

JANUARY 2020

The logo for Story at Scale, featuring a stylized sunburst or gear-like circular pattern with blue and yellow segments.

Story
at Scale

OUR GENDER PERSPECTIVES
AUDIENCE RESEARCH

by Riki Conrey

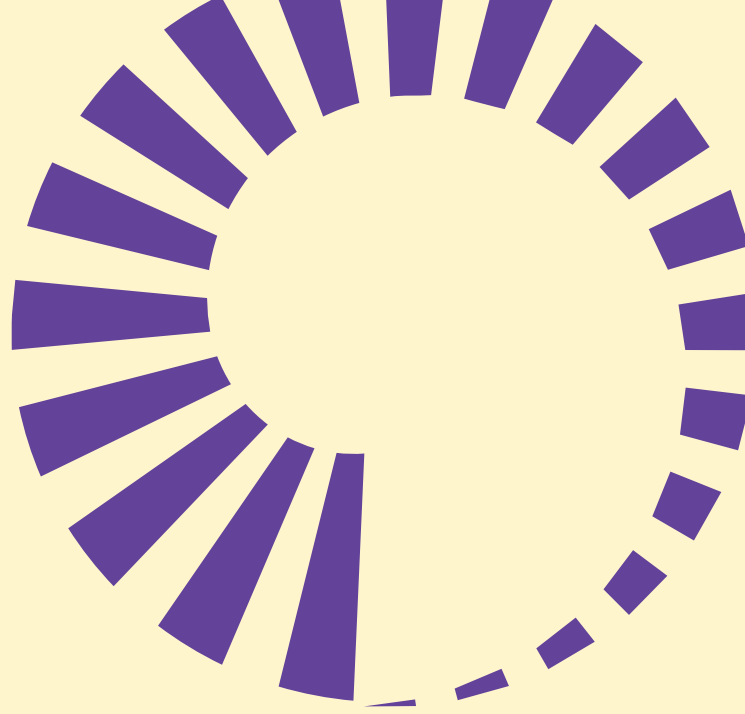


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Author's Preface

Early in my career, a colleague explained audience segmentation to me as “an administrative convenience.” Although it is based on quantitative data and statistical analysis, audience segmentation is nothing more than a sorting tool that sparks the imagination. Everyone has a different lived story, but audience segmentation splits the difference between trying to understand everyone completely individually (an intractable problem) and assuming everyone’s worldview is basically like our own (a recipe for preaching to our own choir).

The statistics are agnostic; we can segment audiences on anything from age and race to chewing gum preference. We chose to segment on lived stories. I think of Story at Scale as a part of a post-demographic revolution in political and social justice communication. This project comes on the heels of other important narrative research work, including the [Race-Class Narrative Project](#) and the [Peoria Project](#) that ask us to think beyond the data the census tells us about people and to explore instead the stories that people tell about themselves.

When we do that, we discover that, of course, race matters, age matters, and gender matters, but we also discover how those things matter. Using our audience profiles, I fall into Force for Good (you can classify yourself too, using this [quiz](#)), driven by a desire for equity and universal tolerance—and that means that I experience my whiteness, my woman-ness, and my cozy suburban life very differently than a white, suburban mom who is Kids First, focused on security and tradition, even though the political pundits would suggest that we’re both a part of the same “bloc.”

The values lenses through which our audiences experience their identities have been the important “discovery” of Story at Scale for me. I have segmented the United States over and over, but this time, with the help of Research Advisory Council members from many communities, Story at Scale asked a completely new set of questions—not about how people see us and our issues but about how people see themselves.

Janay Cody helped us craft questions about how respondents thought about race blindness, racial and gender justice, and unexpected pregnancy. Marya Bangee added questions about how respondents use dress to reflect culture and religion. Erin Potts added questions about what counts as “sex.”

The result is a set of audiences I haven’t met before and whose voices we elevated by sampling heavily to represent people from marginalized communities. In this report, we try to help you hear those voices as we heard them and envision how we can reach them with diverse stories united by a single narrative story platform. We hope you have as much fun listening as we did.

Riki

[Riki Conrey](#) (she/her), Co-director of Story at Scale, is a social data scientist: she does math about people. She combines expertise in social psychology with big data to describe complex human actions like expressing racism, voting for a candidate, or choosing a healthcare plan. She uses statistical simplification to help activists and organizers understand where people are and to craft and measure programs that move them toward a shared progressive vision.

Coalition through Narrative

This report is about many audiences, but we want to bring audiences together around one narrative that serves everyone's goals. When we tell stories to our audiences, those stories are connected through **one** narrative—one uncompromising vision for a gender-just future—and it is the story platform:¹

**JOY IN ABUNDANCE,
FREE TO LOVE AND BE LOVED.
BECAUSE DIFFERENCE IS SEEN AND SAFE
WHEN ALL LIFE IS EQUALLY VALUED
AND SUSTAINED.
THIS IS OUR CO-CREATION.
WELCOME HOME.**

A story platform is a few words that encapsulate the unchanging, emotionally connecting narrative essence upon which all of a campaign's or cause's stories are built. It is not a tagline, not ad copy. Sometimes called a "meta-narrative," it is usually never seen by the audience. A story platform acts as a guideline for telling stories that, consistently and cumulatively, contribute to desired changes in a culture.

The story pillars rise out of the story platform to support particular areas of storytelling. They are the bridge between strategy and tactics, between meta-narrative and real storytelling. This is why the pillars also are called "rich storytelling areas"—because the pillars show activists and artists where to look for the different kinds of stories we need to tell to different audience segments at different moments to create the change we seek to create over time. The story pillars are:

Joyful, pleasurable, fun

Stories that reflect the joys of life—being free to create your own identity, enjoy love with partners, belonging, creating, family-making, solitude, acceptance, giving, receiving, nature, beauty, and on and on.

Abundant, not scarce

Stories of economic equity and how to ensure that all people can make a good living and no one has to feel their gain must mean someone else's loss, their survival must mean someone else's starvation.

Safety in community

Stories of belonging—building and organizing strong, safe communities, families, and in-groups. How safe spaces make people freer to be themselves. How safety is created and increased in community. Stories of small and big victories.

¹ To learn how the story platform and story pillars for gender justice were co-created by artists, frontline organizers, and activists, please read "The Story Platform of Gender Justice" at <https://storyatscale.org/reports/story-platform-report>.

Different, equally valued

Personal stories to explore all kinds of human difference and how being human means being different from others while all hold equal value. Stories of the right to privacy and respect for personal choices. Stories of how we treat others as we want to be treated.

Sustaining forever

Stories of the balancing act needed to sustain life, society, the planet—balance between what's good for me and for the world, between tradition and change, and so on.

Curiosity, kids, and the future

Stories of the future people want and the world children will grow up in. How parents raise kids to be happy, healthy and unique, with strong values. How curiosity helps people create identity.

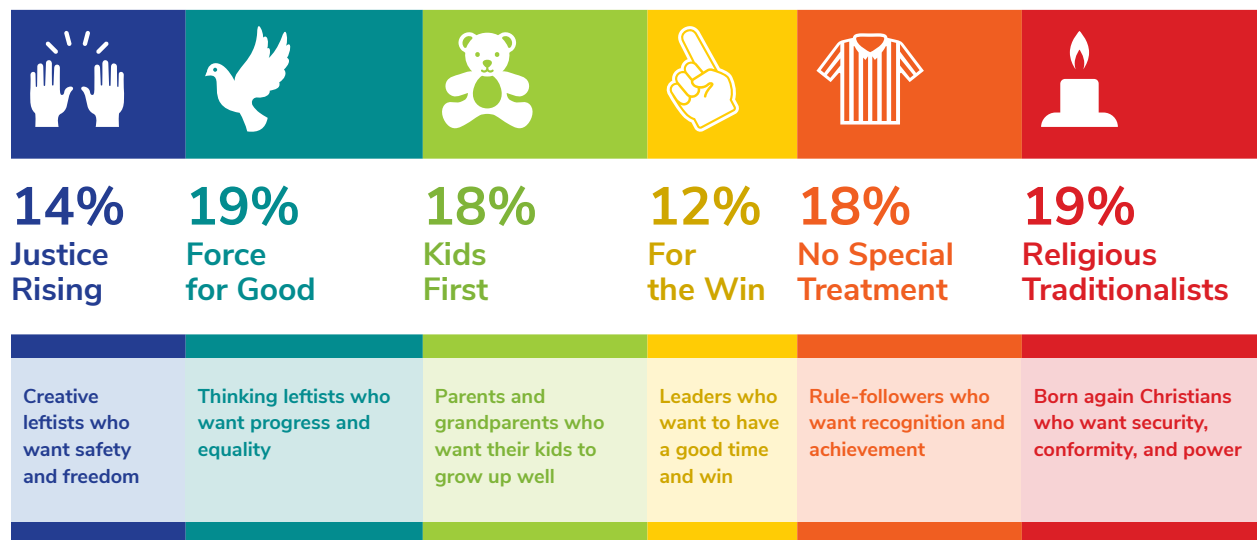
We are not writing different narratives for the different audiences, but the story pillars do tell us more about how to tell our story in a way that resonates with different audiences. (More information about all six of our audience segments can be found on [page 4](#).)

Stories for All Audiences

Segmentation sometimes tempts us to customize a narrative for each audience. But that approach quickly expands into an intractable set of messages that can contradict and be confusing, inauthentic, or inefficient. Instead of using audience profiles to message to separate groups, we can use them to reach different groups and bring those groups together. The true power of segmentation is coalition building.

We don't have a separate narrative for each audience; Gender justice² has just one narrative, and it is the [story platform](#). We should only be telling stories about the future we want—and plan—to live in, but we can tell those stories in a way that resonates with the diverse stories our audiences tell themselves.

There are six Story at Scale audience profiles created from a survey of more than 6,000 people and enriched with cultural and qualitative research. The profiles are not about demographics, ideology, political issues, or even gender justice; they are about how our audiences experience gender in their everyday lives.



