NOVEMBER 2019

Story at Scale

WELCOME HOME:
CO-CREATING A GENDER-JUST WORLD
A STORY PLATFORM FOR THE MOVEMENT

by Kirk Cheyfitz and Amber J. Phillips

A co-creation of seventy-seven artists, advocates, and culture changers, including:

Jennifer Agmi * Kimberly Alvarenga * Eli Andrews * Elizabeth Arndorfer * Danielle Atkinson
Marya Bangee * Nicole Banks * Micah Bazant * Anna Bean * Renee Bracey Sherman * Layel Camargo
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Ebony Ava Harper * Margaret Hempel * Maria Ibarra-Frayre * Amy Irvin * Kwajelyn Jackson * Alicia Jay
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Bia Vieira * Megan Whelan * Toni-Michelle Williams * Marilyn Winn

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Authors' Prefaces

Kirk Cheyfitz

If the "arc of the moral universe," in fact, bends toward justice, as Dr. King promised, then gender justice has remained out of sight, around the far corner of that vast arc, for millennia. Only now is it coming into view.

This project has taught me that all roads to justice pass through gender—that to achieve justice, we must envision and articulate a compelling, joyful vision of how we will live together when gender justice prevails.

It is not easy to see this destination clearly. But the image of gender justice, blurred by tears of sadness and anger and by distance is becoming sharp in the experiences, concrete ideas, and moral imaginings of thousands of people who work themselves to a ragged edge nearly every day to achieve it.

Working with so many people of all genders, races, and classes on this project has revealed to me something profound and, now, obvious: gender justice intersects with and cuts across every fight for human rights—the struggles for racial justice, economic justice, environmental justice, migrant rights, social justice. I cannot be free—none of us can be free—without it.

Amber J. Phillips

I am a Black, fat, creative queer femme from the Midwest. On December 21, 2019, I will turn thirty years old, and it took me all twenty-nine years to be able to confidently provide this answer when asked, "How do you identify?"

I've often heard the phrase "the personal is political" since my first women's studies class as an undergraduate at a women's college in Pittsburgh. Attending college there was my first time away from my hometown of Columbus, Ohio. My time in Pittsburgh introduced me to electoral organizing, Black feminist reproductive justice as a human rights framework, and the process of becoming "myself." After registering my first voter in 2011, I accomplished my long-sought-after dream of moving to Washington, DC, and began working in national progressive politics. I spent the majority of my twenties trying to perfect my expertise as a reproductive health, rights, and justice organizer and communications specialist while working to develop the leadership of young people across college campuses to do the same.

I've been honored to work on issues like destigmatizing abortion, restoring the Voting Rights Act, protecting federal funding for

What we are up against, of course, is a cultural heritage, transported to the Americas by white people centuries ago, that created a notion of property to turn virtually everything into something that could be "owned" and, therefore, exploited for "profit"—including all men of color, all women and children, poor white men, all other living things, and, ultimately, our living planet.

As a straight, white cisgender man, it's this destructive nonsense and its consequences that I am referring to when I tell my friends, as a kind of shorthand, "I have no further use for white people." I mean I have no use for a social framework that masquerades as the natural order to uphold an unnatural order.

Working on this project, I spoke at length and collaborated with Ebony Ava Harper, an African American transgender woman in her forties who surmounted a very tough start in life and is now an activist, creative force, and director for The National Alliance for Trans Liberation and Advancement. She told me, "Trans people . . . it's not that we just live on the margins, we live on the margins of the margins. Even the rejected people reject us."

My wife, Ellen Jacob, is an artist whose work centers on social justice. Her favorite quote is from James Baldwin: "The purpose of art is to lay bare the questions that have been hidden by the answers."

I realize now that we must center the most marginalized—the people forced to the margins of the margins—because, like great art and other dangerous efforts at creation, they are raising the questions hidden behind our culture's false answers. Courageously, they demand new answers by constructing their true identities in plain sight.

This is some of what I've learned. People's lives are at stake.

Whatever is useful, supportive, insightful, and future-building in this report is thanks to the hundreds of people of all genders, races, and classes who were generous, trusting, and brave in sharing their experiences, pain, triumphs, and Planned Parenthood, and introducing cultural organizing strategies into national social justice campaigns.

However, somewhere between the murder of Sandra Bland, the conviction of Daniel Holtzclaw, and election night 2016, it became clear to me that politics needs to be more personal. All areas of national politics desperately need not only to include but to center the personal stories, lived experiences, and leadership of Black women if we want to get to the work of achieving true gender justice in my lifetime.

The Combahee River Collective Statement made the declaration, "If Black women were free, it would mean that everyone else would have to be free since our freedom would necessitate the destruction of all the systems of oppression."

As a storyteller and content strategist, I create campaigns and tell stories through a Black feminist and reproductive justice framework. My ultimate goal is to craft inherently political stories and narrative campaigns that center Black women and reimagine Black womanhood as an overwhelming experience of safety, pleasure, and joy in politics and in our culture at large.

Working alongside Kirk Cheyfitz, the Story at Scale team, and everyone who answered the call to tell us their vision for gender justice, I have been privileged to see how the process of co-creating the story platform allows for innovation that draws on all our collective expertise, critical input, and principled pushback. It is a process that has allowed me to bring my full self and my years of organizing expertise, my personal critique of culture, as well as my lived experience as an ever-evolving Black, fat, creative queer femme from the Midwest. It is an imperfect process, but it allows us to create new ways to tackle old issues. At the center of this project are the people I care the most about in this world: my community and the people I call my family.

More importantly, it's my responsibility to share and teach what I have learned about creating stories and building organizing efforts

insights to further this work. I know that the co-author of this story platform, Amber Phillips, and the Story at Scale Team join me in feeling grateful beyond words for everything that our collaborators have given to us personally and collectively.

If, on the other hand, you find anything that is not useful, jarring, less than accurate, off-key, or counterproductive—that is almost certainly my fault, and I take full responsibility for it. Please let me know how we can make this a better, more powerful tool for gender justice.

Kirk

Kirk Cheyfitz (he/him) is an activist, storyteller, writer, and strategist who helps progressive causes and candidates find and tell their stories. His training includes decades as an award-winning journalist and a leading pioneer in disrupting and replacing traditional advertising with narrative content.

More about Kirk at **kirkcheyfitz.com**.

that allow people to see themselves both as benefactors of, and co-conspirators in, driving our march toward our collective liberation.

My hope is that the story platform is used, remixed, expanded, and reimagined as we continue to give the best of ourselves towards a world where gender justice is a norm for people of all genders.

Amber

Amber J. Phillips (she/her) is a political content strategist and storyteller whose work imagines a world where Black womanhood is an over-whelming experience of safety, pleasure, and joy. She has been featured in *Essence* and *HuffPo* and on NPR's *1A* podcast, and she is also the co-creator and co-host of ***The Black Joy Mixtape* podcast**.

You can learn more about Amber and her work at **amberabundance.com/projects**.

