Lake Research Partners](#), [Greenberg Quinlan Rosner Research](#), or a Hollywood specialist like [Nielsen](#) or [MarketCast](#), to develop and test effective messaging and case for engagement.
2. Research the work of the various cultural strategy and digital strategy firms. Meet with those that seem particularly interesting; conduct those meetings with or without your key grantees. Prioritize the digital strategy plan (who can also do development of messaging and case for engagement).

3. Meet with evaluation specialists, for example [Learning for Action](#) in San Francisco or [Harmony Institute](#) in New York, to begin developing an evaluation framework for this new investment strategy.
4. Share this report and engage in discussions with your VIP grantees.
5. Meet with the three Hollywood organizations (at UCLA, USC, and the Entertainment Industry Council) to learn more about their work and their funding model for other issues.
6. Meet with colleagues at Knight Foundation and Ford Foundation to discuss the Journalism Fellowship concept.
7. Meet with E-Line to learn more about educational video games, and their funding model.
8. Study Invisible Children and the KONY 2012 model (controversy and all).

The current cultural environment compounds the significant challenges facing the nuclear disarmament sector. Without confronting this, it will be difficult for Ploughshares Fund and its allies to achieve their goals. This document provides a roadmap to shift the cultural landscape around nuclear weapons to strengthen efforts to counter proliferation, reduce stockpiles, and permanently ban nuclear testing. We are confident that such a shift is possible with a sustained, sector-wide investment, diverse partnerships and a willingness to experiment and take risks.

SECTION

1

Cultural Strategy Overview

“Public sentiment is everything. With public sentiment, nothing can fail; without it nothing can succeed. Consequently he who molds public sentiment goes deeper than he who enacts statutes or pronounces decisions. He makes statutes and decisions possible or impossible to be executed.”

- Abraham Lincoln, 1858, First Debate with Douglas

Introduction

Traditional policy advocacy calls for identifying a problem, constructing a policy solution that is feasible within the constraints of existing cultural beliefs and mores, and then mobilizing different social actors, gatekeepers, and power holders to enact the policy. Policy change often only engages a narrow segment of our culture and therefore often fails to motivate the majority.

Cultural strategy upends this process and asks us to dream big. What is the world we want? What do people need to believe in order for that world to exist? What do people believe now? How do we change those beliefs?

As demonstrated by recent advances in the fields of neuroscience and behavioral economics, emotions, not dry facts and figures, lead to behavior change or new ways of thinking. Culture has an unparalleled power to connect deeply with people’s emotions, opening them up to new ideas and new possibilities.

Defining Culture

In its recent publication [*Making Waves: A Guide to Cultural Strategy*](#), The Culture Group talks about two important meanings of the word “culture”:

- 1. Culture:** The prevailing beliefs, values, and customs of a group; a group’s way of life.

This first definition refers to culture as the shared space of group identity based on prevalent values and pastimes. It is important to note that culture is not fixed. It is always in flux, more like an ever-evolving ecosystem than a solid state, engineered structure.

- 2. Culture:** A set of practices that contain, transmit, or express ideas, values, habits, and behaviors between individuals and groups.

The second definition refers to creative activities and practices that shape, inform, influence, and change our shared space. It is through these practices that we exhibit what it is we want to be, where we manifest ourselves. Commonly—and importantly—innovation, creative expression, and the arts and entertainment are associated with this definition. Equally important are other streams of culture: sports, hobbies, food, and religion, for example.

Cultural Strategy: Theory of Change

Social change happens when people's beliefs shift. People's beliefs shift when the culture that defines and reflects their beliefs shift. Culture shifts following catalyzing cultural events such as 9/11 or a series of smaller events and moments that over time move our collective beliefs past a tipping point, leading to a cascading shift of laws and mores. Policy advocacy and traditional organizing must be a part of an overarching cultural strategy, but they cannot be the sole driver of change. Look at today's rush of radical change in public opinion and policy with regards to marriage equality, the cumulative effect of decades of strategically fused advocacy and cultural organizing. In [Appendix 2](#) we have illustrated a number of vivid historical examples from the social justice and public health spheres of this kind of evolutionary-style transformation.

People's beliefs shift when the culture that defines and reflects their beliefs shift.

Because of the importance of creativity and innovation in cultural strategy, creatives (musicians, actors, playwrights, poets, animators, video game producers, fine artists, filmmakers, etc.) should be brought into strategy development and ideation from the beginning. They must be treated as a vital part of the process, not an appendage to a campaign.

SECTION

2

Cultural Interventions in Nuclear Sector

The following section examines how nuclear weapons manifest in our cultural landscape. In a long-term view, the cultural relevancy of nuclear weapons far transcends a singular nuclear event. In fact the ultimate threat of Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD), the dominant fear during the Cold War, was based on speculation and used as a form of political propaganda. The projected reality of MAD far outstripped the expression of any existing nuclear disaster.

When looking at the history of the cultural expression and representation of nuclear weapons we have to keep in mind that the pro-nuclear weapons side of the debate has not depended on the horror of actual nuclear events (this would be a losing argument), but rather focused on larger themes of safety and patriotism, while the anti-nuclear weapon side has focused more exclusively on the reality of nuclear events. The fact that nuclear events have receded from public consciousness, particularly amongst younger people, has made it challenging to build support for the nuclear disarmament movement.

In order to collapse the long cultural history of nuclear weapons we focused on drawing out clear themes that would be useful in the development of a nuclear disarmament cultural strategy.

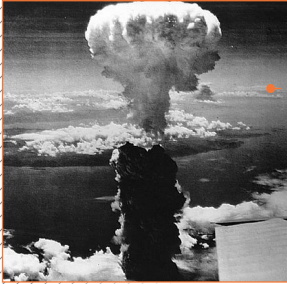
These themes are:

1. During the Cold War, the culture is dominated by two fears: dying in a nuclear apocalypse (**mutually assured destruction**) and **surviving a nuclear apocalypse**. Resistance to nuclear weapons at this time was widespread, and, because of the Cold War, the moral call for full disarmament was mainstream and relevant. All facets of culture engaged nuclear weapon themes; from music to comic books, to fiction and television.
2. After the Cold War our culture exhaled as nuclear weapons were no longer pointing at our major population centers. During this period cultural expressions of nuclear weapons followed two trends:
 - (a) **finding humor in our Cold War paranoia**, emphasizing the insanity of MAD and placing the danger and context in the past;
 - (b) **nuclear-weapon-saves-the-day** starts to emerge as a theme, with the weapons used not against humans but other supernatural opponents.
3. 9/11 interrupted the relative calm of the post-Cold War era. This period saw a heightened fear of nuclear weapons when **in the wrong hands** (terrorists and rogue states). A new generation comes of age with no direct connection to the Cold War era; Millennials experiment with nuclear weapons through **movie-quality video games**. Nuclear apocalypse is no longer the dominant apocalypse narrative. **Distributed apocalypse**, triggered by economic crisis, environmental devastation, or technological collapse, emerge.

These themes and their implications are explored in the following sections.

The Culture of the Cold War: 1945-1991

The Cold War era was dominated by twin fears: annihilation by and survival of nuclear war juxtaposed with a robust anti-nuclear movement. Both are reflected in and shaped by popular culture.



The images that ushered in the Atomic Age were the mushroom clouds over Nagasaki and Hiroshima. They are terrifying in their massiveness and disembodied from the actual suffering and death of individuals.

It didn't take long before culture created ways to understand these new, terrifying weapons. One popular metaphor equated nukes with monsters. *Godzilla* (1954), the most iconic of the monster genre, is an apt metaphor for the singular large event of a nuclear attack that destroys everything, and cannot be stopped with smaller inferior weapons.



Fear of singular nuclear events, as expressed by monsters, quickly became fear of Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD), a seemingly inevitable outcome of the emerging Cold War. MAD emerges in films such as *Dr. Strangelove* (1964) and *Fail-Safe* (1964), and *WarGames* (1983).

Fears of MAD gave way to fears of actually surviving a nuclear apocalypse. This fear was, and continues to be, examined in new genre of fiction that emerged during the Cold War: post-nuclear apocalypse fiction. This genre was kicked off with the book *Alas, Babylon* (1959) by Pat Frank. It jumped from books to the television with *The Day After* (1983) and film with *The Road, Road Warrior, Book of Eli*.

During the Cold War nuclear weapons also become the weapon of choice for all super villains, from Lex Luther to a legion of James Bond antagonists. While other cultural treatments of nuclear weapons assumes a blanket fear for all they represent, this treatment of them sows the seeds for the contemporary understanding of nuclear weapons that nuclear weapons are ok as long as the bad guys don't have them.

While the dual fears of MAD and post-Nuclear Apocalypse dominated all facets of culture during the Cold War, we also see the Nuclear Disarmament movement having a significant impact on culture.

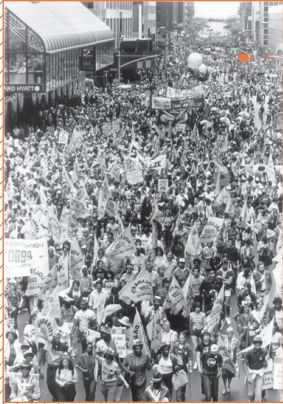


Easter 1958 saw the first of the Aldermaston Marches, which continued into the 1960s and at their height drew tens of thousands of people.[1] The image of massive marches (full streets) should be seen as a symbolic juxtaposition to the threats of nuclear annihilation often symbolized by empty streets in MAD and post-Apocalypse scenarios.

These marches inspired one of the most powerful symbols of our time: the Peace Sign. Gerald Holtom designed the Peace Sign, based on the semaphore symbols of N and D, in order to create a symbol for the burgeoning Nuclear Disarmament on the eve of the first Aldermaston March.

The peace sign later found a home in the Hippie counter-culture movement led by the Baby Boomers protesting the Vietnam War. The Hippie cultural movement gave birth to, and supported musicians such as Bob Dylan and the Beatles who not only spread messages of peace, but also wrote protest songs about nuclear weapons (some more explicit than others). Other genres of

music that directly addressed the fear of nuclear weapons were Punk (Crass, Flux of Pink Indians), Metal (Megadeth, Iron Maiden, Black Sabbath) and even Pop (“99 Luftballons” by Nena). Beyond exploring the terror of nuclear weapons in their lyrics and album art musicians also took strong positions on the policies and politics of nuclear weapons, most notably in the 1979 *No Nukes* concerts.