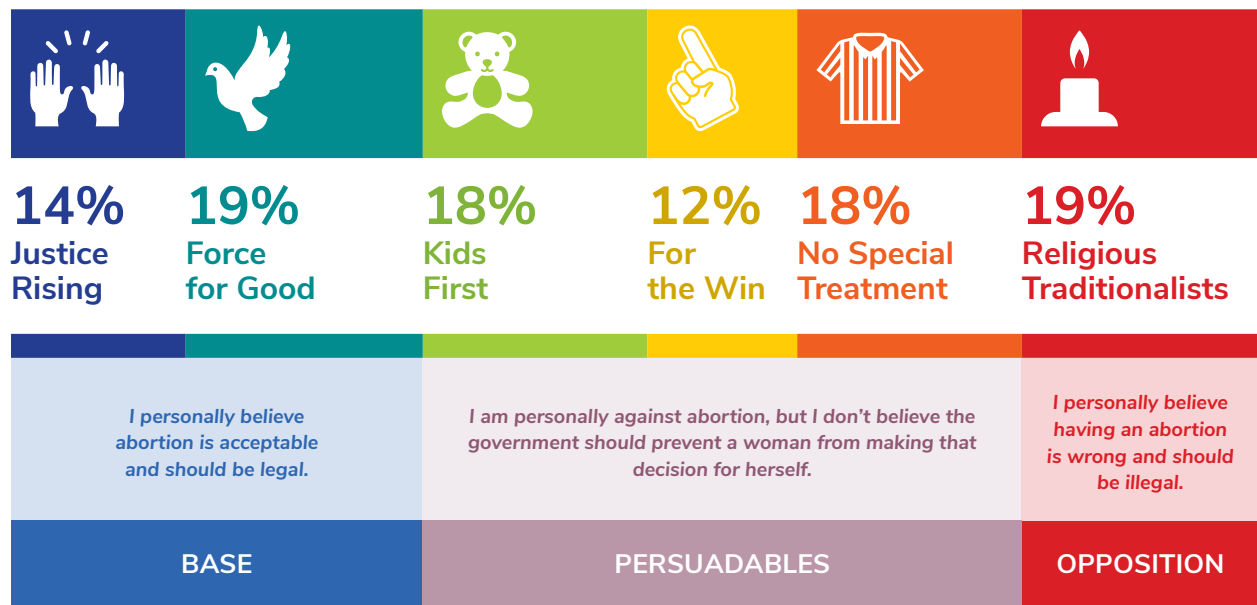
The percentages here are estimates based on weighting the equity sample back to the proportions of the different populations in the United States, since it can be useful to know which groups are larger or smaller within a region or other group.

² Gender justice is a framework used to bring about the fair and equitable treatment of people of all genders, with the goal of achieving dignity for all. It serves all those directly impacted by gender-based oppression, including transgender and cisgender women, genderqueer and non-binary people, and transgender men. True gender justice is intersectional and incorporates the needs and perspectives of those working towards racial justice, immigrant rights, LGBTQ+ liberation, and disability justice, among other struggles, recognizing that each of these is required in order for people of all genders to experience full dignity, equality, and liberation.

Each of the audiences is set apart from the others by some set of survey responses that are uniquely theirs. Justice Rising, for instance, holds progressive values, especially on gender, but they are unique in that they feel very unsafe. Force for Good is also progressive, but they feel safe and are enthusiastic about increasing flexibility in gender roles. Each group above is described by their core identities and values (we will return to the central role of values momentarily).

While segmentation itself does not assign groups by any specific feature, such as progressivism, these groups did self-organize into the most progressive on the left and the most conservative on the right. Political ideology and engagement, however, are not as useful in describing the lived experiences of these audiences—especially the audiences in the political middle—as are the characters, obstacles, and objectives that make up their personal stories. We describe each audience in detail below, but it’s important to start with an understanding of the purpose of segmentation: coalition building.

Segmentation is a strategic tool, and the strategy starts with understanding who is with us and who we can reach and persuade. While support for legal abortion is by no means the only important gender justice issue, it is a bellwether, and the six groups fall very discretely into three camps.



The two groups in the base—Justice Rising and Force for Good—believe abortion is acceptable and should be legal. Three groups in the middle—Kids First, For the Win, and No Special Treatment—firmly believe that abortion should be legal, but they may be personally uncomfortable with abortion. And one group—Religious Traditionalists—opposes legal abortion.



Justice Rising 14%

Creative leftists who want safety and freedom

“The sense of being out of place was always there. . . I feel like if I’m in a safe place, it’s like a super-privileged-unique-probably-won’t-last-very-long kind of moment. I’ve thought about this a lot. . . about a safe place—what does it look like? I’ve sort of come to the conclusion that I need to create a different kind of safe space.”

—Movement Leader

Influencers and brands that resonate



Sam Smith/Instagram



John Photography/Shutterstock



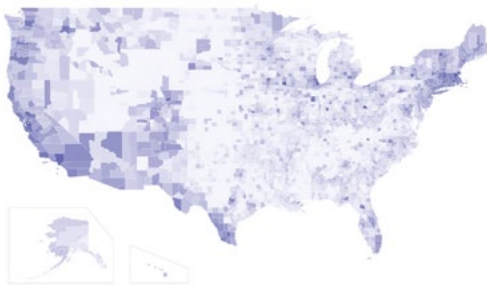
European Parliament from EU, CC BY 2.0, via Wikimedia Commons



Luke Gilford

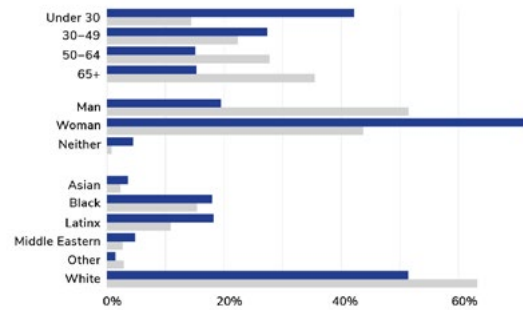


GEOGRAPHY
College towns and coastal cities



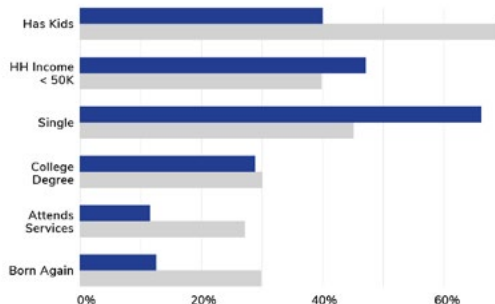
Justice Rising

DEMOGRAPHY
Diverse, mostly women, and very young



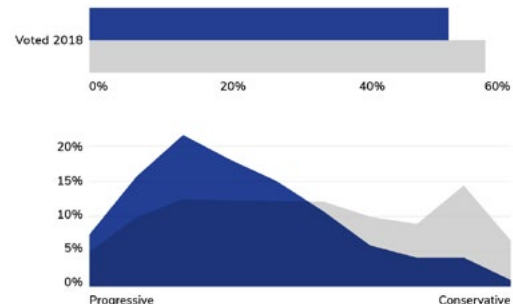
Justice Rising Everyone

LIFESTYLE
Mostly single, mostly childless, and mostly secular



Justice Rising Everyone

VOTING BEHAVIOR
Progressive voters when they vote



Justice Rising Everyone

Justice Rising: Safety and Self-Determination

Those who are Justice Rising yearn for a gender-just future. They are the audience most likely to encounter gender justice issues, and they report that they or people they know have experienced sexual violence, workplace discrimination, a need for reproductive healthcare, and uncertainty about their access to housing and childcare. Almost 60 percent report having personally experienced or having known someone who experienced sexual harassment within the past five years.

Many frontline advocates and organizers for gender justice are Justice Rising, but as a whole, this audience group is actually slightly less progressive on gender than Force for Good, and they are also less politically engaged.

They yearn for a gender-just future, but they cannot see that future approaching. Instead, they feel besieged by a threatening world. More than 90 percent say they feel unsafe walking at night, and they also report the highest rates of feeling unsafe walking during the day, driving a car, in public places, at school, at work, and at home.

The group is very young (almost half are under thirty) and mostly women, and there is something special about the word “safety” for this group. (The fourth audience segment, For the Win, is also relatively young, but more than 60 percent of those in For the Win report that they “usually feel safe.”)

Key story pillars for Justice Rising are:

- **Safety in Community.** Stories for this audience need to feature safety, reassuring the audience so that we can spark their potential to serve as the vanguard of gender justice.
- **Abundant, not Scarce.** Changing the Justice Rising perspective from fear and struggle to openness and eagerness to realize the vision of a future they have co-created with us means helping them think of the future as one where there is enough for everyone and where the equity they dream of is a reality.



Force for Good 19%

Thinking leftists who want progress and equality

“It’s our job to make sure that we balance the equality within our society. And it really doesn’t make me feel powerful, it makes me feel dutiful. It’s weird, to be a person who doesn’t necessarily deserve something, but has it anyway. It makes me feel I have a duty to balance it out.”