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I ran away to Hollywood. I got me some hair and some makeup and I felt free. . . . I was looking like a little boy, but I found a blonde wig somewhere and a little skirt, and it was on from there. I think I was thirteen years old, which is a typical story for an urban child . . . that was either trans, gay, or lesbian in those times. . . . They often was ostracized by the family, even kicked out as a kid, rejected and not embraced.

Trans people . . . it's not that we just live on the margins, we live on the margins of the margins. Even the rejected people reject us. . . . It's . . . not a fault to the trans person. It's a fault to our society and how we handle people that don't fit in normal society and what it means to be normal.

Ebony Ava Harper
Director, National Alliance for Trans Liberation and Advancement, and a co-creator of the Story Platform
She/her, African American, San Francisco, 40s

Top-Line Summary

This summary contains the critical results of our work: the story platform and the manifesto that was built upon the platform. Still, we want to stress that no summary can do justice to the multiplicity of voices, practices, and insights that were brought together in this project. We urge everyone interested in gender justice to read the entire report.

Our Purpose

Story at Scale's mission was to create an optimal narrative strategy for advancing gender justice. Our methodology was to harness art and science in a tested, research-based, creative process that combines big data, the social sciences, and storytelling. Our approach was collaborative and inclusive.

Defining Our Goal: A World Where Everyone Belongs

This project's goal is to help create a world where gender justice prevails. To define what that means, we looked to the broad coalition of leaders, organizers, activists, and artists working to advance gender justice. Primarily through in-depth interviews and workshops, these activators created a vivid picture of how our society will work from day to day and how we all will live together when gender justice prevails. We concluded that such a world will feel like home to everyone because everyone will belong there.

Achieving Our Goal

Achieving this goal, we agreed, requires broad support from a sizeable majority of people living in the United States. Extensive new survey research that we conducted shows that such majority support is within our grasp, as roughly one-third of the American electorate can be considered base supporters, embracing all our principal goals, while around another 50 percent substantially agree with our vision of a gender-just society or can be persuaded to join us. What we need is a core narrative—what we call a "story platform"—that will connect with our audiences and bring them together.

Our Pathway to Gender Justice

Based on all our research and creative work, we concluded that the most powerful, compelling and unifying story platform for advancing gender justice is the joyful story of the new culture we will create in a gender-just society. This is the emotionally connecting narrative that tells all potential supporters what gender justice means for them personally and why they should support it.

Our Story Platform

A story platform is **not** a line of ad copy, not a tagline, and not a slogan, and it probably will not be seen by the world at large. It is a narrative plotline that can form the basis for many effective stories, joining up all the stories told by the movement and ensuring they all are deeply emotionally resonant for the audience. The story platform functions as a set of creative guidelines to aid creators in telling myriad stories that all ladder back to the same underlying emotional core and land with cumulative impact. This is our story platform—the core narrative that will help us change the culture and achieve gender justice:

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.

Our Manifesto for Gender Justice

The story platform guides us to a manifesto that vividly portrays the fture world that the platform describes—a new, inclusive culture for which the vast majority of people share a life-long yearning. The manifesto, like all political manifestos, aspires to be a mirror of our collective dream—a rallying document and a set of still-sketchy directions to that longed-for future where everybody can be free.

Songs of gender justice

It's time to sing new stories for ourselves, this country, the world—a many-colored, many-gendered collection of tales that we create together.

In all our stories, our myriad differences are named, understood and raised up, while all of us are equally valued. The world we are co-creating is a place that belongs to all of us because we all belong. Everyone is at home here.

We will discover these songs of home together. We will start by remembering, so we can heal past wounds. Each new verse, each new tale will be a step forward, and with each step we will transform our culture. It goes like this:

In all creation tales, whether told by science or faith, life is infinitely varied. This is the nature of life itself. No two people are the same. Our thoughts, beliefs, and dreams, like the shapes of our eyes and noses, are wildly divergent.

We are different races and combinations of races, and we are many colors. We are women and men; we are many genders. We are queer people, Black people, people of color, white people, transgender people, cisgender people, people with disabilities. We are different sizes—towering to tiny, fat to slight. We are differently skilled, differently gifted. We are all ages. We are born and grow in different places, different cultures. We speak different languages. We've been artificially divided into different classes that are used to split us up and wall us off from our essential equality.

We are many, many things at once.

Yet, all of us at all times share a deep desire and need to be seen and loved by loving partners. We share the need to be at home in a world where every child can grow up safe and free to be happy and unique. Where each of us can say with joy, "I am heard. I am seen."

In our new home, safety in community is precisely balanced with the greatest possible individual freedom. We live here in balance with each other and the natural world. Our home lives, breathes, and changes. Home is us. Home is the infinite ability to dream, to grow—a safe base for launching explorations, following our curiosity, always asking, "What's next?"

Powerful and privileged white men throughout history have tried to tell us we have no home here, no community where we can live safely. Their story constructed a culture of nonstop competition where, seemingly, there is never enough for everyone. They maintain a culture of scarcity: if our neighbor gains anything, it means we must lose something. They do this to keep us apart and

keep themselves on top. But their culture of scarcity is a lie, and the culture they've constructed is dying. Our answer is a new culture, one that recognizes difference for what it truly is—our common bond, not a barrier. There is no "better" or "worse," no ranking, no artificial order that assigns differing values to human beings. There is only the infinite natural diversity of life, where our bodies and souls are unencumbered and safe to expand, where we are encouraged to try, and, when we fail, we learn and are loved anyway.

In our new culture, we rally around leaders who are with and among us, not over us. Leadership exists to channel our best instincts and find the most likely pathways for us to search, collectively, for greater abundance, greater freedom.

Soon we will sing this story together as a choir composed of everyone who wants to join.

There will be no compulsory attendance: anyone is free to wander off; everyone is welcome to return. The voices carrying the main melodies will be those who were once most marginalized and least heard. We will sing easily together, understanding that our songs are deeply familiar ancestral chants that take us to a place we all know—a place we've known all along—pictured in our minds, held in our hearts and yearned for forever.

It's safe here. You are free to love and be loved here.

Welcome home.

This concludes the top-line summary. We urge you to read on and hope you find the entirety of this report useful in spreading stories that move us all closer to gender justice.

Story Platform: What It Is and How It Helps

Under pressure from politics and technology, truth is an increasingly contested territory. People are feeling ever more divided and combative.[1] They believe less of what they hear from politicians, the news media, and social media. As a result, old-fashioned political "messages"—binary declarations of what a campaign is "for" or "against," including relatively simple, rigid slogans, taglines, ads, or advertising-like communications—have lost much of whatever attention-getting, motivating, or persuasive power they once had.

Political and social justice organizations are turning to more emotionally involving, inherently complex, and nuanced storytelling to connect with, motivate, and influence audiences. Story at Scale is based on the idea that the most ethical and effective strategy for employing stories to advance positive cultural change depends on a disciplined process to create a set of narrative tools which ensure that

- each and every story told is **as powerful as possible** in connecting with the chosen audience;
- all the varied stories told by an organization or an entire movement are **mutually reinforcing**; and
- the impact of all stories told is **cumulative,** so the size of the audience being reached and the cultural change being created grows over time.