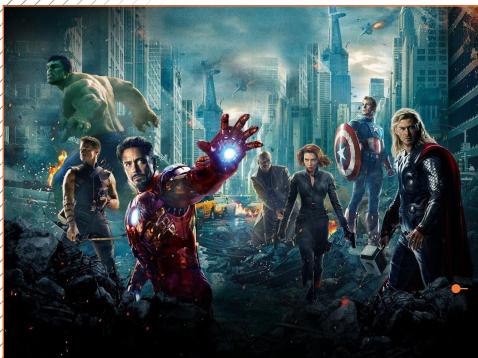
Resistance to nuclear proliferation continued through the 1980s with the advent of the Nuclear Freeze movement which led to one of the largest peace rallies in the history of the United States. This 1982 protest, with over 1 million people in Central Park, was featured in an episode of popular sitcom *Family Ties*, called “No nukes is good nukes.” The same year coalitions placed the Nuclear Freeze agenda on local election ballots where they found overwhelming support. The New York Times said it “constituted the largest referendum on a single issue in the nation’s history.” The electoral engagement continued into the 1984 elections with almost all major Democratic contenders endorsing the Freeze. As the Freeze Movement grew during the 1980s it became a critical training ground for future Nuclear Disarmament leaders in the United States.

The End of History through 9/11: 1991-2001

With the end of the Cold War, nuclear apocalypse was off the table. There was an audible global sigh. Between the end of the Cold War and 9/11 two cultural themes emerged: (1) Cold War paranoia and MAD were both ludicrous and worthy of ridicule; (2) nuclear weapons can save the planet... from aliens.

Austin Powers (1997) features the tropes of Cold War spy movies (almost all James Bond movies involved a super villain threatening the world with a nuclear weapons) portrayed as out of date and ridiculous. This allowed those who lived through the Cold War to laugh at themselves and for younger generations to laugh at their parents.

In the romantic comedy *Blast from the Past* (1999), Brendan Fraser emerges from his family’s bomb shelter 35 years after the Cuban Missile Crisis and falls for the definitively 90s “it girl” Alicia Silverstone. The film revisits the gag that the 60s and its associated problems, like mutually assured destruction, are outdated and even incomprehensible to turn-of-the-century hipsters.



If the Cold War could now be more easily mined for zany humor (as opposed to the gallows humor/satire of *Dr. Strangelove*), nuclear weapons themselves had a new purpose: saving the world. Absent an opposing global power threatening the United States with destruction, writers and producers turned to the skies and found a threat in alien invasion. And the only thing we have to protect ourselves, in the movie *Independence Day* starring Will Smith and Bill Pullman, are our macho multi-racial “man’s men” team and nuclear missiles. This theme of Nukes-Save-The-Day is reiterated in Post 9/11 culture in movies like *The Avengers*, when former weapons designer turned super hero Tony Stark/*Iron Man* uses a nuke to defend earth from alien invasion.

While these two cultural themes were present in this time period, nuclear weapons ceased to be as prevalent in culture as they were during the Cold War. In fact during this time we start to see the production of more mainstream movies, like *Outbreak* (1995) and *12 Monkeys* (1995), that place pandemics as the primary threat to civilization (a theme that stays strong into the post 9/11 era). It is as though culture itself was trying to get some distance from the promise of nuclear annihilation.

Post 9/11

The attacks of September 11, 2001 revived history like a shot of adrenalin to the heart. The World Trade Center in New York was dubbed Ground Zero, lending an atomic-strength symbolism to the attacks.

The new circumstance of the massive terrorist attack on U.S. soil combined with the declared “Global War on Terror” leads to an emergent understanding of nukes in popular culture: it isn’t the nuke that is bad, it is the person (terrorist) who might use it. While a strain of this theme emerged in the super villains of James Bond’s Cold War, it was still couched in the hegemonic Cold War culture, a culture dominated by MAD and post-Apocalypse fears. This nukes-don’t-kill-people-terrorists-kill-people theme has cultural legs. In the television show *24* our hero (in two seasons) struggles against the threat of terrorists armed with nuclear weapons. The theme also appears in a rehash of a Cold War classic, *WarGames 2: The Dead Code* (2008).



The rise of the rogue nuclear state, such as North Korea and Iran, help political actors claim that nukes are only bad when they are in the wrong hands. The leaders of these countries occupy the dual role of terrifying dictators and zany clowns. This juxtaposition is culturally confusing. While there are hawkish right-wing calls to nuke Iran there is a popular Twitter feed for @KimJongNumberUn mocking the North Korean leader. Both cultural treatments of the leaders of rogue states plays on explicit racist tropes and coded racist language.

There continues to be a close association of the dangers of nuclear weapons with the dangers of nuclear power. Fukushima was the Millennial generation’s Chernobyl. The threat of accidents in relation to nuclear power is prevalent, especially as fears of the fallout from Fukushima washing ashore in on the Pacific coast of United States are stoked by questionable yet viral web content. The entwinement of nuclear weapons and nuclear power is further complicated by rogue states using investment in nuclear power as a potential cover for the development of nuclear weapons.

Cultural engagement by the nuclear disarmament movement in the post 9/11 era has not broken through this new understanding of nuclear weapons. While documentaries like *Countdown to Zero* start to bridge the intellectual emotional divide of deep policy advocacy, it is a drop in the bucket when it comes to nuclear disarmament. Movement building efforts such as Global Zero and WMD Awareness are utilizing cultural tactics (celebrity engagement, creative video production, meme movements), but they don’t seem to be engaging with or challenging the dominant cultural context and themes.



Post 9/11 culture also sees the nuclear weapons proliferate experiential culture like never before, in video games. Millennials press the button in countless video games causing unfathomable virtual destruction. While the list of games in which nukes are used is too long to list, it is important to note that video games may be the only place that Millennials directly experience nuclear weapons.

What do people really fear?

If nuclear apocalypse is no longer the apocalypse du jour then what do people fear? Zombies.



The zombie genre has permeated all facets of culture from fine literature (*Pride and Prejudice and Zombies*) mock sociological studies (*World War Z*), television (*Walking Dead*), street parties (NYC Zombie Crawl[2]), the big screen (*28 Days Later*), and are even used to spice up Homeland Security training drills[3].

Just as Godzilla and other giant monsters was an apt metaphor for the threat of singular nuclear event destroying civilization, zombies are an apt metaphor for the fear that more distributed and creeping crises will lead to the destruction of civilization. These crises are environmental collapse, economic collapse, political collapse, clash of civilizations (religious and racial), pandemics, technological meltdown. The zombie metaphor works well to animate these distributed multi-event, multi-layered threats. Also with zombies we are revisiting the empty street image, again symbolizing the lone survival of some travesty in an utterly changed world.

All in all, zombies show us the flexibility of culture to take on, explore, and make entertaining our darkest and bleakest fears. The fascination with zombies also highlights our desires to overcome those fears and embody the best that being human has to offer. The challenge for any social change movements is to be able to simultaneously create and engage in compelling cultural strategies that address and deal with fear, while also foreshadowing and illustrating models that embody the best of humanity. Zombies give us one model of how culture is currently metaphorizing fear and hope. Tomorrow zombies may be replaced by a different monster altogether.

Conclusion

The relatively short arc of the nuclear weapon narrative spans several generations as well as important shifts in how people engage with cultural products.

While this section presents the nuclear weapons narrative as continuous over the last 70 years it is important to understand the generational understanding of that arc. The Baby Boomer generation may not have living memory of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, but they do remember *Duck and Cover*. Generation X may not remember *Duck and Cover* but they do remember *War Games*. The Millennials don't remember the fall of the Berlin Wall, but they do remember 9/11. The generation being born now will relate to 9/11 the same way the children of Boomers relate to the Kennedy assassination.

Along with shifts in generational cultural understanding, technology has greatly shifted how overall culture is produced and consumed. To put this in perspective the first nuclear bomb test, Trinity, happened only six years after the invention (patent) of the ballpoint pen. Seventy years later many people in the United States carry around "phones" in their pockets that are many times more powerful than the room-sized mainframe computers of the 70s. These shifts in technology have greatly changed how and when we engage in cultural consumption and cultural production.

These generational relationships to cultural manifestations of nuclear weapons and technological engagements with culture is further complicated by generational shifts in cultural norms and

reference points. When we add to the generational difference other factors such as race, income level, gender etc. the concept of one monolithic audience or consumer of culture becomes impossible. Audiences have different reactions to the same messages and the same cultural products.

An integral part of any strategy (as examined in detail in Section Three) is a clear identification of audience and an alignment of messages and cultural products that will motivate and resonate with them. Section Three also introduces the Logic Model - a foundation for program planning and basis for evaluating cultural strategy interventions. Without having access to more information about previous cultural efforts within the nuclear sector (ex: Global Zero's celebrity video or the Give Peace a Dance campaign) it is difficult to assess how these efforts could have been designed more intentionally to reach a broader audience beyond the sector's current base.

The exploration of how nuclear weapons manifest in our cultural landscape provides valuable historical context, reference points and lessons learned for developing the comprehensive cultural strategy recommendations presented in the following Section Three.



[1] The marches covered a distance of 52 miles between the Atomic Weapons Research Establishment in Berkshire, England and London.

[2] <http://nyczombiecrawl.com/news/>

[3] <http://abcnews.go.com/WNT/video/homeland-security-preps-zombie-apocalypse-17898609>

[i] Richard Rhodes, *The Making of the Atomic Bomb* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1986), pp. 571–572

[ii] Jim Falk (1982). *Global Fission: The Battle Over Nuclear Power*, Oxford University Press, pp. 96-97

[iii] http://www.cnduk.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=435&Itemid=131

SECTION

3

Cultural Strategy Recommendations

Introduction

A cultural strategy for the nuclear disarmament sector will provide a “long game” vision and infusion of new energy, ideas and supporters required to shift public sentiment in support of a nuclear-free world. Coupled with Ploughshares Fund’s existing initiatives, the cultural strategy will arm the sector with tools to capture the public imagination about the imminent threats of nuclear weapons and the obtainable solutions to creating a peaceful, safer, and healthier world.

The following section provides a first of its kind cultural strategy for the nuclear disarmament sector. While culture has always played a critical role in reflecting and shaping America’s relationship to the threat of nuclear apocalypse, the sector has not made an intentional, unified effort to harness the power of culture to achieve its ambitious goals. As Philip Yun stated during the February 2014 Ploughshares Fund Board meeting, pursuing cultural strategy work in the nuclear security sector is a “green field” ripe with opportunities for game-changing innovations and collaborations.