—Research Participant

Influencers and brands that resonate



Barack Obama
Official White House photo by Pete Souza



Dolores Huerta
Dolores Huerta Foundation



Gloria Steinem
Foreign Affairs Symposium booklet

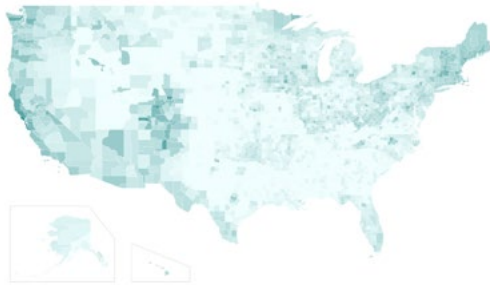


Ruth Bader Ginsberg
The Collection of the Supreme Court of the United States



GEOGRAPHY

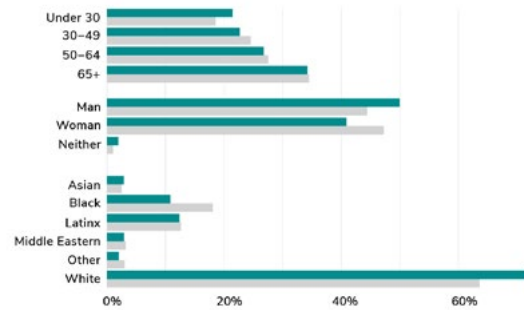
Northeast and the West



Force for Good

DEMOGRAPHY

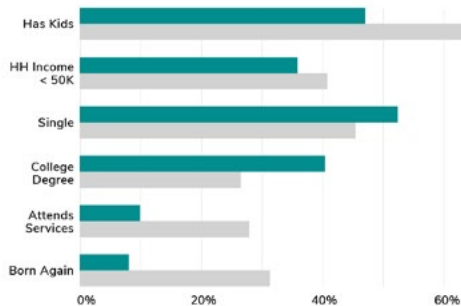
Mostly white and older



Force for Good, Everyone

LIFESTYLE

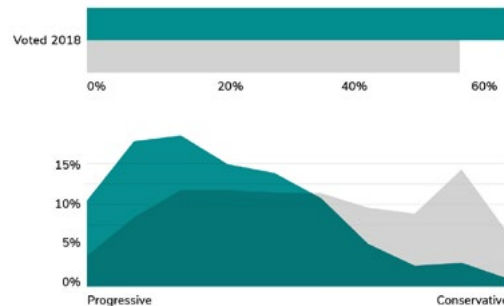
College educated and comfortable



Force for Good, Everyone

VOTING BEHAVIOR

Reliable, progressive voters



Force for Good, Everyone

Force for Good: Lifelong Advocates

Older than Justice Rising and reliable voters, those who are Force for Good are used to progressive politics, and are advocates for gender justice, although they might currently think of it in terms of feminism. When they think about the future of gender, the Force for Good audience is more likely to be hopeful and less likely to be afraid than is Justice Rising.

They're ready. If anything, they are more progressive on gender than Justice Rising. More than 95 percent agree that gender is an identity, not what is assigned by a birth certificate (compared to about 80 percent of Justice Rising).

But they're comfortable. While the Justice Rising audience feels the most unsafe of all the audience groups, the Force for Good audience feels the safest. However, they are aware of gender justice issues. They and Justice Rising are the two groups most likely to report that they or someone they care about has encountered gender justice issues (from sexual harassment to lack of access to housing or childcare). Now they need to be inspired and guided to act toward a gender-just future.

Key story pillars for Force for Good include:

- **Different, Equally Valued.** Universalism and tolerance are key values for Force for Good. Many progressives in this group came of age during the civil rights era and were committed “second wave” feminists. Stories founded in tolerance for difference draw this audience in.
- **Sustaining Forever.** Environmentalism is also an easily-accessible value for Force for Good, so “sustainability” is superficially resonant. But stories that describe sustainment through constant motion required and retaining balance can also help to inspire Force for Good, provide them with a direction for their efforts, and protect them from complacency.



Kids First 18%

Parents and grandparents who want their kids to grow up well

“We [women] are the ones that can bear children and that is something a man could never do. People underestimate women. We handle a lot because that’s what we have to do. A man could nurture but it’s innate in us. My children have their father but they always seem to come to Mommy for some reason. It’s that innate ability women have.”

—Research Participant

Influencers and brands that resonate



Oprah
INTX: The Internet & Television Expo, CC BY 2.0, via Wikimedia Commons



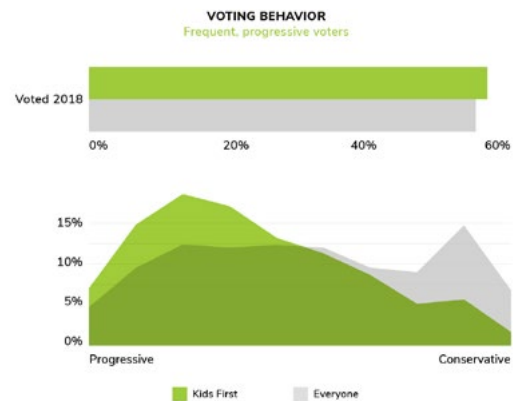
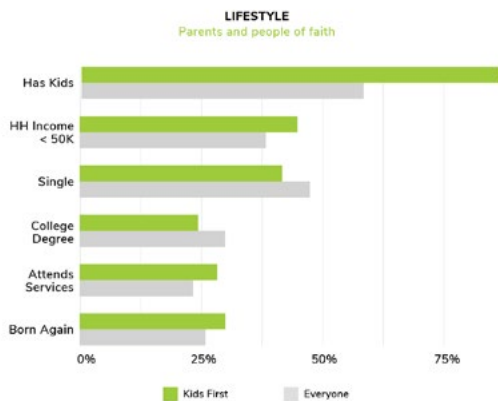
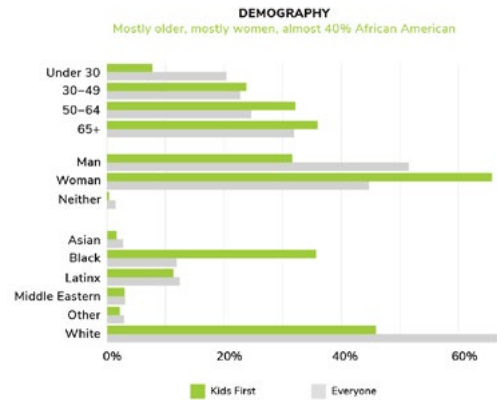
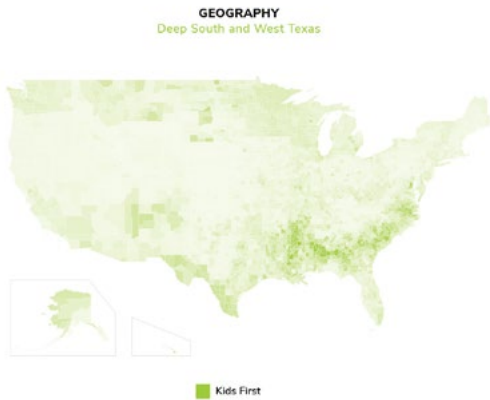
Kathie Lee Gifford
Photo by Fadi Berisha



Michelle Obama
Tim Pierce from Berlin, MA, USA, CC BY 2.0, via Wikimedia Commons



Ricky Martin
Ricky Martin/Instagram



Kids First: Advocates for the Future

In many ways, the Kids First group is aligned with the base. This group, most of whom are women, believe that men get more opportunities at work, that society has not gone far enough to give equal rights to women, and that government should do more to solve problems. Data from the voter file show that this group of reliable voters hold progressive opinions about political issues.

Kids First audience members report that being a parent is important to them, but they also overwhelmingly report that their identities as “men” and “women” are very important to who they are. The gender binary is embedded in their personal stories, and they value that binary.

Instead of tolerance for humanity, their focus is on their communities and families, and their core values include tradition, security, and conformity or behaving properly. Those values are closer to the core values of the Religious Traditionalists than to our base. It’s no surprise, then, that this audience is very likely to report attending church regularly. What sets them apart from the extreme Religious Traditionalists is that they are not likely to call themselves “born again” or to subscribe to the evangelical tradition explicitly focussed on amassing political power.

Engaging Kids First group members means telling them stories about kids (obviously), but moving them to take action will take something more. Avalanche Strategy has conducted research that shows that people who support access to abortion but are uncomfortable with abortion personally (like those who are Kids First) are most likely to report sadness—not anger—when they talk about abortion.³

If we can acknowledge and bridge the gap between our values, however, Kids First will be a powerful partner for gender justice. Perhaps it is their faith that makes them so confident—as confident as Religious Traditionalists and more confident than the base—that they can navigate the changes needed to teach their kids about gender and sex in ways that will keep them safe and make them happy and successful. They already feel both responsible for kids and empowered to protect them. Now we just need to work together to see what form their teaching should take.

The key pillars for this audience are:

- **Safety in Community.** Those in the Justice Rising group feel unsafe, and those in the Kids First group feel confident that they can help. That’s a perfect match, so stories about community leaders who have helped kids stay safe and thrive are a pretty sure bet with this audience.
- **Kids, Curiosity, and the Future.** We can use a second pillar to orient the audience toward a vision of a positive future. The Kids First group holds security as a core value, and that can constrain their action and make them conservative. Activating curiosity about what their kids will achieve in a just future will sustain this audience in supporting rather than “protecting” young people.

³ Avalanche Strategy, *Most Americans Support Reproductive Freedom and Oppose Government Bans*, Avalanche web site, <https://www.avalanchestrategy.com/reproductivefreedom>



For the Win 12%

Leaders who want to have a good time and to win

“It doesn’t mean we’re not equal, it means we’re different. A man should be doing something. . . if you’re not doing anything you are not aiding the community. If you are sitting around all day, that is not a man. Women can be productive, too, but one of the most productive things a woman can do is be a good wife and a good mother.”