Lasting Relationships between Audiences and Causes Are Built on "Story Platforms"

This report documents our process and the results of using it to create an optimal narrative strategy for advancing gender justice. The process evolves each time it's used, but its central elements have been used and validated in dozens of projects with for-profit organizations and nonprofits.[2] As this report shows, our process depends on using a variety of research approaches to listen carefully and at length to two groups of people:

1. The first group we call the **activators**—the activists, advocates, organizers, artists—everyone who participates in defining the change being sought, setting goals, envisioning the future, and doing the work required to get there.
2. The second group is the **audience**[3] that the activators are addressing. In effect, this audience—for the purposes of this project—includes virtually all the people living in the United States. The vast majority of the audience are the people who need to be and can be reached, motivated, organized, and/or persuaded to help create the change being sought. They also include the people whose opposition to gender justice must be overcome.

This section of the report describes the key narrative tool for effectively using storytelling to create change—what we call a "story platform."

Typically, 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; it is not ad copy. It usually is never seen by the audience. It is, instead, the synthesis of

- the thousands of stories the audience members tell themselves that describe their relationships to the ideas or causes that an organization or movement is trying to advance, and
- the story or stories that an organization or movement wants to tell about the nature, necessity, and desirability of the change that it is advocating.

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[1] For an overview of these issues, see: Michael Dimock, "An Update on Our Research into Trust, Facts and Democracy," *Pew Research Center*, June 5, 2019, **https://www.pewresearch.org/2019/06/05/an-update-on-our-research-into-trust-facts-and-democracy/.**

[2] Kirk Cheyfitz, "How We Win with Story Platforms," *A More Perfect Story, Medium*, February 8, 2018, **https://medium.com/a-more-perfect-story/how-we-win-with-story-platforms-affe46277919.**

[3] Activators, of course, can be part of the audience for many purposes, but making a distinction between activators and audience provides a shorthand for identifying a relationship in which one group of people (activators) are working to organize other groups (audiences) to make change.

A story platform acts as a guideline that advocates, activists, artists, and other communicators can use to tell stories that are consistently and cumulatively impactful at effecting desired changes in a culture.

Different disciplines have different names for things that have a lot in common with story platforms: core story or core narrative, meta-story or meta-narrative, deep story, sometimes simply "narrative." The field is fraught with inconsistently or imprecisely defined terms. The distinctive thing about a story platform is that it can only be located at the narrative point where the audience's core or deep stories intersect with the activators' core stories.

In Story at Scale, the sum of our research shows that this narrative intersection lives in a vision of a deeply desired future where everyone clearly sees the differences among people, but those differences no longer set us against one another, no longer carry any value judgments, and do not separate us. Instead, they are recognized as our society's bond and great strength. It is a vision of a culture where all human beings are equally valued and equally free to be distinct individuals. It turns out that this vision is deeply shared by the vast majority of both activators and audiences.[4]

One of the main jobs performed by a story platform is to **make sure the truth sounds and feels true to the audience.** Unless the change-making story incorporates and acknowledges the audience's worldview at some point, it will not seem real or accessible to them. The audience will not believe or even hear what the activators are telling them.

As the most powerful bridge to the audience, the story platform represents the common narrative thread that will be woven into every story a cause or campaign tells. It is the central, emotional plotline that functions as a differentiating narrative heart.

When thinking about story platforms, it's helpful to reflect for a moment on the Old Testament's book of Exodus, a tale of communal suffering, struggle, and triumph that has been used and misused for millennia, for better and worse, to power movements. As we have written elsewhere:

> Exodus is the prototypical nation-building narrative—the ur-myth that establishes the power of story in political movements. For better and worse, Exodus united the Israelites for a few thousand years . . . and, beginning in the 16th century, the same mythic tale supported and preserved Pilgrims as they fled persecution to the New World, Europeans as they colonized the Americas and nearly wiped out the native inhabitants, enslaved Africans who were kidnapped to the Americas and needed a mythic story to keep hope alive, North American colonists who required inspiration in their revolution against the world's most powerful nation, and, finally, crusading civil rights leaders who needed to spread the faith that they could successfully push back on America's racist, genocidal foundation.[5]

Properly created, a story platform does not change unless the culture shifts dramatically, altering both audience members' internal stories and the campaign's goals; properly used, it produces executions and experiences that are cumulative in their impact because each separate tale ladders back to the same at-least-partly-shared core narrative.

Narratives historically have been used across the political spectrum to produce all kinds of good and evil outcomes. Needless to say, we're aiming to produce storytelling that is anchored in truth to advance human rights and justice.

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[4] This finding is based on quantitative and qualitative research on the attitudes and beliefs of registered voters regarding gender that was conducted by Story at Scale across the United States in 2019. See our **Audience Research report**.

[5] Kirk Cheyfitz, "Failing to Form a More Perfect Union: Our Fault," *Tales from the Post-Ad Age* (blog), September 7, 2018, **https://www.kirkcheyfitz.com/blog/2018/9/7/failing-to-form-a-more-perfect-union-our-fault**.

Looking for What Unifies

A critical point about a story platform is the focus on unifying the biggest possible community of potential allies and supporters to advance the culture toward a state of greater justice. The default approach to communications research for advocacy has long prioritized defining the differences that separate people. Research for a story platform recognizes such differences and then finds the common threads that unify people.

When looking for unifying narratives, it is critical to acknowledge that "biggest possible community" does not mean everybody. This is also important to ensure that the goals and aspirations of an organization, campaign, or movement are never compromised in order to "appeal" to a broader audience. Consequently, for this project, finding unifying themes does not mean reaching out to people who clearly share no common ground with the vision being pursued by the gender justice movement, nor does it mean frontline groups are expected to "fall in line" with some kind of "unity" platform. This is not about "softening" stories, spinning, pandering, seeking compromise, or any other form of shaping stories to make them "easier" for an audience to accept. As we've said before—and cannot overemphasize—this is about understanding at a deep level who we're talking to and how they understand the world so that the truth we speak will seem truthful and will get a hearing. It's about actually telling stories instead of pushing out political "messages" that get disregarded. **It's about human connection.**

Please note, finally, that the scope of this story platform report is strategic—to devise a story platform that is most useful to expand the movement for gender justice. This report is not specifically concerned with what stories to tell and how to tell them. That's the core of the next phase of Story at Scale's work as we test using the story platform to create one kind of content: short web videos.

The Story Platform Workshops

To co-create a core story platform for our movement that will act as the foundation of every story we seek to tell about gender justice, we invited movement leaders, community organizers, and artists of all genders and many races to participate in workshops to uncover a resonant narrative that

- embodies and encourages access to an inclusive culture that supports people of all genders, and
- challenges our historically limited idea of gender and equality.