This roadmap is informed by the manifestation of culture in the sector from the Cold War to the present, the unique opportunities and challenges for pursuing culture shift work in the nuclear disarmament field and best practices of cultural strategies utilized by other movements. Ploughshares Fund staff and board, nuclear disarmament experts and cultural leaders were instrumental in shaping these goals and recommendations.

The overarching purpose of a cultural strategy is to achieve the long-term transformational changes and near-term campaign wins listed below, as defined by Ploughshares Fund.

Long-Term Transformational Change: Shift the following popular views on nuclear weapons:

- Nuclear weapons are no longer a problem;
- Nuclear weapons are the last best hope;
- The only problem with nuclear weapons is that bad guys have them; and
- Deterrence is real and it works.

Near-Term Campaign Wins:

- Reduce the national budget for nuclear weapons;
- Create the political will to reach a negotiated agreement with Iran, and build popular and political support for a nuclear weapons-free Iran;
- Create the political will to win Senate approval of Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty; and
- Establish nuclear weapon-free states or convert a national lab (specifics TBD).

While designing recommendations to achieve the sector's long and near-term goals, we consider the core challenges and opportunities to pursuing culture shift work. Identifying these realities enables us to develop tailored approaches that give the sector its greatest chance for success.

Challenges:

- General public does not feel emotional connection to nuclear disarmament movement. Emotions, not dry facts and figures, lead to behavior change or new ways of thinking;
- Significant generational divide with perspective and connection to nuclear war (the movement lacks a multigenerational base of supporters);
- Danger of nuclear war feels remote and existence of nuclear weapons doesn't seem to have urgent or present impact on current lives; and
- Nuclear disarmament overshadowed by other current issues that feel more pressing.

Opportunities:

- Nuclear proliferation is solvable and the sector has identified clear solutions;
- Bipartisan agreement for the sector's goals and prospective solutions;
- Overlapping characteristics between nuclear sector and current prominent movements;
- Track record of shaping public opinion about nuclear weapons through culture; and
- Support for nuclear disarmament sector from high profile cultural figures, as demonstrated in [*Global Zero's The World Must Stand Together campaign*](#).

Guided by the nuclear security sector's goals, challenges, and opportunities, the following sections offer a menu of options for the overarching culture shift approach and investment strategy that will change the way the American public understands and engages with nuclear disarmament.

Our Strategy: Connect Nuclear Issue to Related Issues with Momentum

After considering these challenges and opportunities, we believe the best strategy to shift the culture around non-proliferation and nuclear disarmament is to piggyback on issues that have greater cultural currency. To do this successfully, it is important to choose issues that are a natural fit with some of the most important and effective non-proliferation and disarmament messages. We found three issues that met this criteria: terrorism and national security; health; and fiscal discipline. Each occupies significant cultural space, has a resourced constituency, and overlaps with our issue. We considered other issues but none were as close as fit as these three. If comparable alternatives do emerge, they could easily be substituted for one of the above.

Instead of piggybacking on other issues, the sector could work in isolation. This has certain benefits. It gives us greater latitude in our messaging and tactics. It ensures that non-proliferation and disarmament aren't too dependent on fields they can't control. But we believe these are less compelling than the benefits of piggybacking.

After 9/11, our Cold War fear of nuclear war was replaced by an open-ended War on Terror.

Although President Obama has dialed back the War on Terror rhetoric, his administration has continued to prioritize operations against Al Qaeda and other terrorist organizations, often relying on drone strikes to execute suspects. While these methods have been under attack from doves on the left and isolationists on the right, there is broad support for anti-terrorist activity and powerful interests pushing a national security narrative.

We believe that it is possible to turn the national security narrative to the advantage of the disarmament and anti-proliferation movement. Nuclear weapons don't keep America safe. They do not protect the United States from terrorism or other threats to its national security. The logic behind the nuclear build-up was always flawed, but given the power dynamics in the world today, with the rise of stateless actors, it is impossible to argue effectively that nuclear weapons are a security asset.

We believe that it is possible to turn the national security narrative to the advantage of the disarmament and anti-proliferation movement.

In short: nuclear weapons are obsolete and make us less safe.

The nuclear disarmament community has already adopted a version of this messaging when dealing with policymakers in Washington, DC. The New START campaign in particular was successful in using a national security message to achieve a classic arms control goal. However, this policy success did little to change public perceptions of nuclear weapons as the nation's ultimate guarantor of security. A cultural approach that ends the illusory security of nuclear weapons clears the path to strategies that truly make America safer. A campaign to "retire nukes" could be launched during the year-long 70th anniversary of the A-bomb. This effort would help define nuclear weapons as a 20th century weapon useless to ensure 21st century security. We can reinforce the idea that nuclear weapons create instability, both abroad and at home, making America more insecure. Non-military alternatives to nuclear weapons, including diplomacy, which has been a primary tool of the Obama administration in trying to prevent Iran from attaining its own nuclear weapons, could be emphasized as an effective alternative. By expanding partnerships with national security validators and former military leaders into a culturally relevant conversation, we could create cultural shift that could build greater support inside a critical sector while reaching into communities that typically differ to the military on this issue.

A second issue that continues to be a good fit for the movement is human health. Health related causes cover a vast spectrum. We believe those focused on environmental and public health issues, specifically those caused in part by technology (like lead poison and fracking), would be the closest fit. Nuclear weapons are a health risk, even if the weapons are unused. Radioactive waste from tests is estimated eventually to cause the deaths of 1.5 million people around the world. The Senate still has not approved the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, leaving open the possibility that tests could be restarted. As revealed by recent scandals in the air force and the well-received book *Command and Control* by noted journalist Eric Schlosser, nuclear accidents are far more likely than most of the public realizes. Despite extensive precautionary procedures, nuclear weapons are still controlled by humans susceptible to human error and poor judgment.

In short, nukes can make us sick.

Physicians have historically been at the forefront of the anti-nuclear movement and organizations like Physicians for Social Responsibility continue to see limited success in grassroots organizing. In mainstream culture, however, the health dangers posed by nuclear weapons are not a major concern among charities focused on treatment and prevention services. But it could be. By piggybacking on this issue, the disarmament and anti-proliferation movement would tap into an issue area with a significant infrastructure, mobilized base, and cultural relevance. This could be done through a video-centric project like the animated *Story of Cholera* from the Global Health Media Project; through a campaign to create a Nuclear Free Montana; or by working with Hollywood, Health and Society (more on this later) to encourage the entertainment industry to integrate this issue into their storytelling.

Ploughshares Fund has already seen the benefits of linking nuclear disarmament to the federal budget. Both political parties support cutting the budget; they disagree on where to cut. A successful effort to portray nuclear weapons as a waste of money could solidify a disarmament movement alliance with budget cutters from both sides of the partisan divide. There is already momentum behind this frame, as Washington has sought repeatedly to rethink military spending in a post-Cold War, and, more recently, post 9/11, world.

A shift in public perception on this issue would be profound. For example, the United States is capable of using its nuclear weapons to destroy all life dozens of times. This is the military version of Imelda Marcos's collection of more than 3000 shoes. It is obvious on its face why this is a waste of money. The cost to maintain these weapons is significant; this is money that could be better spent elsewhere. Any effort that messages around the absurd excess of nuclear weapons can reinforce a budget-centric frame. But it must go beyond merely lobbying in Washington, DC or writing op-eds aimed at Washington insiders. A successful cultural strategy will reach the public on their own turf: the computer, television, and movie screens that dominate our lives.

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Our recommendation to piggyback on efforts with significant cultural currency provides a framework for the following investment strategy.

INVESTMENT STRATEGY

This section on investment strategy includes a brief introduction to logic models as a foundation for program planning and basis for evaluation; a discussion of target audiences; a menu of investment opportunities; and concludes with recommendations and next steps, and a short discussion of evaluation.

Our recommendations take into consideration a topline assessment of grantees' capacity for engaging in cultural strategy. Ploughshares Fund has indicated to us that grantees fall into one of two buckets: smaller, less well-resourced, organizations focused primarily on nuclear disarmament and larger, multi-issue organizations such as Center for American Progress and Union of Concerned Scientists, which have threads on disarmament but not an exclusive, or perhaps even major, focus on the issue. In the former category, the organizations have significant gaps in some very basic organizing capacity, for example in digital strategy and communications. In the larger organizations, while they may have quite sophisticated digital and communications

capability, there is a challenge in getting disarmament the requisite attention within their multi-issue contexts. And in both cases, as is true throughout the environmental and social change worlds, cultural strategy is still a burgeoning practice with very few sophisticated practitioners, and much misunderstanding (for example, conflating cultural strategy with celebrity-driven PR).

These assumptions about grantees implies the following:

- Ploughshares Fund and its funding partners may need to take a more hands-on or directive role in introducing cultural strategy to its grantees than might be true in other issue areas; and
- In preparation for investing strategically in cultural strategy, Ploughshares Fund and its funding partners will likely need to lay some basic groundwork in key areas such as message positioning and digital strategy capacity.

These precautions will help ensure the effectiveness of Ploughshares Fund's cultural strategy investments.

// LOGIC MODELS

We believe in using logic models as a foundation for program development. Logic models help planners keep in mind the relationships among investments, program activities, and impact. They define the building blocks required to bring about near-term and longer-term results, giving a basis for both program planning and evaluation.

At its most basic, a logic model illustrates:

inputs → outputs → outcomes

Or, put another way:

investments → program activities → results & impact

Inputs include funds, expertise, human resources, and systems.

Outcomes operate on a spectrum, lifting audiences from an increase in awareness and knowledge (near-term) to behavioral or policy changes (medium-term), and ultimately up through to a profound, transformational change in our collective conditions (long-term).

Outputs (aka program activities) must articulate not just *what* the program offering or message is, but *who* is delivering it (the messengers, participants, and actors), *to whom* is it aimed (audience), and *how* it is reaching them.

Too often in the nonprofit sector we focus on creating “good” program or service offerings, or well-honed messaging, but we neglect to sufficiently focus on (and invest in) recruiting and inspiring the most effective messengers, accurately identifying our target audience, and planning out our means of dissemination.

We recommend that any RFPs or grant applications that arise from this investigation into cultural strategies should include a request for a logic model, wherein the applicants describe not only the program intervention, but also its intended audience, the means of

dissemination and amplification, the objectives it aims to achieve, and a manageable (and meaningful) evaluation plan.