—Research Participant

Influencers and brands that resonate



CC BY-SA 2.0 Keith Allison/Flickr

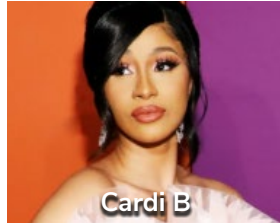


Photo by Taylor Hill/WireImage



CC BY-SA 3.0 The Royal Society

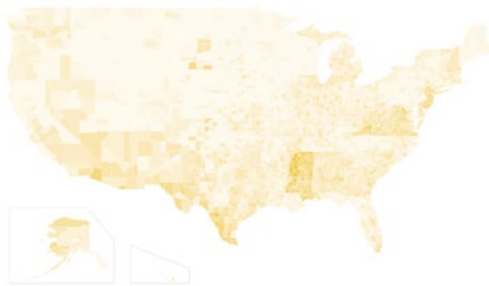


Sami Drasin



GEOGRAPHY

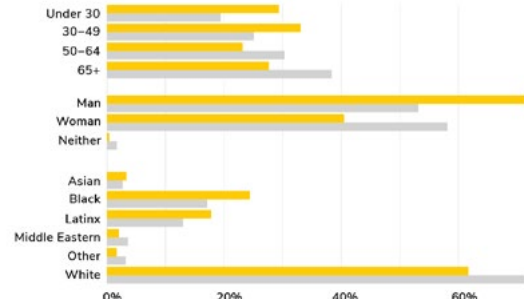
Widespread with concentration in the south



For the Win

DEMOGRAPHY

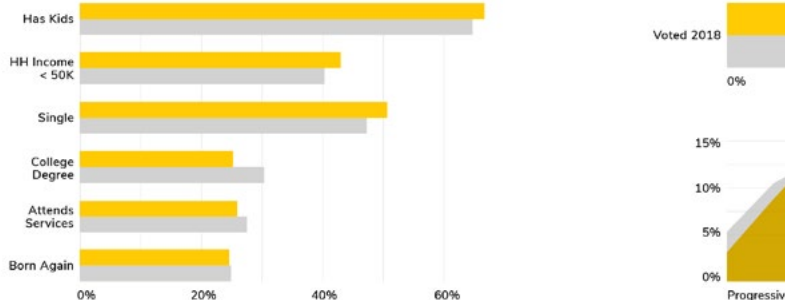
Young and diverse



For the Win Everyone

LIFESTYLE

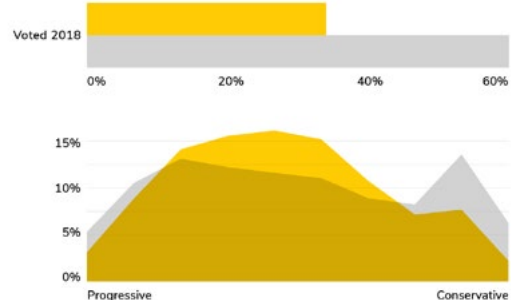
Parenting but not personally identified with parenthood



For the Win Everyone

VOTING BEHAVIOR

Rarely vote



For the Win Everyone

For the Win: A Role For Leaders

There is much that pushes For the Win away from gender justice. They (men and women) tend to prefer relationships in which “the man makes more” money, and most of them don’t believe that men get more opportunities at work than women do. They are also more likely than any other group to say that, in their experience, men make better leaders (as executives, politicians, consensus-makers, and managers who “get things done”).

This audience is vulnerable to Religious Traditionalists counter-narratives on men’s and women’s roles to a certain extent, but For the Win’s story is not just another flavor of a conservative narrative. This group is as likely as the progressive audiences to say that the couples they know who had sex before marriage have stronger marriages, and they are much less likely to say that “sexting” counts as sex than are the more religious segments: Religious Traditionalists and Kids First.

Where the story of the religious right is about male-led family structures in which the family is central, the story of For the Win centers individuals and their pleasures, preferences, agency, and power. They are the most likely of any group to report that they frequently wear clothes that represent their culture or beliefs. They (both men and women) are the most likely to report wanting to be leaders at work. And, while they agree that men need to earn money to feel fulfilled, they are also more likely than other groups to report that women need to earn money to feel fulfilled too.

The deep barrier to change for Religious Traditionalists is that misogyny is how they organize the world. The deep barrier to change for For the Win is not the misogyny of the conservative group; it is the *importance* of gender to For the Win audience members personally. Almost all of them (both men and women) report that when they think of who they are, being a man or a woman is one of the first things they think about.⁴

For the Win group members do not hold “tradition” as a core value. Instead, they value independence and resilience. They believe in different “natural” roles for women and men and that, although women should make their own money, men should be leaders.

For the Win is already aware of the need for racial justice (although they are more likely than other groups to say we should work on racial justice before gender justice), and they are ready for a new gender justice narrative—the existing narrative doesn’t give them the freedom to experience pleasure, opportunities for leadership, or earning potential that they crave.

Two great pillars for this audience are:

- **Joyful, Pleasurable, Fun.** “Hedonism,” or having a good time, is important to For the Win, and we shouldn’t shy away from that. Stories that talk frankly about sex in particular may help to dispel some of the strong commitment to toxic gender roles that holds this audience back.
- **Abundant, Not Scarce.** For the Win’s sexism is supported by their desire to be rich and their belief that men should be providers. Like most Americans, they believe that they can achieve success through individual industry, and they worry about losing some of their gains if more groups are treated fairly. To get them around that competitive social hierarchical mindset, we can rewrite their scarcity mindset with abundance: greatness is not achieved by squabbling with others for scraps but by innovating, creating, and *making more*.

⁴ Although the questions were written to accommodate other gender identities, For the Win audience members specifically reported identifying as men or women.



No Special Treatment 18%

Rule-followers who want recognition and achievement

“I’m really old fashioned and I really should have been born before my time even, But I think our world has gotten so chaotic. It makes me sad that I see in my grandchildren’s future maybe a world where women have to be a breadwinner. I kind of like my world of how it was for me.”

—Research Participant

Influencers and brands that resonate



©Home Box Office



Photo courtesy of Magnolia via Architectural Digest



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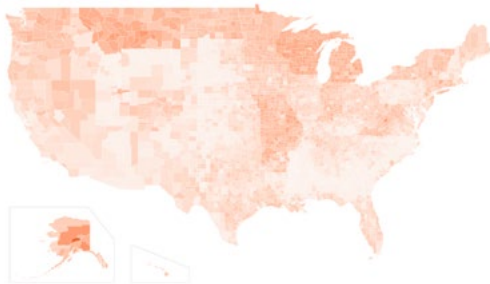


Reba McEntire/Instagram



GEOGRAPHY

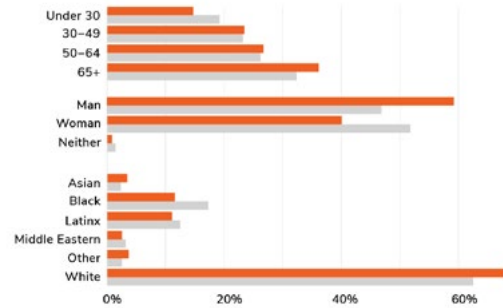
Widespread with more density in upper midwest



No Special Treatment

DEMOGRAPHY

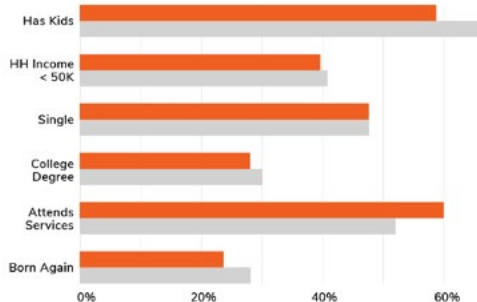
White and middle-aged



No Special Treatment Everyone

LIFESTYLE

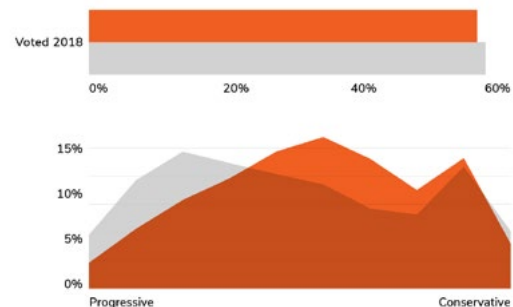
The American average



No Special Treatment Everyone

VOTING BEHAVIOR

Independents who sometimes vote



No Special Treatment Everyone

No Special Treatment: A Place for Predictability

No Special Treatment is the most politically conservative of the three persuadable groups. Widespread across the United States, with particularly high concentrations in the Midwest and Upper Midwest, this audience believes that hard work should be rewarded. They describe themselves as “law abiders.”

Unlike, For the Win, they don't think men are naturally better leaders than women. They believe men get more opportunities at work, but they do believe in “the system.” The idea of “line-jumpers”⁵ and other people who don't follow the rules make them uncomfortable, and the changes happening around gender make them feel nervous.

This group's members don't feel confident that they can teach the kids in their lives right-and-wrong behaviors or responsible behaviors around gender and sex. No Special Treatment audience members might have watched Justice Brett Kavanaugh's Supreme Court confirmation hearing and asked themselves “but what about the boys?!”

Two great pillars for this audience are:

- **Sustaining Forever.** This audience needs to feel seen. They grew up with and embraced very traditional gender roles, and they worry that change in the culture is a rejection of their experience and effort. This group needs to feel *pride* to connect with stories—they love to chant at Trump rallies because it is a powerful form of self-expression—so we should center stories that show how generations teach each other and how the traditional and the new can co-exist.
- **Abundant, Not Scarce.** One thing that keeps this audience afraid and makes them so vulnerable to vicious narratives from the Religious Traditionalists that relate gender oppression as the foundation of morality, of “right,” and of personal power, is that the No Special Treatment group fervently embraces business-first capitalism. They reject collective solutions to problems and see themselves as working hard while others cheat to get ahead. We need to narrate “abundance” for them to see that the freedom of others adds to, and does not take away from, their own freedom.

⁵ This audience bears a striking resemblance to the community Arlie Hochschild profiled in her book [Strangers in their Own Land](#). Indeed, the map of Louisiana shows dense concentrations of the No Special Treatment audience around Lake Charles, the location she focused on.



Religious Traditionalists 19%

Born again Christians who want security, conformity, and power

“So God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him; male and female he created them.”