The most crucial decisions and insights for Story at Scale's gender justice story platform come from these workshop participants. Full-day Story at Scale workshops were held in San Francisco on August 6th and in Atlanta on August 14th, and a shorter mini-workshop took place in New York City on September 4th as part of "Shifting Culture for Reproductive Justice: A Day of Exploration," hosted by the Ford Foundation in partnership with the Women's Foundation of California, The Culture Change Fund, and Harness. Partners from Michigan joined the workshops in San Francisco and Atlanta. A total of thirty-eight co-creators participated in the workshops in San Francisco (twenty co-creators) and Atlanta (eighteen co-creators); an additional thirty-two participated in the New York mini-workshop. Most of the co-creators who participated in the San Francisco and Atlanta workshops are organizers and leaders with small or large, local or national social justice nonprofits. A smaller number of participants are artists and storytellers active in the field of social justice. Queer, transgender, non-binary, gay, and lesbian people participated in the various workshops.

The most salient difference between the two full-day workshops was their racial makeup. Of the twenty San Francisco participants, eight (forty percent) were African American, nine (forty-five percent) were other people of color, and three were white. Of the eighteen Atlanta participants, seventeen were African American and one was white. Overall, 90 percent of participants in the two full-day workshops were people of color.

Participants in the New York City mini-workshop included reproductive justice leaders, cultural strategists, and reproductive health, rights, and justice funders. Story at Scale team members Amber J. Phillips and Kirk Cheyfitz designed and facilitated the workshops (Amber facilitated the New York mini-workshop solo). The names and affiliations of all co-creators can be found in the **Appendix**.

We used a combination of group exercises and open group discussion to center the voices of the participants in the workshops. We also included the voices of people from a series of in-depth interviews conducted with activists in advance of the workshops. The biggest takeaways from what we heard included a "brand" (defined below) for gender justice that

- speaks in the archetypal voice[6] of a creative force that can both inspire and guide our base to connect with a more inclusive practice relating to gender identity and expression;
- tells a story of gender justice that also acknowledges the internal stories of all supporters and potential allies, who comprise the great majority of people living in the United States;
- fights for our shared movement space to learn and try to exist in a more expanded idea of gender without the fear of isolation and harm; and
- uses imagery and accepts a philosophy that honors nature and humanity's place in a sustainable natural world.

[6] For a brief explanation of archetypes, see the section **Archetypes: Crafting the Voice of a Cause** in this report.

Leveraging In-Depth Research for the Workshops: The ABCs of Gender Justice

For three months prior to the workshops, the Story at Scale team conducted and analyzed specialized research designed to understand various elements of gender, including:

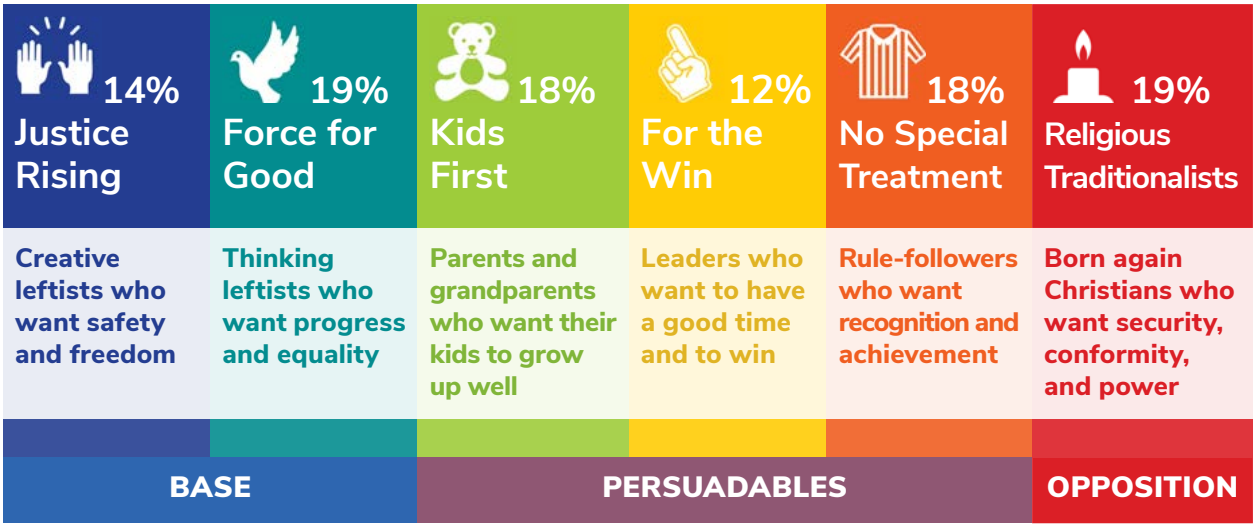
- The audience's opinions, deep stories, and feelings around gender
- The goals, principles, and deep stories of the organizations and activators working to advance gender justice
- The stories being produced and consumed around gender in pop culture—music, movies, television, fashion and beauty, books, plays, journalism, art, and so on
- The social science academic research literature about gender
- The stories being spread by the competition—organizations and individuals, especially the religious right, who oppose an agenda of inclusion and equality

We refer to these areas of research as the ABCs of gender justice—**A**udience, **B**rand, **C**ulture, **C**ompetition. Below are descriptions of each of these areas, along with very brief summaries of the major conclusions that were presented to the workshop participants as part of the basis for their discussions, decisions, and insights about a story platform for gender justice. While Story at Scale designed the research and the workshops to frame questions around gender justice in a certain way, we acknowledge and appreciate that a major source of information and context for the workshops was the varied experiences and ideas of each individual participant.

A is for Audience

We conducted a nationwide survey in order to construct a unique segmentation of the audience based on their values, especially their values around gender and gender justice. (A detailed look at this ground-breaking research can be accessed in our **Audience Research report**, led by Story at Scale's co-director and data scientist Riki Conrey.)

In keeping with Story at Scale's purpose, we used a sampling approach that elevated, or "oversampled," voices of marginalized people to amplify the experiences of people of color and people of all genders—binary and non-binary people, transgender and cisgender people. The summary of the research presented to the workshops identified six segments and explained how to use them to further organizing work. This explanation focused on the values the segments hold in common, as well as those that differentiate them. The segments' arrangement from left to right in the chart below roughly corresponds with the political ideology of each segment, from most progressive to most conservative. The percentages shown below indicate the percent of the American electorate (a weighted estimate from the survey data) represented by each segment.



The workshop participants learned that the gender justice movement's base is composed of Justice Rising and Force for Good, which together form a third of the electorate. The next three segments, which together represent 48 percent of the electorate, can all be reached and persuaded to support many of the base's goals, to one extent or another. People in these three segments share significant values and beliefs with the gender justice base but remain politically to the right of the base and hold significant fears and doubts about changes to society's traditional construction of binary gender identities.

The audience segmentation also defined the differentiating values that provide the best narrative on-ramps to all five of these groups. Finally, the research found that the people on the far right, the Religious Traditionalists, are 19 percent of the electorate who cannot be reached for gender justice. Better not to waste time on them and, instead, focus on the 81 percent who are actually or potentially allies and supporters—or, at worst, not committed opponents—of gender justice.