The logical extension of this recommendation means Ploughshares Fund and/or its philanthropic colleagues in the nuclear disarmament sector must be prepared to fund all stages of a new intervention: research, concept development, production, dissemination, amplification, and evaluation.

A sample logic model for achieving Ploughshares Fund's four long-term transformational culture goals can be found in [Appendix 3](#).

In summary:

- grant applications and RFPs should require logic models
- Ploughshares Fund and its colleagues should be prepared to fund all stages (research, design, development, dissemination, amplification, evaluation)

// ACTORS & AUDIENCE

Before we get to specific cultural strategy recommendations for the nuclear disarmament and nonproliferation movement, let's focus on the people involved in this program framework: the actors and the audience.

The “actors” are the participants and messengers who drive and deliver any program intervention. The “audience” are the targets of programs and messaging.

They are not faceless or fungible, and their “casting” or engagement is a critical step in program design. For every program investment, there should be clarity—and strategy—as to who are the participants and whether they are the optimal match to move the target audience toward the intended goal. Here are a couple of intentionally absurd examples to bring the point to life:

George Schultz would be the wrong guy to warm up an audience of college students at a Nuclear-Free Montana jam band benefit concert. (Although that unlikely combination could result in a good *Funny or Die* video, intentional or otherwise!)

A cadre of young Occupy Wall Street activists would not be the right fit to testify at a military budget hearing. Colin Powell, on the other hand, has standing on the issue and would be considered an authority worth listening to.

→ *Casting is critical.*

Today, the nuclear disarmament movement's most engaged participants are a fading demographic. Ploughshares Fund's primary constituents are predominantly white, highly educated (80% have a bachelor's degree), and over the age of 65. The movement is anchored by baby boomers that came of age politically during the peace movement.

In order to be relevant, to galvanize momentum and build a future, the disarmament movement needs to expand its base; it needs to find a way to inspire, recruit, and engage new participants to join, and refresh, the choir. We lay out our recommendations for new audiences below. While we explain our basis for these recommendations, we encourage Ploughshares Fund to verify, deepen, and explore both existing and prospective audiences—and the optimal positioning of messages to each audience segment—through polling and focus group testing.

With that proviso in mind, our opinion is the disarmament movement needs to find a way to reach the rising electorate:

- young people (Millennials in particular),
- members of peace-conscious faith movements,
- communities of color, and
- single moms.

The disarmament movement needs to find a way to reach the rising electorate... Today, these new prospects are the audience; tomorrow they will be the movement's actors and advocates.

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(Similar to our earlier discussion about culture being both the *object* of change and the *agent* of change; when it comes to nuclear disarmament, these groups are today's *objects* of change and tomorrow's *agents* of change.)

Though these disparate demographics coalesced famously behind the candidacy of Barack Obama in the 2008 election cycle, they cannot be considered a unified bloc: one size—one strategy—will not necessarily fit all. And since budget is limited, we suggest focusing program investments on just two of these key groups that we consider the most promising targets for nuclear disarmament-related creative interventions:

- young people, and
- faith communities.

Culture is where young people already are: they're online, listening to music, watching TV shows and movies, playing games. They are more open-minded than other demographics and once convinced of an issue's righteousness, they can be powerful, highly networked persuaders and advocates. The recent sea change around marriage equality, for example, has been turbo-charged by the younger generation and digital organizing. Young people also have a vested interest in the future: existential threats to the planet matter significantly more to them than to the older generations. And once exposed and turned onto an issue, they tend to stay involved. The opportunity and upside potential with this demographic is clear.

The challenges with this group, however, are considerable. Older generations have a more personal connection to the issue. The so-called Greatest Generation, the dwindling few that are still with us, are the only ones with first-hand or contemporaneous experience of nuclear war. Boomers, though one generation removed from Hiroshima and Nagasaki, vividly remember *Duck and Cover* and the fear-filled days at the height of the Cold War. Young people, on the other hand,

have no real personal or emotionally resonant experience of nuclear weapons; theirs is a largely dissociated and fictionalized experience, encountered almost exclusively through movies, comic books, and video games. So the biggest issue with young people is getting them to understand and care about something that may feel quite abstract, if not entirely fictional or irrelevant, to them. Intergenerational campaigns could be a key to unlocking young people's potential.

Our second target group is communities of faith. Religion is one of the most profound expressions, and reinforcements, of culture; any faith-oriented strategy is, by definition, a cultural strategy. When we speak of communities of faith, we include all relevant groups, particularly those on an upward growth curve: Evangelicals, “Pope Francis”-style Catholics, Mormons, Jews, Muslims, Bahá’í, and Buddhists as well as the millions of yoga and meditation practitioners.

Any faith-oriented strategy is, by definition, a cultural strategy.

The opportunity with religious groups is enormous. First, their numbers are significant: 59% percent of Americans say they are members of a church or synagogue, and 40% claim they regularly attend religious services.¹ And importantly, many self-identify as stewards of “God’s green earth,” cherishing “God’s gift” to us of a world green in its abundance and fertility. Services, prayers, commandments, and meditations almost universally have “peace” as a central tenant and value; every Catholic mass, for example, includes the communal exchange, “Peace be with you.” So there is a natural “fit” in terms of core values between communities of faith and the nuclear disarmament movement. Finally, religious groups form natural and accessible organizing units; they convene regularly in person and are membership bodies with pre-existing coordinating mechanisms: mailing and email lists, phone trees, and social media. They are multi-generational, nonpartisan, and exist in every state, county, and municipality in the country.

Focusing on these two groups, young people and faith communities, means reaching other compelling communities as well. Millennials are the most diverse generation in history, with almost 40% identifying as non-white. Organized faith communities, particularly among mainline Protestants and Jews, attract older members who have long been a part of the movement’s base.

Whoever comprises the “army” of nuclear disarmament and nonproliferation advocates—the original Boomer peace activists, or newly engaged youth and religious communities—the ultimate audience of their advocacy is the decision-makers in government bodies: legislators, military leaders, regulators, and enforcers. In other movements and issue arenas, committed believers can engage in personal practices that simultaneously reflect their beliefs and make a positive (if incremental) difference: changing light bulbs, riding their bike to work, participating in consumer product boycotts, for example. Nuclear weapons, in contrast, are exclusively owned and controlled by the state (terrorists aside), and the state is the only body in the position to effect material change on the issue.

Any program investment strategies need to keep these opportunities, challenges, and provisos about audience—and actors—in mind.

¹ <http://www.gallup.com/poll/1690/religion.aspx>

In summary:

current base: Boomer and Greatest Gen peace activists

new targets: young people, faith communities

decision makers: legislators, regulators, military leaders

// A MENU OF INVESTMENT OPPORTUNITIES

Following is a menu of ideas for culturally-driven strategies and tactics that:

- speak to one or more key actors and audiences, the traditional core as well as “newbies” (Boomer peace activists, young people, faith communities, and government “deciders”);
- could easily dovetail with—or draft off of—at least one of the related issues (national security, health, and budget); and
- aim to move the dial on one or more of the stated near- or longer-term objectives (for example, reducing the national budget for nuclear weapons, creating the political will for a nuclear test ban treaty, or shifting popular views away from the idea that nuclear deterrence is real and it works).

Please note that while some of these strategies are stand-alone and meant to function independently (e.g., the journalism fellowship or the Hollywood strategy), there is much interconnectedness between some of these different investment approaches. For example, having a robust digital strategy is the basis for dissemination for many of these interventions; and state-based, sister city, or Christian youth programs could be galvanized by almost any cultural or digital product.

In addition to the ten concepts fleshed out below—which are the ones we recommend most strongly—there are more top-line suggestions for messaging, campaign concepts, or avenues of dissemination listed in [Appendix 4](#). (The appendix list includes all the ideas that came out of the February 25 and 26, 2014 workshops with sector experts and cultural leaders.)

We believe there are four potential funding approaches for Ploughshares Fund to consider:

- 1. Existing Grantees:** fund your existing grantees or other organizations already in the disarmament space to add cultural strategy to their existing portfolio, working with the support of cultural organizers (or cultural strategy experts);
- 2. Independents:** directly fund cultural and campaign specialists and other independent providers unaffiliated with the current disarmament sector;
- 3. Partnerships:** fund interdisciplinary or collaborative partnerships, bringing together nuclear disarmament organizations with other advocacy organizations and approaches; or
- 4. Related Groups:** fund groups specifically chartered to address the related issues (national security, health, and budget) to add nuclear disarmament to their existing campaigns.

We do not recommend #4 as we think it may be too far a leap in logic for those advocacy organizations and their commitment will likely end as soon as the grant runs out. We do, however, think there is merit in the first three and have loosely organized our recommendations within those three buckets (with the proviso that several of the ideas could jump from one bucket to the other). Approach #1 has the advantage of building the capacity of your existing grantees and guaranteeing a direct relationship between new creative approaches and pre-established nuclear disarmament and nonproliferation strategies. #2 embraces more of a “blue sky” philosophy and could result in some completely innovative and unexpected ideas. #3 is the most complex idea, but could spawn strength—and added funding—through the collaborations.

We also understand that due to the capacity constraints in Ploughshares Fund’s smaller grantees and the focus challenges with your larger, multi-issue grantees, you may want to lean toward more direct funding (#2) initially. Let’s explore the ideas first, and move to recommendations later.

Each idea listed below is accompanied with some specific, suggested next steps.

1. Existing Grantees

Cultural Strategy Partnerships for Existing Grantees

Goal To expand the capacity of existing grantees to execute cultural strategies and reinforce their effectiveness as advocates for disarmament.

We recommend inviting grant applications from your current grantees to develop and execute an arts, culture, or media-based intervention or advocacy effort. We encourage you to require grantees to engage or partner with an expert in cultural organizing or creative activism; someone that can help them learn as they experiment with a new strategy. The ideas that could arise from this kind of partnership are endless—comedy videos, visual art campaigns, concerts, celebrity surrogates, events or “happenings,” organized disruptive action, and so on—any of which could deliver effective engagement, fundraising, or policy momentum, reinforcing grantees’ existing nuclear disarmament strategies, and helping them reach expanded, potentially intergenerational, audiences. (Again, please see [Appendix 4](#) for some specific suggestions.)