—Genesis 1:27

Influencers and brands that resonate



Jabin Botsford/The Washington Post



Photo courtesy of Steven Curtis Chapman via San Antonio Current



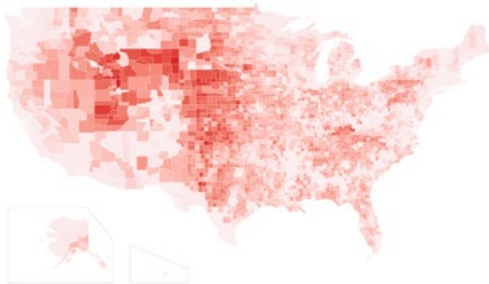
Kirk Cameron/Facebook



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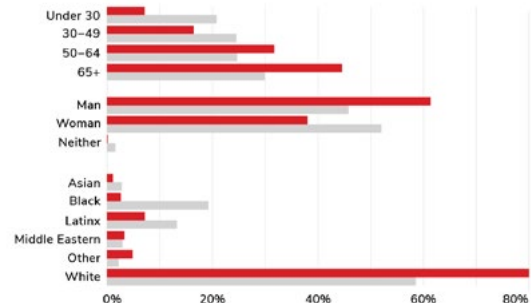


GEOGRAPHY
Mountain West and rural Plains



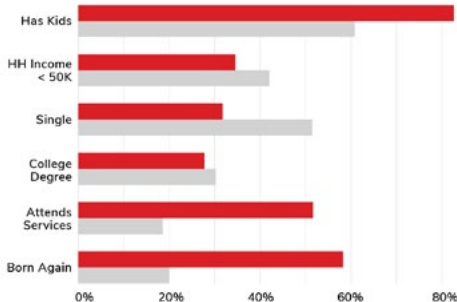
Religious Traditionalists

DEMOGRAPHY
White and older



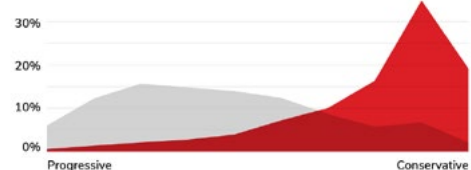
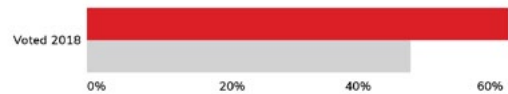
Religious Traditionalists | Everyone

LIFESTYLE
Born again Christians and parents



Religious Traditionalists | Everyone

VOTING BEHAVIOR
Committed conservatives and engaged voters



Religious Traditionalists | Everyone

Religious Traditionalists: Power through the Binary

The Religious Traditionalists group does not represent all the people of faith in the United States; they are those for whom the gender binary—and the subjugation of women—is the foundation of their lived gender story. In theory, this audience is not entirely “ungettable”; our movement’s story platform resonates with Christian coding with “welcome home” and “seen and safe.” However, this group is our opposition; they work actively against legal abortion, rights for LGBTQ+ people, and gender justice moments such as #MeToo.

We hope that our stories reach and move them, but our goal is to inoculate the other audiences against them. Other audiences, especially No Special Treatment and Kids First, include many people of faith who might be vulnerable to toxic narratives from Religious Traditionalists. They are selling a vision of the future in which there is a rigid hierarchy where to question the supremacy of white, cisgender men is to question the will of God Himself. They are selling fear disguised as “love.”

Our narrative, our story platform, is the opposite of this. Our opposition is woven through all six story pillars, but centering these two will help protect us from mirroring their viciousness. When they lean into race-baiting and fear-mongering, we need not respond in kind:

- **Joyful, Pleasurable, Fun.** They sell fear and anger, and we sing with pride, joy, and pleasure.
- **Different, Equally Valued.** They offer a vision where order is maintained through oppression and in which only a few are “good enough.” We are planning for a future in which everyone is chosen, and everyone is free.

Audience Demographic Diversity

Story at Scale explicitly excluded demographics from the statistics used to create these audiences. Our goal was to create audiences that naturally cohered, based on identities that were important to the audience members themselves, but we did not impose demographic breaks where those breaks did not affect audience members' lived gender experience. The profiles above offer demographic details within audiences.

However, many of us work within specific demographic communities. As the profiles show, demographics are far from destiny, and women, young people, African Americans and other groups have very diverse perspectives. To prevent stakeholders from having to intuit which audiences over-index within demographics, we offer a few observations on the most important patterns.

Men and women have diverse perspectives, but people who identify as other genders are in the progressive base. Nearly half of the 29 survey respondents who reported a gender other than “man” or “woman” were in Justice Rising,⁶ and nearly all the rest were in Force for Good.

Except for African Americans, race is not the defining driver of gender experience. For example, 40 percent of African Americans are Kids First; even within the African American community, that leaves 60 percent of people who are in other audiences (although very few African-Americans are Religious Traditionalists⁷).

While a large proportion of African Americans appear in one audience, the same is not true for any other race group. Asian and Latinx people are quite evenly distributed across all audiences except Religious Traditionalists, which is overwhelmingly white. Middle Eastern survey respondents⁸ were the only other group a substantial proportion of whom (21 percent) fell into the Religious Traditionalist audience.

Age rather than race or gender is a very important driver of gender experience. Large proportions of people under age thirty are Justice Rising (25 percent) and For the Win (19 percent), and very few (just 12 percent) are Kids First. A large proportion of people over sixty-five are Religious Traditionalists (28 percent). It can be tempting to think that an older opposition implies that a progressive gender future is assured, but that trend is not clear. For the Win and No Special Treatment are vulnerable to toxic gender narratives, and both are very diverse with respect to age, race, class, and place.

The profiles in this report show that the movement has a tremendous opportunity to connect with and move persuadable audiences who can advocate for a progressive gender future, but the work is far from done. What is clear is that we need more than demographics to understand where our audiences are coming from and how we can reach them; we need to base our conversations on lived gender experiences.

⁶ Other estimates in this section come from the voter file, but here we offer observations directly from the survey because the number of respondents was small.

⁷ Here it is worth noting again that Religious Traditionalists are not the only people of faith in the audiences. Kids First and No Special Treatment are quite likely to attend religious services; Religious Traditionalist are set apart by their focus on power and their identification as “born-again.”

⁸ The voter file does not include Middle Eastern as a top-line “race,” so this estimate comes directly from the survey.



Appendix: Segmentation Survey

This appendix contains a summary of the methods we used to collect the data for the segmentation. We cover the process of survey development and data collection and provide the survey instrument itself.

Survey Development

We developed the survey instrument in collaboration with the Story at Scale Research Advisory Council. We started by reviewing research products from inside and outside the field including reports on:

- Women's perspectives on the economy
- Support for transgender people
- Transgender and non-binary lived experiences
- Lived experiences of system-involved women
- Attitudes toward prostitution
- Effective ads for women candidates
- The social construction of whiteness
- Abortion storytelling and communication
- Equity, contribution, and inclusion framing
- Television consumption patterns for different audiences
- Communicating with white women

We also analyzed raw data from other surveys from publicly available data sources:

- Pew surveys from the American Trends panel,
- The General Social Survey, and
- The World Values Survey

And private data sources covering:

- Domestic violence (from Blue Shield of California Foundation)
- Women's political and issue positions (from the Polling Consortium)

When we analyzed the surveys, we were looking for something specific in each: the set of themes that emerged from statistical clustering of the questions and the individual questions that best characterized those themes. For instance, in the domestic violence survey, we found different clusters of actions that people thought they should take when domestic violence occurs—from calling the police to engaging community resources like counselors. In that same survey, we found that people who did not want to engage any resources did feel a personal obligation to engage directly with abusers. In this survey, then, we added a question to address the different lanes of engagement, and we added a question to address the possibly emergent theme of men caring for men (something that also arose in the cultural audit⁹).

⁹ Erin Potts, *Expanding Visions of Gender in Popular Culture (A Cultural Audit)*, Story at Scale, July 2019, <https://storyatscale.org/reports/cultural-audit>

The goal of our survey was to understand how people experience gender and when they consider gender in decisions they make in their lives. Our initial research suggested that throughout their lives, our audiences focus on two key goals in terms of success or failure:

- Their personal and their family's security and safety
- Opportunity for themselves and their families

Our survey revealed how gender factors into the audiences' ability to attain or hinder the attainment of these goals, specifically in the following areas:

- Individual happiness
- Sex and romance
- Family and raising children
- The workplace
- Politics and other institutions

In addition, we captured how our audiences “define” gender and their attitudes toward the changing norms of gender.

The survey questions used the language most familiar to our audiences, so reference to “men” and “women” or “boys” and “girls” is common. For example, “women” are referred to in questions about abortion, although we understand that men and non-binary people can be pregnant. We used this language because we found in pretesting (and several researchers on the Research Advisory Council have found) that referring to “gender” can lead especially conservative audiences to react negatively and characterize the survey as “liberal.” It was very important to us to capture the authentic lived experiences of politically moderate and conservative audiences, so we used mainstream language in the questions. While the questions did not challenge current mental models, they did allow our audience to introduce new issues and context via their responses.

We were, however, careful to allow respondents to self-report their own gender identities accurately.

Survey Methodology

YouGov, our survey partner, conducted online interviews with 7,142 Americans. We excluded responses from people who skipped any of the core values questions or who selected the same answer for all the values questions (likely survey “cheaters”) and analyzed a final sample of 6,457 survey responses.

A unique approach to sampling: “equity sampling”

We sampled for this survey slightly differently than we would have for a conventional poll. A poll often intends to measure what percent of Americans support a specific thing, so it needs to be “representative” of the average American. Instead, we wanted to represent all the diverse voices in America. We did that by sampling for “equity” across race, age, state, gender, and college education. That means we set sampling goals like “at least 1,000 responses from each of these races: white, African American, Latinx, Asian, and Middle Eastern.”¹⁰ The result is a survey that is not intended to be “representative” but has much richer stories than we would have gotten if we had simply surveyed 70 percent of mainstream, white Americans.

¹⁰ The final totals vary from these targets both because we collected more total data than we anticipated and because we dropped respondents who cheated, or “straight-lined,” on the survey.

RACE	RESPONDENTS
ASIAN	375
BLACK	1108
LATINX	1225
MIDDLE EASTERN	490
OTHER	435
WHITE	2824

AGE	RESPONDENTS
UNDER 30	858
30-49	1722
50-64	1830
65+	2047

GENDER	RESPONDENTS
MAN	2670
WOMAN	3758
NEITHER	29

Using an online panel

The goal of the project was to represent narratives in the United States. To do that, and to make the results useful for targeting in our direct testing, we used the YouGov panel. A survey panel is a group of people who have agreed to answer survey questions, sometimes out of interest and sometimes for some small compensation, such as in-app purchases.