We also engaged the national research firm Olson Zaltman (OZ) to conduct in-depth qualitative research with a small number of voters. OZ works with implicit associations and imagery to discover emotional responses communicated by the deep metaphors that people use. Its research is uniquely valuable for crafting powerful narratives.

OZ focused on four segments:

- **Force for Good**, which is one of the two segments that we define as the movement's base supporters
- **Kids First**, **For the Win**, and **No Special Treatment**, which are the three groups we consider "persuadable"

Looking at the four segments investigated, the OZ researchers found three deep metaphors at work:

- **System**—This metaphor encompasses a deeply held conviction that the binary configuration of gender identities into male and female is part of an eternal and "sacred system that preserves social order" by holding society in "a sacred balance."
- **Nature**—This metaphor is applied to the gender identity "female" and encompasses the idea that women "are born" with certain "innate qualities that make them who they are."
- **Transformation**—This metaphor is applied to the gender identity "male" and encompasses the belief that "men are made" and there is a "process" that transforms boys into men.

While OZ's research can be seen as dispiriting, it leads directly to much clearer views of how we can bend the dominant culture's narrative of gender toward justice. To cite just one example, OZ found widespread ignorance that can be repaired with stories that educate and present people of all genders—including binary and non-binary transgender and gender nonconforming individuals—as fully formed people, not just as examples of certain gender identities.

OZ's work, in combination with the other research and analysis Story at Scale has done, informs the story platform by locating opportunities to exploit certain shared beliefs, metaphors, and narrative fragments to build a broader coalition for gender justice.

OZ's work—as it deals with the unconscious and with metaphors and images—is extremely useful in helping to shape the story platform as a strategic tool. In some ways, it will be even more useful in the next phase of work, as we spell out how activists and artists can use the story platform and the segmentation to create and distribute effective, culture-changing content. Unlike a survey, the OZ report surfaces metaphors and images that are used by the audience and can be put to use directly by creative people for whom images and metaphors are the practical building blocks of any and all content.

OZ's findings, as well as the insights of participants in Story at Scale's story platform workshops, reveal that activators, including those in our base, are in a very early wave of understanding gender beyond the gender binary[7] and of coming to terms with the fact that the binary isn't serving our political or social goals. In order to move people towards the acceptance of including binary and non-binary transgender and gender nonconforming individuals, our base, as well as our social justice institutions, **have to acknowledge and validate at every level of the work that there are more than just two genders**. Such a universal acknowledgment will affect how organizations are structured; how we communicate in general and, specifically, how we talk about who stands to benefit from the justice we are working towards; and even how we collect and distribute data about who is impacted by social issues like equal pay, access to abortion, and criminal justice reform.

For example, the National Women's Law Center reports that "women in the US who work full time, year round are paid only around 80 cents for every dollar paid to men."[8] This is the foundation of the women's equal pay movement, but these data don't account for women of color—African American women earn about 65 cents for every dollar white men earn, and Latina women earn about 62 cents. And the white women's pay gap numbers exclude the transgender community. Transgender people are three times as likely as the general population to have a household income of less than $10,000 a year, according to the 2015 US Transgender Survey.[9]

Our limited understanding of gender and the limited data on transgender and gender nonconforming people from social science research restrict long-term social change, as well as excluding critical members of our base.

Given the lack of representation around a more expansive, fluid view of gender, most people have no context for what gender beyond a binary can look like, either in their personal lives or in their political work. The story platform can be used to give audiences and activators an entry point to humanize our political goals for gender justice while fundamentally shifting political organizing structures to include and work for people of all genders.

B is for Brand

Looking for a story platform for a gender justice movement raises questions about whether this movement already has a unifying core story or "brand." Participants in our workshops agreed no such thing exists. Some believe there is no such brand because no such movement exists. This is at least partly because there is no widely accepted definition, description, or vision of what gender justice is.

In the workshops, we defined a social justice "brand," ideally, as a compelling vision of the future that offers a set of benefits and promises to improve the lives of the audience.

This is extremely important. One all-encompassing learning from Story at Scale's search for a story platform for gender justice is that the movement is not presently articulating such a vision. Instead, different organizations are talking about solutions to one or more specific problems, mostly by advancing laws, policies, and funding priorities for providing services.

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[7] Here are two helpful resources: "Understanding Non-Binary People: How to Be Respectful and Supportive," *the National Center for Transgender Equality*, October 5, 2018, **https://transequality.org/issues/resources/understanding-non-binary-people-how-to-be-respectful-and-supportive**; and Tinder, "5 Non-Binary People Explain What 'Non-Binary' Means to Them," YouTube video, posted March 28, 2019, 7:32, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kVe8wpmH_IU.

[8] "Equal Pay and the Wage Gap," *National Women's Law Center*, accessed November 26, 2019, **https://nwlc.org/issue/equal-pay-and-the-wage-gap/**.

[9] Sandy E. James, et al., *The Report of 2015 U.S. Trangender Survey* (Washington, DC: National Center for Transgender Equality, 2016), **https://transequality.org/sites/default/files/docs/usts/USTS-Full-Report-Dec17.pdf**.

When first asked to describe the elements of gender justice, participants in both the California and Georgia workshops responded with vivid, emotional descriptions of what life will be like when gender justice prevails. They did not respond by foreseeing the passage or reversal of any particular rule or law; rather, they painted a picture of a vastly changed culture. Yet, as we document below, this future vision, though widely held and powerfully motivating, is seldom ever articulated in the stories being told by organizations engaged in advocating for gender justice.

Another important element of brand is the ways in which the future vision and its benefits and promises are communicated—the language, tone, and visual approach used to connect with the audience.

All effective brands must answer the audience's central questions: "What does this mean to me? How will this affect or change my life, or the lives of those I care about, for the better? Why do I want this?"

When researching a brand, it's important to assess its current state—how it's been presented in the past and how it's being communicated at present; how it is perceived by its audience based on its history. Any exploration of what a brand should be in the future must take its history into account.

For Story at Scale, we surveyed the communications—websites, videos, email, mailers, and more—of more than two dozen national, regional, and local nonprofits engaged in issues touching on gender justice.

We also conducted eleven in-depth interviews with leaders and activists from these organizations.[10] Each in-depth interview lasted an hour or longer and concentrated on questions about how the person being interviewed came to the movement work they now are doing. We ask activists these questions because it uncovers the personal experiences and goals that move people to get involved in social-change work. Getting involved is exactly the behavior we are trying to encourage with as many people as possible.

Our conclusion from our survey of communications and our in-depth interviews is that there presently is no brand for gender justice—no widely accepted future vision of how we all will benefit from gender justice. Participants at the workshops reached the same conclusion. (A summary of our findings and conclusions is in **The Future World of Gender Justice** section of this report, where we go through the workshop exercises and results.)