Next Steps Share this report with some of your VIP, longstanding grantees and discuss the idea of funding a cultural strategy project. Find out if they are interested and provide them with a starting list of potential partners with whom to develop a project concept with. (See “Cultural Strategy Agency RFP” below for a listing of prospective experts.)

Mobile Apps to Complement Existing Grantee Programs

Goal A GPS-enabled mobile app could serve as a complement to an existing nuclear disarmament campaign, or be a stand-alone awareness and education tool from a disarmament organization.

Similar to [climate change apps](#) that show the threat of a rising sea level or the new [drone strike tracking app](#), a nuclear weapons app could provide a tracking mechanism showing the presence of nuclear weapons (and spent fuel rods) around the world and in the U.S. Another app, or a complement to the weapons tracking app, could illustrate nuclear weapons-related military spending to highlight where exactly our tax dollars are going.

Next Steps Discuss the app concept with select grantees and see if there is an existing or prospective campaign or organization that a creative new app could bolster.

2. Independents

Hollywood Strategy

Goal Fundamentally shift our collective beliefs in alignment with Ploughshares Fund's long-term culture shift goals. Make an ongoing investment in increased, accurate and compelling storytelling about nuclear weapons in movies, television, and web-based entertainment by building partnerships with entertainment industry leaders and influencers.

Both UCLA and USC house nonprofit groups that provide Hollywood writers and studio executives factual information and expert access on issues of social concern. [Hollywood Health and Society](#), a program of the USC Annenberg School for Communication and Journalism's Norman Lear Center, "provides entertainment industry professionals with free, expert information for storylines on health, health care coverage, and climate change." The newly launched [Global Media Center for Social Impact](#), housed within UCLA's Fielding School of Public Health and founded by veterans of the USC program, has a stated goal "to increase awareness of important health issues and improve the well-being of people throughout the world by harnessing the storytelling power of television, film, music and new media." Both groups work with content creators to help them develop pro-social storylines.

Think of this "Hollywood Strategy" as similar to "product placement," but instead of corporations paying good money to ensure that ET is eating Reese's Pieces, James Bond is driving an Aston Martin, or Tom Cruise is wearing Ray-Bans, these nonprofit, foundation-funded entities place social issues at the heart of Hollywood entertainment. Ploughshares Fund could provide a grant to either the USC or UCLA programs to ensure accurate and compelling communication about nuclear weapons to the grandmasters of popular culture.

A related entity, and another potential Ploughshares Fund grantee or partner, is the [Entertainment Industry Council](#) (EIC), an independent nonprofit organization founded

by leaders in the entertainment industry “to bring the power and influence of the industry to communicate about health and social issues.” They identify as “the chief pioneer of entertainment and journalism outreach and a premiere success story in the field of entertainment education.” EIC has traditionally focused on accurate portrayals of smoking, substance abuse, and mental health concerns, which they recognize at their annual PRISM Awards. More recently, and of specific relevance to Ploughshares Fund, the EIC established the SET Awards to honor and promote positive and accurate portrayals of science, engineering, and technology in the entertainment sector.

In addition, Jeff Skoll’s [Participant Media](#) (which includes the nascent Pivot TV) might be a friendly resource for getting the “lay of the land” in Hollywood.

(Please note: These Hollywood related ideas are distinct from celebrity wrangling, and we believe a more promising and strategic approach. Because they shift the storytelling that occurs every night in our living rooms, we believe they have long term potential to open hearts and fundamentally shift our collective beliefs about nuclear weapons. The effectiveness of this strategy depends on a long-term investment.)

Next Steps Meet with leaders of all three programs to learn how they work, and how an initiative on nuclear weapons might harmonize with their existing public health, environmental, and “entertainment education” work.

Journalism Fellow

Goal Reposition nuclear weapons, disarmament, and nonproliferation as urgent and timely issues in the minds of target audiences by creatively reframing the issue and ensuring regular and accurate coverage of nuclear issues in reputable and strategic media outlets.

Similar to an academic chair, directly fund one or more national journalism positions at media outlets like *The Guardian*, *Salon*, *Huffington Post*, or *Pro Publica*, whose exclusive “beat” and focus of investigation and reporting would be nuclear weapons, disarmament, and nonproliferation. Glenn Greenwald’s groundbreaking work on torture and national surveillance demonstrate the transformational power of a single smart, indefatigable, independent voice with a public platform.

We understand that similar efforts supported by Ploughshares Fund in the past did not generate the desired volume of coverage (funding of reporters at *The Nation* and *Mother Jones* and a partnership with the Center for Public Integrity to create a national security desk). However we feel this strategy would be more successful by focusing on themes, media outlets and journalists who resonate with the target audiences (youth and faith communities) and by pursuing this strategy in concert with other approaches. The fellowship should support journalists to produce traditional articles as well as stories in an array of attention-grabbing formats: web videos, podcasts, photo-based stories, etc. Journalists would also generate more attention by connecting nuclear issues to the trending “piggyback” issues: terrorism/national security, health and fiscal discipline.

Next Steps Speak with colleagues at Knight Foundation or others knowledgeable about journalism, and the important balance between support and independence in a rapidly shifting news media landscape.

Cultural Strategy Agency RFP

Goal Ensure that the nuclear sector's cultural strategy is modeled on best practices by partnering with the most skilled cultural change practitioners beginning at the inception of the strategy's development. Cultural agencies provide a range of valuable services including development of a cultural strategy, oversight of the strategy's implementation, ongoing advising or coaching, and assistance with forming relationships within the cultural sector.

There are a number of agencies that specialize in cultural strategies or creative communications concepts that could develop and deploy an arts, culture, or media based effort on nuclear disarmament. Ploughshares Fund would provide agencies that respond to a RFP with a menu of priority objectives and tested message framing and a reasonable funding range, but otherwise have very open-ended parameters to encourage maximally creative and innovative ideas.

Some of the agencies we are familiar with, who have an understanding and track record at the nexus of arts, media, and culture and social change include: [Agit-Pop Communications](#) (Andrew Boyd), [Brave New Films](#) (Robert Greenwald), [Cause Effect Agency](#), [Creative Action Network](#), [Fuel | We Power Change](#) (Bridgit Antoinette Evans), [Liz Manne](#), [Moore + Associates](#) (Mik Moore), [TaskForce PR](#) (Yosi Sergant), and [The Yes Men](#). (Disclosure: Moore + Associates and Liz Manne are co-authors of this report.) Some of these agencies specialize in comedy, some in celebrity partnerships, some in events or live experiences, and some in civil disobedience and more outrageous creative activism.

Next Steps Research the firms, request and review case studies. Meet with firms that are particularly interesting to you to learn more about their philosophies and capabilities.

Digital Strategy Agency RFP

Goal Assess the field's and your grantees' individual and collective digital capacity and footprint and deliver a comprehensive plan to maximize audience engagement and growth.

Digital strategy agencies specialize in audience engagement, technology platforms, and online fundraising. Your grantees should already have at least a basic digital strategy in place, perhaps including a website, an email list, and social media channels and a methodology for engaging them. We understand that your smaller grantees, in particular, may have only very nascent infrastructure and expertise in this arena. Since the key players in your field are relatively limited, and comprehensive digital services can get fairly expensive when you factor in the costs of list building and digital advertising, we recommend Ploughshares Fund considers directly funding a digital agency to assess the field's and your grantees' individual and collective digital capacity and footprint and deliver a plan to maximize audience engagement and growth. A digital agency will be able to provide an assessment; a field-wide plan that can include positioning, engagement strategies, campaigns, dissemination, advocacy, fundraising, and inter-organization coordination; and finally, they can function as long-term partners in executing digital strategies as well as helping to hire and train needed in-house positions.

Amongst the digital strategy firms, there is [Blue State Digital](#), [Fission Strategies](#), [GEER](#), [Hustle Labs](#), [M+R Strategic Services](#), [The New Media Firm](#), [New Partners](#), [Purpose](#), [Revolution Messaging](#), [Sea Change Strategies](#), [Trilogy Interactive](#), and Watershed. (Disclosure: Liz Manne is a senior advisor to GEER.)

Next Steps Same as above. Research the firms, request and review case studies. Meet with firms that are particularly interesting to you to learn more about their philosophies and capabilities.

Video Game Strategy

Goal Educate high-priority youth audiences about the realities of nuclear war by shifting the romantic portrayal of nuclear weapons in video games to a more accurate and responsible portrayal of the catastrophic impact on humans and the environment.

Tackling the entire video game industry might be a bit too steep an undertaking. Perhaps start by learning about the children's educational video game market and explore whether there is an avenue for collaboration, for example on an Israel-Iran kids' initiative, or a U.S. schools-based game concept. Whether it's developing a game-based learning tool, or simply influencing video game makers to get their facts right when it comes to nuclear weapons and radiation, the educational gaming sector is a good place to start.

Next Steps Meet with [E-Line Media](#), a leading educational video game developer and publisher, for an exploratory discussion. E-Line is experienced in working in the U.S., Jordan, and India; they have active partnerships with both Sesame Workshop and the Smithsonian Institute; and are co-presenters of President Obama's [National STEM Video Game Challenge](#). We also suggest meeting with [Games for Change](#), a nonprofit that facilitates the creation and distribution of social impact games that serve as critical tools in humanitarian and educational efforts. They also organize convenings of leaders from the tech and entertainment industries such as the [Games for Change Conference](#) at the Tribeca Film Festival.

In addition, we suggest speaking with Farshad Farahat, an actor and nuclear disarmament advocate, about his involvement with the gaming industry. Farshad is part of the creative team that developed "[1979](#)," a video game that places the player in Iran's revolution. He is very interested in gaming as an educational and engagement tool.

3. Partnerships

Christian Youth-Centered Campaign

Goal Engage two target audiences who are critical to realizing Ploughshares Fund's near- and longer-term goals by developing Christian youth-oriented creative communications and campaign concepts.

We suggest Christian youth might be a good starting point for engaging communities of faith in the disarmament space. [Invisible Children's KONY 2012](#) program, albeit seriously controversial, was a runaway hit; a viral video sensation that placed an unknown issue at the forefront of popular culture, raised millions of dollars, engaged millions of new activists, and ultimately influenced policy. It did not come out of nowhere; Invisible Children had been organizing Christian youth online and in person for many years prior to launching KONY 2012. Whether it's Invisible Children themselves, or another Christian youth group or network, we believe there is a Christian youth-oriented creative communications and campaign concept that could contribute meaningfully to Ploughshares Fund's near- and longer-term goals. Christian youth concerns tend to reflect communitarian, non-partisan American values; if not rabid environmentalists, they tend to be aligned with conservationist values, peace and safety (particularly of children), and the idea of keeping the world safe and verdant for generations to come.