Using a panel, and, in particular, a voter-file-matched panel allows us to:

- Screen out bots and professional survey takers in other countries
- Use data already on the panel about demographics, thereby saving survey space
- Use voter file data to create “predictive models” to represent our segments

Predictive models, which are in widespread use in advocacy and political campaigns, give us the ability to direct our test messages or content (for example, short online videos) to known audiences. They also give us the ability to profile any community in the United States with respect to their lived experiences. In other words, the voter file expands the reach of our survey from three states to the whole nation and creates a tool that advocacy groups can use to shape and target communications in the future. Using the voter file, however, means that we have less insight into unregistered voters and undocumented people than we do into the gender experiences of registered voters.

The Questionnaire

<p>#qsex What is your sex?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><input type="radio"/> Male<input type="radio"/> Female<input type="radio"/> Neither of these describes me <p>On “Neither” skip into:</p> <p>#qgender How do you describe yourself?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><input type="radio"/> Male<input type="radio"/> Female<input type="radio"/> Transgender male<input type="radio"/> Transgender female<input type="radio"/> Gender non-conforming<input type="radio"/> Nonbinary<input type="radio"/> Other gender identity	<p>This is a slightly modified version of the questions proposed in this Williams Institute report.¹¹ We used “sex” rather than gender partly because the recommendations use this term but primarily because, in pretesting, we found that the word “gender” caused more conservative respondents to react negatively and treat the survey with less concentration.</p>
<p>#age In what year were you born?</p>	
<p>#educ What is the highest level of education you have completed?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><input type="radio"/> Did not graduate from high school<input type="radio"/> High school graduate<input type="radio"/> Some college, but no degree (yet)<input type="radio"/> 2-year college degree<input type="radio"/> 4-year college degree<input type="radio"/> Postgraduate degree (MA, MBA, MD, JD, PhD, etc.)	

¹¹ The GenIUSS Group, *Best Practices for Asking Questions to Identify Transgender and Other Gender Minority Respondents on Population-Based Surveys*, J.L. Herman (Ed.), The Williams Institute, (Los Angeles, CA: 2014), <https://williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu/wp-content/uploads/geniuss-report-sep-2014.pdf>

<p>#race What racial or ethnic group best describes you?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="radio"/> White <input type="radio"/> Black or African American <input type="radio"/> Hispanic or Latino <input type="radio"/> Asian or Asian-American <input type="radio"/> Native American <input type="radio"/> Middle Eastern <input type="radio"/> Mixed Race <input type="radio"/> Other (please specify) _____ 	
<p>#hispanic Are you of Spanish, Latino, or Hispanic origin or descent?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="radio"/> Yes <input type="radio"/> No 	
<p>In this survey, we are going to ask about different types of people. How much is this person like you?</p>	<p>These eight questions come from a battery of more than twenty questions that measure the Schwartz Theory of Basic Values.¹² We chose these eight based on a Story at Scale pretest.</p> <p>These cross-culturally valid values serve as overall goals for people, and they have known relations to other key psychographics, including authoritarianism and religiosity.</p> <p>They also provide intuitive links for storytellers to story constructs, including emotion and archetypes.</p>
<p>#hlppi. It's very important to them to help the people around them. They want to advance for the well-being of others.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="radio"/> Very much like me <input type="radio"/> Somewhat like me <input type="radio"/> A little like me <input type="radio"/> Not like me at all <input type="radio"/> Unsure 	

¹² S. H. Schwartz, "An Overview of the Schwartz Theory of Basic Values," Online Readings in Psychology and Culture 2, no. 1, 2012, <https://doi.org/10.9707/2307-0919.1116> <https://scholarworks.gvsu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1116&context=orpc>.

#suces. Being very successful is important to them. They hope people will recognize their achievements.

- Very much like me
- Somewhat like me
- A little like me
- Not like me at all
- Unsure

#gdsoc It is important to them to do something for the good of society.

- Very much like me
- Somewhat like me
- A little like me
- Not like me at all
- Unsure

#rich It is important to them to be wealthy; to have expensive things.

- Very much like me
- Somewhat like me
- A little like me
- Not like me at all
- Unsure

#secure Living in secure surroundings is important them. They avoid anything that might be dangerous.

- Very much like me
- Somewhat like me
- A little like me
- Not like me at all
- Unsure

<p>#adventure Adventure and taking risks are important to them. They want to have an exciting life.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><input type="radio"/> Very much like me<input type="radio"/> Somewhat like me<input type="radio"/> A little like me<input type="radio"/> Not like me at all<input type="radio"/> Unsure	
<p>#impdiff They like surprises and are always looking for new things to do. They think it is important to do lots of different things in life.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><input type="radio"/> Very much like me<input type="radio"/> Somewhat like me<input type="radio"/> A little like me<input type="radio"/> Not like me at all<input type="radio"/> Unsure	
<p>#bhprp It is important to them always to behave properly. They want to avoid doing anything people would say is wrong.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><input type="radio"/> Very much like me<input type="radio"/> Somewhat like me<input type="radio"/> A little like me<input type="radio"/> Not like me at all<input type="radio"/> Unsure	
<p>#maritalstatus What is your marital status?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><input type="radio"/> Married<input type="radio"/> Separated<input type="radio"/> Divorced<input type="radio"/> Widowed<input type="radio"/> Never married<input type="radio"/> Domestic / civil partnership	

<p>#children At any point in your life have you been a parent or guardian of a child, or not?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="radio"/> Yes <input type="radio"/> No 	<p>This is a question used to determine skip patterns later.</p>
<p>#idparent. [If children='Yes']</p> <p>When it comes to who I am, one of the first things I think about is being a parent.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="radio"/> Strongly agree <input type="radio"/> Somewhat agree <input type="radio"/> Neither agree nor disagree <input type="radio"/> Somewhat disagree <input type="radio"/> Strongly disagree <input type="radio"/> Unsure 	<p>The cultural audit and other reading the team has done suggests that being a parent is a major organizing principle for some people's perceptions of gender and change in gender justice.</p>
<p>[If children='Yes']</p> <p>#idparentwarm. Which of these best describes how you see your <u>main</u> role as a parent, even if neither fits you perfectly</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="radio"/> My <u>main</u> role is to always be there for my kids and to comfort them when things get tough. <input type="radio"/> My <u>main</u> role is to show my kids to make it in the world and to teach them right from wrong. 	

<p>#idgender</p> <p>When it comes to who I am, one of the first things I think about is being a [IF gender='Male' then "man" IF gender='Female' then "woman" ELSE "member of my gender"].</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="radio"/> Strongly agree <input type="radio"/> Somewhat agree <input type="radio"/> Neither agree nor disagree <input type="radio"/> Somewhat disagree <input type="radio"/> Strongly disagree <input type="radio"/> Unsure 	<p>Jackie Payne, Celinda Lake, our own research team, and others have found evidence that few people may naturally identify as “women.”</p>
<p>#idpartner [If maritalstatus suggests a partnership]</p> <p>When it comes to who I am, one of the first things I think about is: being a spouse or partner in my relationship.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="radio"/> Strongly agree <input type="radio"/> Somewhat agree <input type="radio"/> Neither agree nor disagree <input type="radio"/> Somewhat disagree <input type="radio"/> Strongly disagree <input type="radio"/> Unsure 	
<p>#idopen</p> <p>What are the roles in your life that best show who you are? I see myself as a _____</p>	

<p>#clothesjudge. How often do you feel like people are judging you because of what you choose to wear?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="radio"/> Very often <input type="radio"/> Somewhat often <input type="radio"/> Rarely 	<p>This question and the next come from a conversation with Marya Bangee about the head coverings some women wear, but we left it a little open and put the religious question second to capture frustration from people who choose a variety of types of self-expression.</p>
<p>#clothing How often do you use clothing, makeup, or jewelry to express your cultural or religious beliefs?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="radio"/> Every day <input type="radio"/> Frequently <input type="radio"/> Sometimes <input type="radio"/> Never 	
<p>#schema1. Which of these comes closer to your experience?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Men and women were designed by nature to fill different and complementary roles in life 2. 3. 4. 5. There are no real differences between men and women and the roles they can fill in life; gender is a social construct 	<p>These choices are designed to tap security and autonomy values specifically</p>
<p>#schema2. Which of these comes closer to your personal experience</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="radio"/> It is more natural for men to lead. Things work better when men make the decisions. <input type="radio"/> It is more natural for women to lead. Things work better when women make the decisions. <input type="radio"/> The best leader depends on the situation 	<p>These choices are designed to tap achievement and community values.</p>

<p>For each of the next questions, please supply one trait that you think people you know would associate with each group.</p> <p>#mentrait. In general, people I know expect men to be _____</p>	
<p>#womentrait. In general, people I know expect women to be _____</p>	
<p>#rights. When it comes to equal rights for women, do you think society has</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="radio"/> Gone too far <input type="radio"/> Not gone far enough <input type="radio"/> Been about right 	<p>This is a Pew question almost verbatim. It addresses “rights,” which appeared as a separate theme in the World Values survey, where women’s “rights” appeared in a democracy narrative, not a marriage or public spaces narrative.</p>
<p>For each of the following, report how true the statement is of <u>your experience</u> with men and women.</p>	<p>This is based on a World Values Survey question from a group of questions concerning women’s autonomy in public spaces. The General Social Survey had this for men and women.</p> <p>The question on the World Values Survey was “need to have children to be fulfilled,” but we have made this biological to get at the difference between essentialism and social construction.</p>
<p>#biowkids. In my experience, women have a biological drive to have children.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="radio"/> True most of the time <input type="radio"/> True some of the time <input type="radio"/> Not true 	