C is for Competition

Competition, defined broadly as any set of ideas that compete with the principles of gender justice, can be found throughout pop culture, as well as in specific attacks and counterarguments by right-of-center organizations, including some religious groups.

Competition also can come in the form of pressures and practices that exhaust organizers and activists and may, in some instances, run counter to the goals of gender justice. This kind of competition originates within organizations that are part of the gender justice movement. For example, the gender justice activators in our Georgia workshop discussed the tension between cisgender Black women and transgender Black women, recognizing that the framework of reproductive justice[11] is inherently inclusive of all people.

Reproductive justice has always centered cisgender Black women and women of color as the core audience because their lives have always been marginalized and their access to competent healthcare has been practically nonexistent. Additionally, Black women are in a fight to claim ownership of "femininity" and "womanhood" despite femininity and womanhood being layover stops to Black women and women of color being treated as human beings.

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[10] A representative sample of quotes from the in-depth interviews are displayed in this report. Additional significant findings from the in-depth interviews about the importance of curiosity can be found in this report in the section **Pathway to Action: Curiosity in the In-Depth Interviews**.

[11] SisterSong defines reproductive justice as "the human right to maintain personal bodily autonomy, have children, not have children, and parent the children we have in safe and sustainable communities." "Reproductive Justice," *SisterSong*, accessed November 26, 2018, **https://www.sistersong.net/reproductive-justice**.

Still, the ideology of the reproductive justice movement is inherently centered on human rights, which includes queer rights, and this has made the movement yield to being a catch-all political home for gender justice organizing.

Eventually, organizing across gender divisions, as well as across race and class, will become mandatory. There is an emerging sense in organizations working for cisgender Black women that they soon must actively choose to be the greatest allies to transgender Black women or else risk being the greatest barrier to achieving gender justice for people of all genders.

As the younger generation becomes more aggravated by gender-binary norms and gender injustice, reproductive justice organizations will be under increasing pressure to expand their language and work to meaningfully include queer, transgender, and gender non-binary people. Similarly, national mainstream LGBTQ+ and women's rights organizations must resolve their continuing struggle with how to meaningfully address race.

Story at Scale did not produce a report on external competition because we believe everyone in the movement for gender justice is all too familiar with the arguments for inequity, which have not changed materially in a century or more. Instead, we briefly reviewed some sources of external opposition and internal challenges. Our brief review was then shared with workshop participants.

C is for Culture

Culture, of course, is the context for every human thought and action. Culture is also what we are trying to change. Recognizing this, a cultural audit is an integral part of the research for a story platform. It provides the baseline and context for the entire project. (The Story at Scale Cultural Audit, led by cultural strategist and researcher Erin Potts, can be found **here**.)

Gender permeates every aspect of culture—indeed of all cultures and of every race and ethnicity. Given that vastness, and consistent with our goals, we decided to focus primarily on both the mainstream and leading-edge cultural trends where, as Erin Potts, author of our cultural audit, says, "new visions of gender and gender justice are increasingly common." Our belief is that understanding the state of such positive visions in pop culture will be most helpful in advancing a narrative strategy to support positive culture change.

Here is a summary of the top-line highlights of the cultural audit that we presented to workshop participants:

> We start by examining the many joyful trends that reject traditional gender norms and help to create new expansive definitions of what gender roles, norms, and portrayals can be. Many of these are becoming increasingly common and mainstream, touching the lives of our audiences:
>
> - Popular female musicians of color are rejecting "respectability politics," and using their sexuality to empower themselves while establishing new rules around gender performance.
> - Elite female athletes are championing bodily and emotional autonomy, and unlike other examples given throughout this report, are doing it collectively.
> - Gender blending and fluidity are more pervasive and welcomed in popular culture than ever before.
> - Historically gendered cultural spaces—like music, fashion, and beauty—are beginning to be successfully reorganized to disrupt the status quo.

We also take a broader look at how the mainstream is selectively celebrating women and "pop feminism" in television and film, music and even brands.

We then explore narratives and themes that are challenges now but present opportunities for continued activism to push our culture forward:

- Portraying parenthood and caregiving as genderless, rather than primarily women's work.
- Moving from individual stories of overcoming and redemption to larger narratives about collective action for systemic and social change.
- Changing the conversation about sexuality, with insights from how our audiences understand it and tips on how health and wellness are an entry point.

Pathway to action: Curiosity in the in-depth interviews

Apart from providing important information to our understanding of what we've called the gender justice movement's "brand"—the future world that would result from delivering the promises and benefits of gender justice—the in-depth interviews also uncovered an important, potentially powerful insight into the pattern that appears in many of the journeys taken by people who become activists in movements for social change. What we found is a three-step journey from inaction to activism that can be seen over and over:

1. **Curiosity** leads to questioning which, in turn, produces a new understanding of the social forces that define our society and hold people back.
2. Seeking and finding answers leads to encounters that awaken **recognition of one's personal power** to create change to improve people's lives.
3. Feeling the ability to make change leads to seeking out and **joining teams** or organizations of people who feel the same way and are working on change.

Journeys like this can begin at almost any point in a person's life. Some begin in childhood, others in school, especially college, and some in the workplace. We talked to one community organizer in their twenties who began life with a traditional binary gender identity in a Black, traditional, Christian family. They now embrace a more expansive gender identity and pursue a radical political agenda. As they said in their in-depth interview with us, their journey began when a college friend became the "first person" to sympathetically question their previously unquestioned beliefs about gender roles and expression. The friend's questions were reinforced by questions raised in various classes.

The person narrated how these questions from supportive people led them to begin confronting fundamental questions about their beliefs, such as: "Why do I think that women shouldn't wear skirts that are that short? Why do I think you have to be heterosexual? Why do I think that heterosexuality is the norm?" Once the questions are asked and answers are pursued, the world opens up to the possibility of new questions and answers. In this way, curiosity powers change.

This potentially powerful pattern finds confirmation in many other stories from our in-depth interviews. Often, the questioning begins in childhood as parents pass along their belief in gender equity and justice. These answers can encourage children to pursue change and, not surprisingly, this is one common story among people working in reproductive health and justice organizations.

“

My mom was a single mom and a domestic worker and she raised me on her own while she was cleaning other people’s houses, taking care of other people’s kids, taking care of elders and trying to do everything she could to make a better life for me. I got a front seat in that journey, you know. . . . I have a unique perspective and view, but I also have to make sure to always check myself that I also have a lot of privilege because of the sacrifices my mom has been through.

Kimberly Alvarenga,
Director, California Domestic Worker Coalition,
and a co-creator of the Story Platform.
She/her, Latina, San Francisco, 40s

People suffering greatly as a result of injustice often follow a similar path later in their lives when they seek help and learn about the forces that have made them suffer. Kimberly Alvarenga, head of the California Domestic Workers Coalition (quoted above from her in-depth interview), tells how immigrant women come into the various labor organizations that are part of her coalition and “learn that they don’t have to take some of the stuff that’s happening to them and then . . . they build in their leadership and they become politicized.” Alvarenga concludes, “We work to make change together.”