Next Steps Meet with Yosi Sergeant, an Invisible Children board member, to discuss Invisible Children and see whether it makes sense to pursue a conversation with its principals. Meet with the [Faith & Politics Institute](#) in Washington, DC; see if there might be interest in a "pilgrimage" to Los Alamos or even Hiroshima. Research Christian and Interfaith marketing and communications agencies to see what organizations are robust, well organized, and might align well with Ploughshares Fund's values and goals.

State-Based Strategy

Goal Lay the groundwork for achieving federal non-proliferation and budget goals by changing public perception about nuclear through a high-profile, media-friendly state-based strategy.

The movement for marriage equality built tremendous forward momentum through pursuing a state-based strategy. We think there may be similar opportunity with state-based strategies for [nuclear weapons-free zones](#). Uniting behind a particular legislative campaign concept—"Nuclear Free Montana," for example—provides an opportunity to build a coalition of youth and faith communities, Boomer peace activists, and state-based environmental organizers all united and focused on a specific state-level win. The campaign could knit together creative interventions like Yes Men type antics, online video and digital organizing campaigns using a [Change.org](#) type of platform, visual art campaigns like the [See America Project](#) from [Creative Action Network](#), and more traditional [PIRG](#)-type organizing.

Next Steps Ploughshares Fund should determine which state would be a likely candidate and hold exploratory conversations with the leading organizers or prospective grantees to explore the viability of and potential leadership for this concept.

Support International Cultural Exchange or Sister City Programs

Goal Foster a new normal between the U.S. and countries with nuclear stockpiles and provoke our target audiences to feel an emotional connection to the nuclear issue.

Whether it's Israel, Iran, Pakistan, North Korea, or Japan, consider developing or supporting private or government sponsored cultural exchange programs, with a focus on nuclear weapons related arts and culture (or in the case of Japan, the legacy of nuclear war). Honolulu, HI is Hiroshima's U.S. "sister city." St. Paul, MN is Nagasaki's. Perhaps either sister city committee or association could form the basis of organizing a state or local campaign for a nuclear sub free Hawaii, for example.

The cultural exchange strategy offers a long-term approach to fostering a new normal between countries with nuclear stockpiles and provoking our target audiences to feel an emotional connection to the issue. The exchange will bring powerful stories of people from Hiroshima, Nagasaki and other communities impacted by nuclear war to the U.S. The Holocaust Memorial Museum serves a similar function in ensuring the horrors of the Holocaust have a permanent home in our collective memory throughout history. [The Enola Gay Controversy exhibit](#) at the Air and Space Museum offers another interesting case study.

Next Steps Research U.S. Dept. of State or other private or government sponsored cultural exchange or cultural diplomacy programs that focus on Israel, Iran, Pakistan, North Korea, and Japan. Research the Hiroshima and Nagasaki sister city associations.

In summary:

- fund existing grantees to work with cultural strategy experts;
- issue RFPs for independents
- fund collaborative partnerships

RECOMMENDATIONS & NEXT STEPS

We find significant merit in all of the above possibilities, and we rank them below in our order of investment priority. Please note, however, that our strongest recommendation is for you to pursue whatever Ploughshares Fund (and its colleagues in the nuclear disarmament sector) is most excited about. We are big believers in the power of enthusiasm and energy—so the best possible path is whatever inspires *you*.

Our ranking (and reasoning) of the investment opportunities detailed above is as follows:

1. Digital Strategy Agency RFP

This is a *must* if you are concerned about basic capacity in this critical function. It provides the foundation for dissemination of any communications, cultural, or policy strategy; not to mention is the only effective way to facilitate ongoing engagement on the issue.

2. Hollywood Strategy

Though working storylines in Hollywood is a long term play, we are big believers in the power of mass entertainment.

3. Journalism Fellow

Your issue arena is pretty “high brow,” and your decision-makers are actually reading the news (unlike many issue areas). Glenn Greenwald and Laura Poitras have impressed us with the power that one indefatigable investigative journalist can have on a seemingly arcane or “unfixable” issue. Like the Hollywood strategy, this requires a long term investment.

4. Cultural Strategy Agency RFP

Getting a creative agency to start spitballing cultural campaign ideas is where you will derive the most innovative and unexpected concepts.

5. Christian Youth-Centered Campaign

This may be an off-the-wall idea for Ploughshares Fund, but we think integrated with a digital, cultural, or state-based strategy, finding a way to engage Christian (or, more narrowly, Catholic) youth could be a very potent pathway to shifting the narrative—and ultimately policy—on disarmament.

6. Video Game Strategy

There has been a lot of discussion about video games and disarmament, but we think it's been focused on the wrong end of the video game business (i.e., focused on upending the commercial business). We believe that approaching it from an educational games perspective has greater potential to shift culture and beliefs, starting with young people and the tech forward education sector.

7. State-Based Strategy

If there has been frustration and limited achievements on a federal level, a state-based strategy could be a great opportunity for experimentation; we recommend coupling it with a digital, cultural, and/or Christian Youth program.

8. Support International Cultural Exchange or Sister City Programs

On some level, this is our least formed concept as it's not an area we have much experience with. But we believe in the emotional resonance (and political effectiveness) of Holocaust memorials and museums and think that there is unmined potential with regards to Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

9. Mobile App

We love the idea of a mobile app but think it's better served within the context of a broader digital and/or cultural strategy.

10. Cultural Strategy Partnerships for Existing Grantees

Even though we included this option to fund existing grantees to develop and deploy cultural strategies themselves through partnerships with cultural strategy agencies, we believe at this point that it makes more sense for Ploughshares Fund to directly fund cultural strategy agencies through an RFP (see recommendation #4). Given Ploughshares Fund's concern about smaller grantees' capacity and larger grantees' attention, we think direct investment will more effectively ease grantees into the practice of cultural strategies.

The following comment may overstep our bounds, but in our process of working on this project, we have observed a kind of generalized pessimism about the opportunities for success in the nuclear disarmament field, an "Eeyore Effect," if you will. While we understand, and sometimes ourselves embody, the idea that one man's pessimist is another's realist—and we understand the challenges in the field are not inconsiderable—we encourage you to think about a cultural strategies investment as an opportunity to feel a little more like the cheerful and self-confident Tigger and a little less like the anhedonic, depressed Eeyore. Engaging with artists and creative activism can help shake one loose from the reasons why things can't or won't work and dance around a bit in the "art of the possible." Even if hard to quantify, we believe that this kind of change of emotional or mood scenery could have an important effect on those at center of the struggle.

→ *In short, we recommend Ploughshares Fund pursue whatever sounds like it would be most energizing for advocates at the center of the movement.*

We have listed next steps for each of the ideas, though there is one major first step that applies to any and all, which is to test and optimize the "Case for Engagement" for each prospective audience segment: the existing base of Boomer peace activists, students, younger kids, communities of faith (and the niches within), and the ultimate decision-makers and VIP influencers (government legislators, regulators, and military leaders). Ploughshares Fund has existing experience with messaging and message testing for nuclear disarmament and nonproliferation as does each of the related issue movement (national security, health, and budget). And there are a number of specific messaging suggestions in [Appendix 4](#). This combination provides a point of departure for the development of effective, engaging messaging for creative nuclear disarmament campaigns that can be tested with focus groups and via phone or mall intercept quantitative studies, and tracked through polling.

To begin your process, we suggest some basic activities to lay the groundwork and further explore for this new investment strategy:

1. Meet with message research firms, for example [Lake Research Partners](#), [Greenberg Quinlan Rosner Research](#), or a Hollywood specialist like [Nielsen](#) or [MarketCast](#), to develop and test effective messaging and case for engagement.
2. Research the work of the various cultural strategy and digital strategy firms. Meet with those that seem particularly interesting; conduct those meetings with or without your key grantees. Prioritize the digital strategy plan (who can also do development of messaging and case for engagement).
3. Meet with evaluation specialists, for example [Learning for Action](#) in San Francisco or [Harmony Institute](#) in New York, to begin developing an evaluation framework for this new investment strategy.
4. Share this report and engage in discussions with your VIP grantees.
5. Meet with the three Hollywood organizations (at UCLA, USC, and the Entertainment Industry Council) to learn more about their work and their funding model for other issues.
6. Meet with colleagues at Knight Foundation and Ford Foundation to discuss the Journalism Fellowship concept.
7. Meet with E-Line to learn more about educational video games, and their funding model.
8. Study Invisible Children and the KONY 2012 model (controversy and all).

In summary:

develop and sharpen the “case for engagement” for all relevant audiences

develop a manageable evaluation framework for creative strategies

have exploratory meetings with prospective agencies, grantees, and partners

fund what seems FUN!

// ON METRICS AND EVALUATION

It is important to hold grantees accountable to realistic metrics without setting them up to fail or stifling the creativity that is essential to effective culture work. There are three kind of metrics that can be tracked. First, how many people did it reach? Second, did it get people talking or thinking differently? Third, did it cause people to take action? At least two of the three are likely to apply to any cultural strategy; however, the more sophisticated metrics cost money and should be paid for through the grant.

How many people did it reach? At this point anything created and shared online has a view count. It is useful to have a sense of what level of viewership the grantee is seeking. Not every project has to be viral to succeed, but it is fair to ask that targets be set. It is more difficult to track a project's reach in the media; if this is important to you, make money available to pay for a company to track media impressions. Our recommendation is to focus on more straightforward viewer analytics and a comprehensive list of media coverage.

Did it get people talking or thinking differently? As you can see from this graphic, search engines can be a useful way to measure shifts in the public conversation. Hashtag searches on social media can also be instructive. To go deeper, you'd need to spend money on regular polling; the easiest and cheapest way is to pay to insert a few questions in existing polls.

Did it cause people to take action? The best cultural campaigns have a call to action. Tracking this is relatively easy, unless the action requires self-reporting. In this same vein, it is useful to know how many organizations partnered or collaborated on the project. Sometime a single piece of content can be used by multiple groups to inspire people to take action through using their tools.

Conclusion

The current cultural environment compounds the significant challenges facing the nuclear disarmament sector. Without confronting this, it will be difficult for Ploughshares Fund and its allies to achieve their goals. This document provides a roadmap to shift the cultural landscape around nuclear weapons in ways that strengthen efforts to counter proliferation, reduce stockpiles, and end testing. Based on our understanding of the dynamics in the field and our experience doing cultural change work, we are confident that such a shift is possible with a sustained, sector-wide investment.