<p>#biomkids. In my experience, men have a biological drive to have children.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="radio"/> True most of the time <input type="radio"/> True some of the time <input type="radio"/> Not true 	
<p>#pol. Which of these comes closer to your experience?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="radio"/> Men make better political leaders. <input type="radio"/> Women make better political leaders. <input type="radio"/> Gender doesn't matter in political leadership 	<p>This question addresses a World Values Survey theme concerning women's competence in public spaces.</p>
<p>#exec. Which of these comes closer to your experience?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="radio"/> Men make better business executives. <input type="radio"/> Women make better business executives. <input type="radio"/> Gender doesn't matter in business leadership. 	<p>This is based on a World Values Survey question from a group of questions concerning women's competence in public spaces. It had *moderate* variation in the World Values Survey sample and is a candidate to cut if we need to.</p>
<p>We encounter leaders throughout our lives: at work, at home in the family, at church, and in politics.</p> <p>#leadershipstyleconsensus. Thinking about all the experience you've had in groups with leaders, who has been best at getting everyone to agree:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="radio"/> Men <input type="radio"/> Women <input type="radio"/> Neither 	

<p>#leadershipstyleefficiency. Thinking about all the experience you've had in groups with leaders, who has been best at getting things done efficiently:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="radio"/> Men <input type="radio"/> Women <input type="radio"/> Neither 	
<p>#workwomen. In my experience, women need to earn money to feel fulfilled.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="radio"/> True most of the time <input type="radio"/> True some of the time <input type="radio"/> Not true 	<p>A different formulation of a theme we saw across surveys: men “should” or “are told to by society” have a career. Here, the focus is on people’s lived experience of what fulfills people.</p>
<p>#workmen. In my experience, men need to earn money to feel fulfilled.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="radio"/> True most of the time <input type="radio"/> True some of the time <input type="radio"/> Not true 	
<p>#fairwork From what you have seen, would you say that:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="radio"/> Women get more opportunities at work than men <input type="radio"/> Women and men have equal opportunities at work <input type="radio"/> Men get more opportunities than women 	<p>This is a variation on a standard question asking about whether people believe that there is a gender discrimination problem at work. We made this one to pick up on men who (in Pew surveys especially) think women have hurt their careers, as well as people who think the problem is already solved.</p>

<p>[IF fairwork=Men get more]</p> <p>#fairworkfollowup. Which of the following comes closest to your view on equal opportunities for women at work, even if none of them is exactly right</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="radio"/> Things are really no better than they used to be. <input type="radio"/> Things are a lot better now than they used to be, but we still have work to do. <input type="radio"/> There is no way to make the current system fair; we need a major change. 	
<p>#oneparent. From what I have seen, kids do better if one parent stays home full time when they are young.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="radio"/> Strongly agree <input type="radio"/> Somewhat agree <input type="radio"/> Neither agree nor disagree <input type="radio"/> Somewhat disagree <input type="radio"/> Strongly disagree <input type="radio"/> Unsure 	<p>This is intended to tap an important theme from the General Social Survey questions—women working outside the home. Questions like this one and “women who work cannot form warm relationships with kids” were distinct from questions about women’s equity in the workplace. They represented anxiety about changing family roles.</p>
<p>[if oneparent in (Strongly agree, Somewhat agree)]</p> <p>#momhome. In general, it is better if the:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="radio"/> Mother stays home <input type="radio"/> Father stays home <input type="radio"/> It doesn’t matter which parent stays home 	
<p>#manmakesmore. I personally would feel more comfortable in a relationship where the man makes more money than the woman</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="radio"/> Mostly true <input type="radio"/> Somewhat true <input type="radio"/> Not at all true <input type="radio"/> This question does not apply to the kinds of relationships I prefer 	<p>This question, recommended by Jess McIntosh, gets at a pattern we found again and again in surveys we analyzed for this survey: that men—including progressive men—feel pressure to earn more than their partners.</p>

#morechoices The kids I know have more choices about how boys and girls “should” act than I did growing up

- Strongly agree
- Somewhat agree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Somewhat disagree
- Strongly disagree
- Unsure

This series is based on a Pew question that addresses a theme of questions that **changes in gender roles are making things harder for families**. Although the Pew question was the most central to the theme, it was ambiguous regarding what exactly was harder. This set of questions addresses tensions over increasing fluidity in gender.

The latter three questions about teaching kids in ways that lead to success, happiness, and morality are intended to reach for (even progressive) people’s anxieties.

For instance, some parents might be worried that they can teach their boys that it’s OK to cry, but that might make those kids less successful in school or their careers because they are nonconforming.

Other parents might support a child who questioned the gender on their birth certificate but be anxious about navigating that complex issue and set of choices.

We are excited about understanding these issues, but the questions are new and we welcome feedback on how to ask them.

[IF morechoices in (Strongly agree, somewhat agree)]
#morechoicesgood Is having more choices:

- A good thing
- Both good and bad
- A bad thing
- Neither good nor bad

#genderteachkidssuccess. How confident are you in your ability to teach the kids in your life about gender in a way that will help them be successful?

- Very confident
- Somewhat confident
- Not too confident
- Not at all confident

#genderteachkidshappy. How confident are you in your ability to teach the kids in your life about gender in a way that will help them be happy?

- Very confident
- Somewhat confident
- Not too confident
- Not at all confident

#genderteachkidsmoral. How confident are you in your ability to teach the kids in your life about gender in a way that will help them be good people?

- Very confident
- Somewhat confident
- Not too confident
- Not at all confident

<p>#perfectkids. The next questions are about your family and work life in a perfect world. When you imagine yourself and your family in a perfect world:</p> <p>Whether you have kids or not, would your perfect family include kids?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="radio"/> Yes <input type="radio"/> No 	<p>Lots of questions ask about attitudes toward work/life balance. This battery is designed to get at what people really want that balance to look like in their “just” futures.</p>
<p>#perfectpartner Whether you have a partner or not, would your perfect family include a partner?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="radio"/> Yes <input type="radio"/> No 	
<p>#perfectjob In a perfect world, would you personally:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="radio"/> Have a job OR <input type="radio"/> Not work for pay? 	
<p>#perfectleader In a perfect job, would you be a:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="radio"/> An important leader OR <input type="radio"/> A valued team member 	
<p>#perfectflexibility Which of these describes your perfect job</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="radio"/> You can work when you want with plenty of time for other things. <input type="radio"/> You are a key contributor, and they can’t function without you. 	

<p>#unsafe. Do you feel safe everywhere you go or are there places or times where you feel unsafe—either physically or emotionally threatened?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="radio"/> I usually feel safe. <input type="radio"/> There are places or times where I feel unsafe. <input type="radio"/> I usually feel unsafe. 	<p>A major theme in interviews with activists and organizers is safety.</p>
<p>[if #unsafe=There are places or times where I feel unsafe or I usually feel unsafe]</p> <p>#whereunsafe. Check the places where you have felt unsafe in the past year:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="radio"/> With my family <input type="radio"/> With my partner or spouse <input type="radio"/> At work <input type="radio"/> At school <input type="radio"/> In public places <input type="radio"/> Driving a car <input type="radio"/> Walking during the day <input type="radio"/> Walking at night <input type="radio"/> None of these <input type="radio"/> Other 	
<p>#emotion. A lot is changing for men and women in America. When you think about those changes, how do you feel about the lives kids you know will be able to lead?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="radio"/> Afraid <input type="radio"/> Angry <input type="radio"/> Hopeful <input type="radio"/> Joyful <input type="radio"/> Something else 	<p>Narrative analysis of existing focus groups suggests that some people are very afraid for their kids in the new world.</p>

<p>SKIP if manmakesmore=='Not the kind of relationship I prefer'</p> <p>#unexpectedpregnancy. If you and a partner had an unexpected pregnancy, what effect would that have on you?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. It would make my life much worse 2. 3. 4. 5. It would make my life much better 	<p>Here, we're looking for insight into how everyone (including men) thinks about the reality of an unexpected pregnancy in their families. Some people may be in the "no one regrets a baby" group and others may feel very differently.</p>
<p>#sexmarriage. From what I have seen, couples who have sex before they get married have better marriages.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="radio"/> Strongly agree <input type="radio"/> Somewhat agree <input type="radio"/> Neither agree nor disagree <input type="radio"/> Somewhat disagree <input type="radio"/> Strongly disagree <input type="radio"/> Unsure 	<p>Liberal sexual mores are a major marker of one values profile that is also strongly associated with a particular cluster of gender justice issues. Conservative values here are also very important to how people think about gender.</p> <p>Here, we alter a basic question about "what is your view" to get at what people have actually seen in their lives.</p>
<p>Popular standards for sexual behavior have changed over time, and, recently, America has been talking about sexual harassment and assault. The next questions are about how you feel about teaching the kids in your life about dating and sex.</p> <p>(Respondents split into two stratified groups and assigned one of the two text options)</p> <p>#sexteachgirls. In light of recent controversies about sexual harassment and assault, how confident are you in your ability to teach the girls in your life [random split: "responsible"/"right and wrong"] behaviors around dating and sex?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="radio"/> Very confident <input type="radio"/> Somewhat confident <input type="radio"/> Not too confident <input type="radio"/> Not at all confident 	<p>This is a modified version of a Pew question that asked about "responsible" behaviors. Here, we're looking for anxiety associated with not knowing what to teach because "right and wrong" might be perceived to be changing.</p>

<p>#sexteachboys. In light of recent controversies about sexual harassment and assault, how confident are you in your ability to teach the boys in your life [random split: “responsible”/”right and wrong”] behaviors around dating and sex?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="radio"/> Very confident <input type="radio"/> Somewhat confident <input type="radio"/> Not too confident <input type="radio"/> Not at all confident 	
<p>#sexacts. Which of the following would you say count as “sex” (check all that apply):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="radio"/> Kissing and hugging <input type="radio"/> Sending sexual messages via text (“sexting”) <input type="radio"/> Oral stimulation <input type="radio"/> Self-stimulation <input type="radio"/> Sexual intercourse 	<p>This question is intended to go with the first in this section to understand mental models of sex in relation to progressive and conservative values.</p>
<p>#raceblind Which of these would most improve race relations in the United States even if neither is a perfect solution?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="radio"/> Judging one another as individuals rather than as members of any group. <input type="radio"/> Recognizing and appreciating that there are differences between groups. 	<p>This question is derived from the scales created in <i>Multicultural and Colorblind Ideology, Stereotypes, and Ethnocentrism among Black and White Americans</i> to measure colorblind ideology.¹³</p>
<p>#racegenderfirst When it comes to ending race discrimination and gender discrimination, should we: ?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="radio"/> Focus on ending race discrimination first. <input type="radio"/> Focus on ending gender discrimination first. <input type="radio"/> Not focus on these issues at all. <input type="radio"/> Focus on both at the same time. 	<p>These questions are intended to find people who get that racial and gender justice are connected.</p>

¹³ Carey Ryan, et al., “Multicultural and Colorblind Ideology, Stereotypes, and Ethnocentrism among Black and White Americans,” *Psychology Faculty Publications* 84, 2007, <https://digitalcommons.unomaha.edu/psychfacpub/84/>.