The three-step pattern we describe also is confirmed by stories from popular culture (especially the importance of heroic teams pursuing collective goals) and in the work of Anat Shenker-Osorio, the strategic communications consultant who has described curiosity as being a beginning point or catalyst for the journeys of conservative women who converted to more progressive beliefs.[12]

[12] Anat Shenker-Osorio, email message to Riki Conrey regarding Women Donors Network: “Igniting the Apolitical, Converting the Conservative: Results of Cognitive Elicitations,” May 31, 2019.

The in-depth interviews also pointed to the struggles within gender-related social justice organizations—all the groups formerly known as dealing with "women's issues"—to adapt to the rapidly evolving understanding of gender.

Kwajelyn Jackson, the leader of a reproductive health organization in Georgia, represents this widespread struggle. She talked at length about the anguish of failing to serve everyone who should be served and the difficulties of change.

> "So, it's like we serve women, but not all women. We serve trans men, but not cis men. It puts us in a kind of particular sort of bind, where we are leaving people out that we don't want to leave out. So we've been working really hard to try to crack that and figure it out. . . . There certainly is a subset of our supporters for whom conversations about the complexities of gender are harder or are uncomfortable. . . . But we've tried to be both really patient and really firm that we are not going to only center cis women. . . . We really want to try hard to make sure that we are talking to everybody."
>
> **Kwajelyn Jackson**
> **Executive Director, Feminist Women's Health Center, and a co-creator of the Story Platform.**
> ***She/her, African American, Atlanta, 30s***

These sometimes painful conversations uncovered the opportunity to spark our base's curiosity, not just about what it means to accept and serve people of all gender identities, but also what it might mean for more people in the movement to open up to their personal desires and to explore the fullness of their own gender identities and expressions as well.

The Workshop Exercises: What Was Said and Decided

The Future World of Gender Justice

Immediately following the presentation of the research findings, the "real work" of the workshops began with an open group discussion[13] aimed at defining the future world that would result from delivering the promises and benefits of gender justice.

Between the two full-day workshops, this exercise produced roughly five dozen ideas that represent the participants' holistic view of gender justice—its goals, promises, and desired outcomes, the features of the future society it would create, and so on. Many of the ideas are overlapping. And while each workshop was distinct, and the emphasis or importance attached to each concept sometimes differed, the future visions expressed are in agreement on all main points.

Across the board, the participants believe gender justice's core promise is providing a future where

- all people are free to be exactly who they are, with no labels, bias, or fear;
- everyone is safe because individual differences—including gender differences—make no difference to belonging, safety, equality, potential, and regard;
- our collective communities provide a culture of abundance, not scarcity, based on the understanding that there's enough for everyone;
- with true consent, sexual behavior among adults is not policed;
- all bodies, identities, and gender expressions are embraced;
- ancestral wisdom and spirituality across cultures is honored;
- humanity recognizes its connection and responsibility to all of nature;
- there is space to learn and forgiveness for mistakes; and
- people derive happiness and joy from their bodies and beings, no matter what body shape or size they are in.

As we listened to these definitions of a future where gender justice prevails, it became clear that all roads to justice, as we say several times in this report, run through gender.

Metaphors: Images of Gender Justice Now and in the Future

The second exercise in the workshops is called "The Mighty Metaphor." The main purpose of the exercise is to get participants to stop thinking in terms of rational arguments or policies for a moment and to think, instead, in images and stories. This narrative exercise surfaces important emotional material and implicit associations in the metaphors that are used.

For this exercise, we divided participants into smaller groups of five to seven people and asked each group to produce a list of metaphors for gender justice as it now exists and as it will exist in the future. *(The timing of the "future" was not defined.)*

[13] Summaries of and direct quotes from the workshop discussions are based on contemporaneous notes taken as the discussions proceeded. Almost without exception, all material ideas advanced during group discussions were preserved in typewritten notes and/or in brief phrases handwritten on giant Post-its. The poster-sized Post-its were visible to all participants as they were being written on and remained posted on the walls of the meeting rooms throughout the workshop.

To formalize the activity, each group was asked to fill in the blanks in the following sentences in as many ways as they could:

> Gender justice today is _____ because _____ .
>
> Gender justice in the future will be _____ because _____ .

In both workshops, the metaphors for present-day gender justice summoned up the dismay and disappointment, as well as the anger, of people working toward something that presently, in their view, doesn't exist. Their imagery included broken relationships, broken structures, cheating, fraud, broken promises, and stories of terrible crimes going unpunished.

Examples from Georgia include:

> "Gender justice today is like flowers from an ex because they're aesthetically pleasing, but useless."
>
> "Gender justice today is like Beyoncé because it's unattainable."

Examples from San Francisco were angrier and even more stark:

> "Gender justice today is like missing and murdered indigenous women because we know but we don't do anything about it."
>
> "Gender justice today is like shards of glass because no one knows how to put the pieces together as one lens."
>
> "Gender justice today is like a carnival game because it's rigged."

Gender justice is viewed uniformly as a powerful force whose time is coming. It can be a natural force, like gravity or the ocean, or a human-made force, like art or poetry. Either way, it is unstoppable and liberating.

The differences exist in the certainty attached to achieving the desired outcomes or the struggles foreseen to maintain gender justice once it is achieved. On the whole, the Georgia group was justifiably more uneasy than the California group. Given the differing political situation in the two states, and the differing racial make-up of the two groups, this is completely understandable.

From California came metaphors for life in a gender-just future that are as richly and powerfully optimistic as the present-day imagery is bleak. In these metaphors from a desired future, gender justice is literally magical, all-powerful, and omnipresent. The world it creates is new and also, somehow, familiar—as if a mythic ancestral dream, handed down through the generations, were coming true at last.

Examples from San Francisco:

> "Gender justice in the future is like a master key because it opens all doors."
>
> "Gender justice in the future is like a universe because we are all stars."
>
> "Gender justice in the future is like a family reunion because it's a homecoming."

> "Gender justice in the future is like a flying carpet or a magical quilt because it transports us to liberation."

> "Gender justice in the future is like joy because it is joy."

From Georgia came this story of a beautiful natural world that will defiantly survive despite constant attack from humans:

> "Gender justice in the future is like a wildflower because it's abundant and constantly growing … and beautiful but people constantly try to destroy them—They're not going away!"

Also from Georgia:

> "Gender justice in the future is like the ocean because it's fluid."

> "Gender justice in the future is like a Toni Morrison work because all will be loved and it is always driving change."

Archetypes: Crafting the Voice of a Cause

Carl Jung, one of the two pioneers of psychiatry in the twentieth century, created the theory of human archetypes—universally recognized primal personalities that evoke the same associations and emotional reactions in people of virtually all cultures. Advertising has used Jung's theories since the late 1920s, when the archetypal Green Giant first appeared on a can of peas. The classic marketing book *The Hero and the Outlaw*, written by Margaret Mark and Carol S. Pearson,[14] presented a more understandable, standardized set of archetypes than Jung—twelve archetypes that have been employed to guide decisions about tone and personality for many brands. Screenwriters and novelists have also used archetypes to help with character development. We used archetypes adapted from Mark and Pearson's book.