Note that this is a roadmap, not a guidebook. It appropriately leaves certain questions for the next stage of this process. Our eight recommended next steps call for significant additional work, by Ploughshares Fund staff or an outside firm, before the first RFP is sent to potential grantees or partners. Ultimately, this will lead to smarter and more effective grantmaking, maximizing the return on your investment in this document's research and analysis.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Sample Campaign Plan

The following campaign plan is intended to connect the dots among the components of Section Three: “piggybacking” strategy, audience and actors, investment strategy and tactics. This campaign plan is not comprehensive; rather it provides a window into the type of plan that should be developed during the planning stages of any cultural strategy. An actual cultural strategy campaign plan would include a detailed description of goals, objectives, audience, actors, messages, tactics and timeline.

Nuclear Free Montana

Campaign concept:

The cultural strategy goal of the Nuclear Free Montana (NFM) campaign is to shift the way residents of Montana – one of a small number of states with significant stockpiles of nuclear weapons – think about and act on this reality. If conservatives could prevent President Obama from shutting down the prison at Guantanamo by refusing to allow its prisoners to be housed in any of the states; if anti-Keystone XL activists can galvanize local opposition to the pipeline in states that would suffer from a leak; we can mobilize Americans to reject the presence of nuclear weapons in their state. The long-term goal is to shut down nuclear weapon storage facilities from the state of Montana and encourage other states with stockpiles to file suit. The campaign is modeled after other state-based campaign strategies where policy changes in one state provide a model that causes a ripple effect throughout the country.

To maximize its effectiveness, NFM would develop messaging that piggybacked on efforts to reduce wasteful federal spending and/or to prevent Americans from getting sick from hazardous chemicals and man-made waste. NFM aims to raise awareness about the proximity of Montanans to nuclear weapons and the harmful effects these weapons can have on human health and the environment through leakage or other accidents.

NFM is an example of a State-Based Strategy and Partnership investment opportunity.

Audience & Actors:

Nuclear Free Montana provides an opportunity to galvanize our target audiences - youth and faith communities – around an issue that impacts all Montanans. These communities would be reached through institutions (churches, universities), microtargeted advertising (Facebook, Google Ads), and culturally appropriate events (concerts, rodeos).

Ploughshares Fund could fund one organization to ground the campaign (ex: [Montana Environmental Education Association](#), [environmental student groups at University of Montana](#) or [PICO](#), a national faith-based community organizing network) or a coalition of groups.

Tactics:

The cultural strategy of the campaign could knit together several items from the menu of investment opportunities. The following do not include policy advocacy or traditional organizing initiatives, although these elements must be coordinated with the cultural strategy.

The cultural strategy from NFM should include several creative tactics to shift attitudes in support of removing nuclear weapons from Montana. For example:

1. Billboard & poster campaign: NFM will create a series of billboards and posters with compelling images and data about the quantity, proximity and risks of nuclear weapons in Montana. Everywhere you went, you would be reminded of how far you were from a nuclear weapon and the risks that presented. Artists can be commissioned to create original images or take photos for the posters. Universities, houses of worship and other public and private spaces will post the signs and pay to place billboards in prominent spaces. The prevalence of these compelling images and messages will cause Montanans to consider the real threats of the weapons and foster a public dialogue.

2. NFM Concert: Modeled on the highly influential nukes-free concert in the 1980s, a nuclear free Montana concert with musicians who are popular with the target audiences will send a message that nuclear weapons are an important threat that Montanans are rallying around. The concert would help brand the NFM as a modern, youthful movement with influential supporters.

The concert should feature local musicians (Montana is home to high profile musicians such as John Mayer) and be held at a university or other popular venue with young audiences. The concert could be live streamed to reach a broader audience. Air Traffic Control could be hired to assist with the talent recruitment and overall cultural strategy to maximize a music-related tactic.

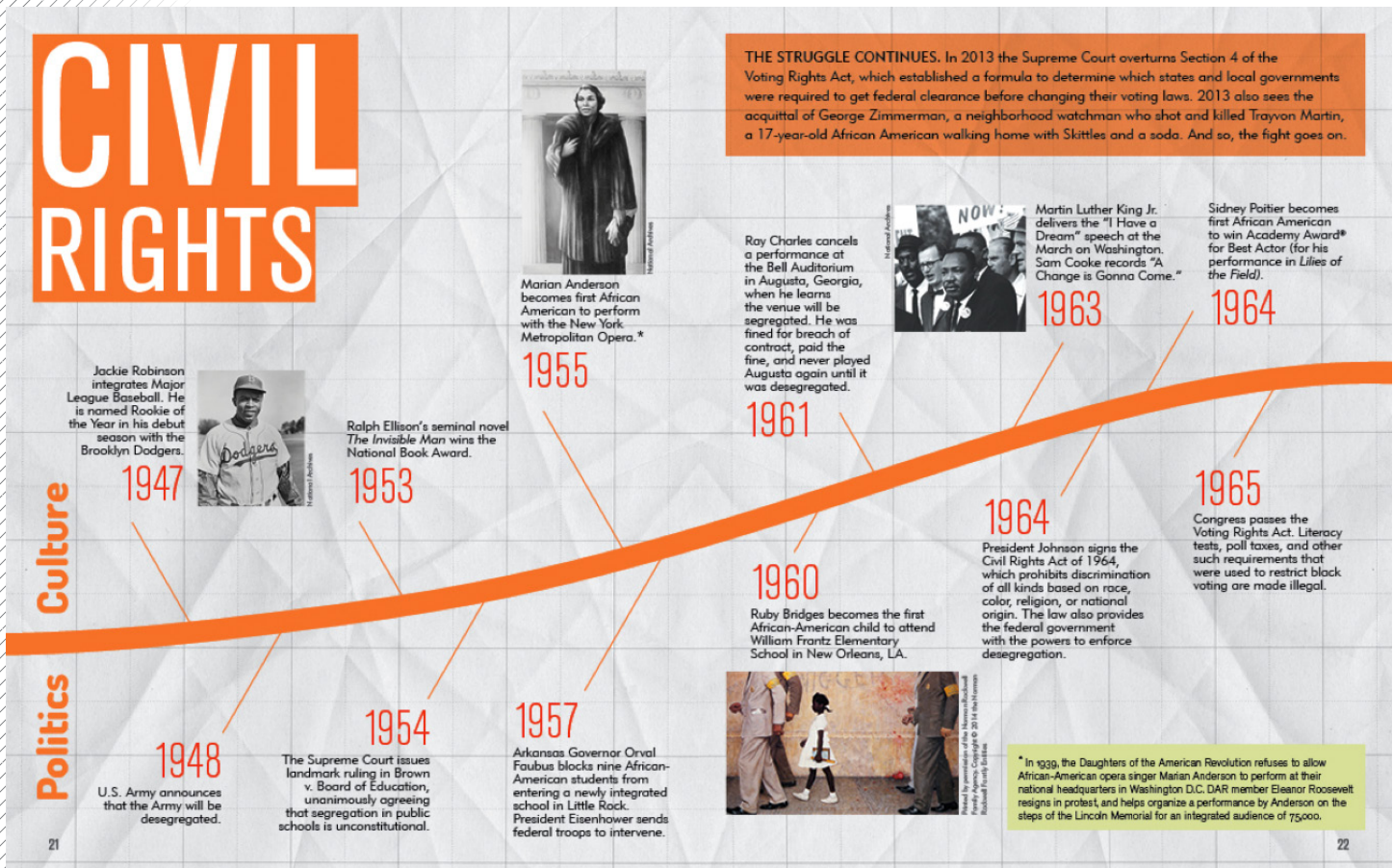
3. Monthly services: This tactic aims to engage, and build a network amongst, faith-based and spiritual communities. The monthly actions could include a nondenominational “service” that is accessible to people of all backgrounds led by influential faith or spiritual leaders. The roving gathering should occur at different locations throughout the state and reinforce NFM’s core messaging about the proximity and threats of nuclear weapons. The spirit of the services should be inclusive, welcoming, spirited and optimistic that a nuclear free Montana is possible.

4. Hire a digital agency to develop a robust effort to build state-wide support for NFM. The campaign could be galvanized by a range of cultural or digital products including shareable images (uses images from the poster campaign), web videos that emphasize the threats of nuclear weapons (through documentary or a humorous approach) comedy) or a photo-sharing campaign. A targeted Facebook strategy aimed at key audiences (ex: Montana residents under a certain age) would ensure the shareable images, promotional of cultural strategies (concert information, etc.) and memes reach youth and faith communities.

The campaign also lends itself to creative interventions like Yes Men type antics, online video and digital organizing campaigns using a [Change.org](#) type of platform, visual art campaigns like the [See America Project](#) from [Creative Action Network](#), and more traditional [PIRG](#)-type organizing.

Appendix 2: Examples of Cultural Shifts

Making Waves: A Guide to Cultural Strategy © 2014 Air Traffic Control Education Fund
 excerpts courtesy The Culture Group, a project of Air Traffic Control



MARRIAGE EQUALITY

Public Opinion: In 1996, the year President Clinton signed DOMA, 27% of Americans believed that marriage between same-sex couples should be recognized as valid with the same rights as traditional marriage. By the time DOMA was struck down in 2013, that figure had grown to 53%.¹⁵

Culture

Politics

1987
GLAAD, established in 1985, meets with *The New York Times* and convinces the paper to change its editorial policy to use the word "gay" instead of "homosexual."

1997
Ellen DeGeneres comes out on Oprah and follows up by having her character come out on her TV show Ellen.



2000
The Laramie Project, a play about the aftermath of the murder of Matthew Shepard in Laramie, Wyoming, premieres.

1996
President Clinton signs the Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA) into law.



2004
Massachusetts becomes the first state to legalize gay marriage. The Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court finds the prohibition of gay marriage unconstitutional because it denies dignity and equality of all individuals.

2008
California voters approve Proposition 8, making same-sex marriage in California illegal.

2012
Macklemore's "Same Love" music video in support of Washington's Referendum 74 on gay marriage debuts on YouTube. Ref 74 passes. (As of August 2013, "Same Love" has been seen 64 million times.)



2013
NBA Washington Wizards player Jason Collins comes out in a cover article in *Sports Illustrated*. He is the first active male professional athlete in a major North American sport to come out as gay.