<p>#naralabortion Which of these comes closest to your view?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="radio"/> I personally believe having an abortion is acceptable and should be legal. <input type="radio"/> I am personally against abortion, but I don't believe government should prevent a woman from making that decision for herself. <input type="radio"/> I personally believe having an abortion is wrong and should be illegal. 	<p>This is NARAL's poll question which works well to measure both support and the narratives that underlie it.</p>
<p>#issues For the below, please check the ones that <u>have affected you or someone you care about</u> in the last 5 years. Someone I care about:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="radio"/> had a hard time getting affordable childcare <input type="radio"/> had a hard time getting affordable housing <input type="radio"/> needed an abortion <input type="radio"/> needed birth control <input type="radio"/> experienced sexual harassment <input type="radio"/> experienced sexual assault <input type="radio"/> was accused of sexual harassment <input type="radio"/> was accused of sexual assault <input type="radio"/> was physically hurt by their partner <input type="radio"/> found out someone else at work was paid more for the same job <input type="radio"/> identified as or expressed a gender other than the one on their birth certificate 	<p>This is not primarily an “issues” survey, but we included issue salience here to map the pressing issues to audiences.</p> <p>We will also have access to predictive models from the voter file that represent support for different issues (although it is worth noting that these are very often highly correlated with partisanship).</p>

<p>#choices. Which of these comes closest to your view</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ I'll make my own decisions when it comes to matters that are personal and private — marriage, having and raising children, medical care, sex and similar private matters. No one but me — certainly not the government — has a say in these decisions. ○ The difference between right and wrong isn't always clear when deciding personal and private matters — marriage, having and raising children, medical care, sex and similar things. I want to follow the advice of people I choose — friends, family, doctors, clergy, educators or other experts. ○ People do not always make the right or moral decision when it comes to matters that are personal and private — marriage, having and raising children, medical care, sex and similar private matters. That's why our government should set rules, even for such very private decisions. 	<p>This comes from our narrative expert, Kirk Cheyfitz, and is related to a National Women's Law Center strategy that came out of a Perry Udem research project.</p>
<p>#govt. Which statement comes closer to your views, even if neither is exactly right?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Government should do more to solve problems and help meet the needs of people. ○ Government does too many things better left to businesses and individuals. 	<p>This is a Pew question that experts we interviewed found was an important predictor of conservative and moderate women being open to hearing about progressive ideas about gender.</p>
<p>#free How often do you feel you have the power to make your own decisions and to live the life you want to live?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Most of the time ○ Some of the time ○ Never 	<p>Research so far with activists and organizers shows that a major barrier is helping audiences understand and take their own power to control their outcomes.</p>

<p>#unfreesource. Which of these do you think gets in the way of your power or freedom? (check all that apply)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="radio"/> Your race <input type="radio"/> Your sex <input type="radio"/> Your gender identity <input type="radio"/> Your age <input type="radio"/> Your income <input type="radio"/> Your education <input type="radio"/> Other (Specify) _____ 	
<p>#attend. Aside from weddings and funerals, how often do you attend church services?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="radio"/> More than once a week <input type="radio"/> Once a week <input type="radio"/> Once or twice a month <input type="radio"/> A few times a year <input type="radio"/> Seldom <input type="radio"/> Never <input type="radio"/> Don't know 	
<p>[randomize to show either tv or music]</p> <p>#tv. If you could only watch one type of TV or movies forever, which of these would you choose:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="radio"/> Drama <input type="radio"/> Sports <input type="radio"/> Reality <input type="radio"/> News <input type="radio"/> Comedy <input type="radio"/> Sci-Fi <input type="radio"/> Fantasy <input type="radio"/> Crime / Thriller <input type="radio"/> Action <input type="radio"/> Something else (specify) _____ 	<p>This is part of a small series of questions we are asking to map values to the cultural channels people are on.</p>

<p>#music. If you could only listen to one type of music forever, which of these would you choose:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="radio"/> Pop <input type="radio"/> Rock <input type="radio"/> Latin <input type="radio"/> R&B <input type="radio"/> HipHop <input type="radio"/> Dance/Electronic <input type="radio"/> Country <input type="radio"/> Christian <input type="radio"/> Something else (specify) _____ 	
<p>#genderessential. Which of the following comes closest to your experience even if neither is exactly right.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="radio"/> Whether someone is a man or a woman is determined by the sex on their birth certificate OR <input type="radio"/> Someone can be a man or a woman even if that is different from the sex on their birth certificate. 	<p>This is the Pew question almost verbatim. It has good variation in Pew surveys and is an important predictor of comfort with gender role transgressions.</p>
<p>#religpew What is your present religion, if any?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="radio"/> Protestant <input type="radio"/> Roman Catholic <input type="radio"/> Mormon <input type="radio"/> Eastern or Greek Orthodox <input type="radio"/> Jewish <input type="radio"/> Muslim <input type="radio"/> Buddhist <input type="radio"/> Hindu <input type="radio"/> Atheist <input type="radio"/> Agnostic <input type="radio"/> Nothing in particular <input type="radio"/> Something else (please specify) 	<p>These are standard demographic and lifestyle questions from YouGov.</p>

<p>#pew_bornagain Would you describe yourself as a 'born-again' or evangelical Christian, or not?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><input type="radio"/> Yes<input type="radio"/> No<input type="radio"/> Skipped	
<p>#urbancity How would you describe the place where you live?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><input type="radio"/> City<input type="radio"/> Suburb<input type="radio"/> Town<input type="radio"/> Rural area<input type="radio"/> Other (Please Specify)	
<p>#faminc_new Thinking back over the last year, what was your family's annual income?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><input type="radio"/> Less than \$10,000<input type="radio"/> \$10,000 - \$19,999<input type="radio"/> \$20,000 - \$29,999<input type="radio"/> \$30,000 - \$39,999<input type="radio"/> \$40,000 - \$49,999<input type="radio"/> \$50,000 - \$59,999<input type="radio"/> \$60,000 - \$69,999<input type="radio"/> \$70,000 - \$79,999<input type="radio"/> \$80,000 - \$99,999<input type="radio"/> \$100,000 - \$119,999<input type="radio"/> \$120,000 - \$149,999<input type="radio"/> \$150,000 - \$199,999<input type="radio"/> \$200,000 - \$249,999<input type="radio"/> \$250,000 - \$349,999<input type="radio"/> \$350,000 - \$499,999<input type="radio"/> \$500,000 or more<input type="radio"/> Prefer not to say	



Acknowledgements & Key Terms

Please see storyatscale.org/about for a complete list of all the contributors to Story at Scale: our research team members, advisory council members, partners, co-creators, and funders.

We acknowledge and appreciate you all!

About Story at Scale

Story at Scale (storyatscale.org) is a year-long collaboration of researchers, data scientists, artists, advocates, and organizers to develop and test a new cultural strategy to advance gender justice. Using big data and a collaborative, creative process, Story at Scale delivers audience research and a narrative foundation to guide artists and campaigners in telling stories that reflect the world we seek: a joy-filled life in a gender-just future. Story at Scale's tools are designed for practical use by those working on issues ranging from reproductive justice to sex- and gender-based violence to LGBTQ+ rights and more.

Story at Scale is funded by The Culture Change Fund.

About The Culture Change Fund

Housed at the Women's Foundation of California, The Culture Change Fund is a collaborative fund focused on using culture to advance and transform gender justice by changing how the public thinks about wide-ranging issues, including economic security, income inequality, violence against women, sexual assault, maternal health, abortion, contraception, and broader reproductive justice and gender justice issues, among others. Learn more at womensfoundca.org/culture-change-fund.

Key Terms

Gender justice is a framework used to bring about the fair and equitable treatment of people of all genders, with the goal of achieving dignity for all. It serves all those directly impacted by gender-based oppression, including transgender and cisgender women, genderqueer and non-binary people, and transgender men. True gender justice is intersectional and incorporates the needs and perspectives of those working towards racial justice, immigrant rights, LGBTQ+ liberation, and disability justice, among other struggles, recognizing that each of these is required in order for people of all genders to experience full dignity, equality, and liberation.

Intersectionality, a term first used in 1989 by legal scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw, is a mode of analysis that examines discrimination experienced by people who face multiple lines of identity-based exclusion. Intersectional gender justice examines the overlapping systems of oppression and discrimination that people face, based not just on gender but on race, class, sexual orientation, and a number of other axes. As such, as we work toward gender justice, we do so through the lens of multiple, simultaneous identities—for instance, as a poor, cisgender woman or an Asian, transgender man—not gender identity alone.

Cultural Strategy is a field of practice that centers artists, storytellers, media makers, and cultural influencers as agents of social change. Over the long term, cultural strategy cracks open, reimagines and rewrites fiercely-held narratives, transforming the shared spaces and norms that make up culture. In near-term campaigns, it helps to shape opinions, beliefs, and behaviors that lead to electoral, legislative, and policy wins. (source: Jeff Chang, Liz Manne, Erin Potts, [A Conversation About Cultural Strategy](#)).

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