2011
1993's Don't Ask Don't Tell policy is repealed and the Department of Defense modifies its regulations accordingly.



2013
Supreme Court strikes down Section 3 of DOMA and returns Prop 8 to the lower courts, allowing same-sex marriage to resume in California. U.S. Military begins providing health care, housing, and other benefits to same-sex spouses of members of the military.

"Several other male professional athletes came out publicly in 2012 and 2013, including retired NFL players Wade Davis and Kwame Harris, WWE Superstar Darren Young, and boxer Orlando Cruz. They were years behind their lesbian sisters: tennis superstars Billie Jean King and Martina Navratilova came out in 1980s.

VIETNAM WAR

Public Opinion: In 1965, six months after the Gulf of Tonkin resolution, only 24% of Americans said they thought it was a mistake to send U.S. troops to Vietnam. By 1968, that amount had more than doubled, to 53%.¹⁶

Culture

Politics



1964
Joan Baez leads 600 protesters in an antiwar demonstration in San Francisco.

1967
Boxing champion Muhammad Ali is drafted by the U.S. Army, but refuses to be inducted. Stripped of his heavyweight title and convicted of draft evasion, he is sentenced to five years in prison (later successfully appealed), fined \$10,000, and banned from boxing for three years.



1965
Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) organizes 15,000-25,000 people in D.C. in a march to protest bombings in Vietnam.

1968
Walter Cronkite tells viewers that he is "more certain than ever that the bloody experience of Vietnam is to end in a stalemate." Afterward, it is reported that President Johnson said, "If I've lost Cronkite, I've lost Middle America."



1970
Four students are shot and killed at a May 4th protest at Kent State. Soon after, Neil Young writes the seminal protest song "Ohio," which is recorded by Crosby, Stills, Nash & Young and released as a single in June.

1971
Vietnam Veterans throw away more than 700 medals on the steps of the Capitol building in protest of the war.

1964
In a televised address, President Johnson tells the country that the USS Maddox came under two North Vietnamese attacks in the Gulf of Tonkin. A few days later, Congress approves the Gulf of Tonkin resolution, increasing Johnson's power to engage the U.S. military in Vietnam without a declared war. It passes almost unanimously.

1968
The North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong launch the Tet Offensive, a series of surprise attacks on the South Vietnamese, the U.S., and their allies. 45,267 are killed.

1969
The first truthful accounts of the Mai Lai Massacre appear in American media, nearly 18 months after U.S. Army soldiers raped, tortured, and executed hundreds of unarmed villagers in the Quang Ngai Province in South Vietnam.

1971
In Senate testimony, John Kerry calls for a withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam saying, "How do you ask a man to be the last man to die in Vietnam? How do you ask a man to be the last man to die for a mistake?"

1973
Nixon announces that the U.S. will withdraw troops from Vietnam.

CIGARETTE SMOKING

Smoking Rates: In 1944, the first year Gallup measured smoking rates, 41% of Americans reported smoking. From the 1940s through the mid-1970s, a time period during which movie stars regularly appeared in cigarette ads, smoking rates were stubbornly fixed in the 40-45% range.¹⁹ They finally began to fall following the ban on TV and radio ads, and by 2013, 18% of Americans reported smoking.²⁰

Culture

Politics

1970

The Public Health Cigarette Smoking Act bans cigarette ads on TV and radio.

1983



"Joe Camel" first appears in Camel advertisements.²¹ In 1996, *Adbusters* launches "Joe Chernio," a camel who wishes he'd never smoked.

1987

1995

Smoking is banned in almost all enclosed workplaces, like restaurants and bars, in California.

1997

Tobacco Master Settlement Agreement states cigarettes can no longer be advertised outdoors on billboards or public transportation (in 46 states) and can no longer target youth or use cartoons like Joe Camel.



Asher and Partners' billboards play off of the Marlboro cowboy.

1998

2000

The Truth[®] campaign is launched, using bold, shocking, fact-based ads to educate teens about tobacco's impact. In their "Body Bags" ad, 1200 body bags were piled on the street in front of a major tobacco company's headquarters to represent the 1200 people who die from tobacco every day.

2003

New York City bans smoking in bars, restaurants, and private clubs.

2007

The Motion Picture Association of America (MPAA) creates a new policy for movie ratings related to cigarette smoking. Those instances of smoking that "glamorize smoking or movies that feature pervasive smoking outside of an historic or other mitigating context may receive a higher rating."

2008

Smoke Free Illinois Law bans smoking in nearly all public places in Illinois.



2011

New York Mayor Mike Bloomberg signs a law banning smoking in parks, beaches, and specific highly populated areas like Times Square.

²²According to a study published in *The Journal of the American Medical Association*, by 1991, 91% of six-year-olds recognized Joe Camel and matched his image with the image of a cigarette. This was more kids than could recognize Mickey Mouse or Fred Flintstone.²³

OBAMA 2008

Public Opinion: In 1958, just 37% of Americans said that they would vote for a hypothetical black president. That number did not go over 50% until 1965. By 1999, 95% of Americans said they would vote for a black president. In 2008, they actually did.²⁴



Bruce Springsteen endorses Obama in *Rolling Stone*.

April 2008

Will.i.am's "Yes We Can" video is released on YouTube. By February 22, the video has been played 22 million times on various YouTube channels and 4 million times on *dipdiver.com*.



February 2008



Shepard Fairey releases 350 screen printed "Progress" posters of Barack Obama. Later Fairey releases the same image with the word "HOPE" and the Obama campaign logo.

January 2008

The music video "I Got a Crush on Obama" hits YouTube. The video has been seen over 26 million times and was named as one of *Newsweek's* top ten memes of the decade.

June 2007

Oprah Winfrey joins Obama on the campaign trail for a series of rallies starting in Des Moines, Iowa. Nearly 30,000 people come to see the pair in Columbia, South Carolina.

December 2007

May 2008

Obama wins North Carolina.

June 2008

Obama wins the Montana primary, and has enough delegates to be considered the presumptive Democratic nominee.

August 2008

Obama chooses Joe Biden as a running mate and is officially nominated as the Democratic Party's presidential candidate at the party's national convention in Denver.

January 2009

Barack Obama is inaugurated as the 44th President of the United States.



Culture

Politics

February 2007

Obama officially announces his candidacy.

January 2008

Obama wins the Iowa primary. Five days later, he loses to Hillary Clinton in New Hampshire.

PLOUGHSHARES FUND CULTURE SHIFT GOAL		INPUTS		OUTPUTS*		OUTCOMES*	
SHIFT GOAL		INPUTS		OUTPUTS*		OUTCOMES*	

Appendix 4: Creative Messaging & Campaign Concepts

Following is a comprehensive listing of creative messaging and campaign concepts that arose from the February 25 and 26, 2014 workshops with sectors experts and cultural innovators.

Messages/frames:

- Nuclear disarmament is an issue we know how to solve. This is something we can do.
- Own the argument: “Everyone agrees nukes are bad.”
- Show how individuals can make a difference on this issue to combat assumption that government has all the control over future of disarmament.
- Frame disarmament in terms of American values (fairness, patriotism, freedom, justice, democracy, agency, etc.).
- Frame disarmament in terms of family values (safety of children, keeping world safe for generations to come).
- Nuclear weapons pose real threat: combat perception that war on nukes has been won.
- Expose the gap between reality of nuclear weapons vs. false reality people see through advertising/movies/video games.
- “Never again” messaging campaign about nuclear war (makes association to other atrocities such as Holocaust and “disappearances” during the dictatorship in Argentina).
- Use language associated with combating terrorism.

Campaigns/Tactics for Terrorism and National Security:

- “Less safe” campaign: nuclear weapons make us less safe
- Show proximity to weapons and susceptible to threats from testing, human error or war
 - Create an app that shows presence of nuclear weapons (look at examples of apps that shows threat of sea level raising and where drone strikes occur).
 - Show global impact of nuclear weapons through Gallagher style participatory campaign: paint watermelons like globes and smash enough watermelons to represent impact of how many time the world could be destroyed by our stockpile
 - Moldy weapons: Rachel Maddow segment about moldy weapons, negligent actions with nuclear weapons flying across the country
- Use historic frame/meme to advantage:
 - Dirty secret of bygone era
 - Use landmine campaign as a model
 - *Bayonets and horses* – what are we doing with an arsenal that is no longer needed and relevant? How do we shift our military to address the actual threats?

- Use language from gun violence prevention movement as model to modify current framing around deterrence (“Weapons don’t kill people, people with guns kill people.”). Example: “Nukes don’t keep us safe, our military keeps us safe.”
- Combat perception that anti-nuke movement is against military: “We’re all in this together”
- Satirical campaign around nuclear hawk: bring back Dr. Strangelove advocating for nuclear weapons (with Dr. Strangelove social media presence, media tour, etc.)

Campaign/Tactics for Health:

- Look at fracking movement for examples of how to effectively highlight health threats through imagery and stories (*Gasland*, etc.)
- Tell the stories of people affected by nuclear weapons in current times (example: people who live and work in testing towns: meet sick workers affected by radiation, black mold, etc.)
- Model of the Truth campaign for smoking: simultaneous actions and videos
- Retro campaign: War is not healthy for children and other things poster

Campaigns/Tactics for Fiscal Discipline:

- Highlight the enormity of the nuclear stockpile: how many weapons do have and cost implications
- Highlight how nuclear budget is spent
- Satirical campaign based on ideas that we don’t have enough nuclear weapons and need to launch Kickstarter campaign raise money to buy them

Campaigns/Tactics, Other:

- Crowdfund nuclear conversations through house parties/tupperware parties
- Kickstarter campaign to buy nuclear weapons from countries to get off market (inspired by Greenpeace action to buy suitcase nuke)
- Gaming strategy to reach youth and juxtapose video portrayal and reality of nuclear war
- Influence how companies portray weapons (stop glamorizing nuclear war)
- Raised funds through video game profits for disarmament movement
- We The People Campaign: give people a vote and voice in moving disarmament forward

Appendix 5: Resources

[Making Waves book](#)

[Culture Matters report](#)

[Culture Before Politics article](#)

[Igniting Cultural Change memo](#)

[Jeff Chang interview in Colorlines](#)

[Change the Culture, Change the World article in Creative Time Reports](#)

[How to Train Your Celebrity article in Fast Company](#)

[Beautiful Trouble](#)

[Cultural Data Project “Art of the Possible” report](#)