For the "Archetype" exercise, the workshop participants are divided into smaller groups. Each group is given a set of twelve cards, each of which describes one of the archetypes. Each group is tasked with selecting just one archetype to be the storyteller of the gender justice story. But, since long experience tells us that only rarely do groups decide on a single archetype, the participants also are told they can pick a second archetype to modify or enhance their first choice. In Story at Scale's workshops, all groups picked a secondary archetype.

Working with archetypes is powerful and helpful . . . and working with a framework developed by white marketing experts in 2001 has required some adaptation and improvisation. The first time we collaborated as a team with the Midwest Culture Lab in 2018,[15] we changed the name of one archetype from "Everyman" to "Everyday Person" and replaced visual images from prior commercial branding work with more multi-racial and movement-oriented people's portraits. Prior to the Story at Scale workshops in San Francisco and Atlanta, we once again updated the visual images, this time to feature more women and gender nonconforming people.

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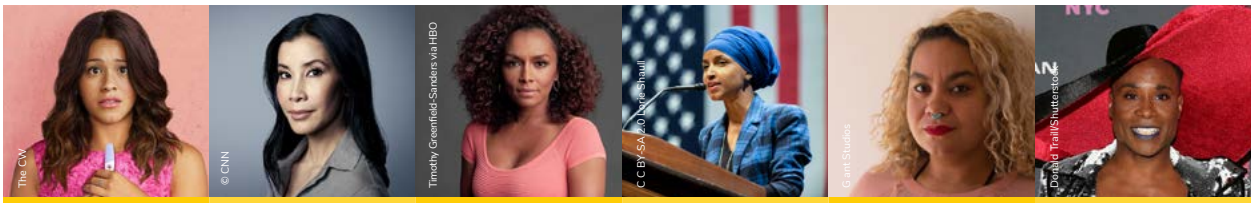
[14] Margaret Mark and Carol S. Pearson, *The Hero and the Outlaw: Building Extraordinary Brands through the Power of Archetypes* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2001).

[15] The Midwest Culture Lab was a 2018 project of the Alliance for Youth Organizing in collaboration with Chicago Votes, Ohio Student Association, and We The People (Michigan). The project's goal is to increase the civic and political participation of young people in the Midwest by integrating locally-rooted cultural organizing and story-driven content strategy with grassroots, youth organizing. Learn more at "Midwest Culture Lab: Using a Story Platform to Build Power and Win," *Alliance for Youth Organizing*, accessed November 26, 2019, **https://www.allianceforyouthorganizing.org/campaign/midwest-culture-lab/**.



INNOCENT	EXPLORER	SAGE	HERO	MAGICIAN	OUTLAW
Jane the Virgin	Lisa Ling	Janet Mock	Ilhan Omar	Adrienne Maree Brown	Billy Porter

EVERYDAY PERSON	LOVER	JESTER	CAREGIVER	CREATOR	RULER
Ellen DeGeneres	Lizzo	Wanda Sykes	Beyoncé	Bad Bunny	Queen Sansa

Archetypes used in the San Francisco and Atlanta workshops

Following the San Francisco and Atlanta workshops in August—and prior to the New York mini-workshop in September—in response to some of the feedback we received at those workshops, as well as internal deliberation, we decided to remove the human portraits altogether and to change some of the archetype names to names employed by practitioners who developed them over the years since Mark and Pearson's book. For example, we changed "Outlaw" to "Rebel," as some workshop participants felt that "Outlaw" harmfully implied criminal behavior; we changed "Hero" to "Warrior," as some felt that "Hero" implied a historically male model that was almost by definition self-harming. While some of the archetype labels changed and the portraits were removed, the descriptive text for each archetype did not change, and we consistently told all workshop participants that it was the descriptive words, not the images or the labels, that truly defined the nature of each archetype. Our debate about archetype names was not simple and did not end with complete alignment or resolution. For the purposes of this report, we refer in the text that follows to the archetype names used in San Francisco and Atlanta. In the chart below are the names used in New York, where, among other changes, the Warrior replaced the Hero and the Rebel replaced the Outlaw.

THE INNOCENT	THE EXPLORER	THE SAGE	THE WARRIOR	THE MAGICIAN	THE REBEL
wholesome, pure, forgiving, trusting ...	searcher, seeker, adventurous, restless, independent ...	thinker, philosopher, reflective, expert, teacher ...	a fighter, competitve, challenges wrongs ...	shaman, healer, spiritual, holistic, intuituve ...	rebellious, shocking, outrageous, disruptive ...
THE NEIGHBOR	**THE LOVER**	**THE ENTERTAINER**	**THE CAREGIVER**	**THE CREATOR**	**THE RULER**
unpretentious, straight-shooter, people-oriented, reliable ...	seeks true love, intimacy, sensuality, passionate ...	creates a little fun and chaos, impulsive, spontaneous ...	altruistic, selfless, nurturing, empathetic ...	innovative, imaginative, artistic, experimental, ambitious ...	manager, organizer, a "take charge" attitude, productive ...

Archetypes used in the New York mini-workshop

The real questions being answered in this exercise are:

- What tone and personality authentically embody the movement for gender justice?
- What archetypal voice will most powerfully and credibly convey the story of gender justice?

This exercise was conducted in three places: in the full-day workshops in San Francisco and Atlanta and in the mini-workshop in New York. In each workshop, archetypes were chosen in breakout groups. Then all participants in each workshop came together again, and each small group reported to the entire group on their choices and the course of their discussion.

The Creator

Innovative, imaginative, artistic, experimental, willing to take risks, ambitious, desire to turn ideas into reality.

The Creator emerged immediately as the favored archetype: nine of the ten breakout groups identified the Creator as a key archetype. All three groups in California, two of the three groups in Georgia, and two of the four groups in New York chose it as their primary archetype; two breakout groups in New York choose it as their secondary.

Participants in one San Francisco breakout group invented a new archetype which they called "Nature." They acknowledged that they were thinking it was the Creator archetype paired with a "Gardener or Cultivator." While there are many myths in many cultures about archetypal beings who are guardians of nature and cultivation, no such archetype exists in the set of twelve we used. But both the Caregiver and the Creator represent aspects of such an archetype.

The archetypes that our workshop participants paired with the Creator were different across the subgroups. They included (in alphabetical order): Caregiver, Jester, Magician, Outlaw, Ruler, and Sage.

The one breakout group that eliminated the Creator from consideration was in Atlanta. The members of this group selected a combination of the Outlaw and the Sage.

In reporting their discussions to the full workshop, the San Francisco breakout group that invented the archetype of Nature cited the coming of "a new ecology that will keep us alive; a balance; a creator." Several participants pointed out that the Cultivator is not new, but reaches back to ancestral stories. A participant from a different breakout group said, "I think the Cultivator can cultivate joy, laughter, nature, etc.; it's a common thread . . . we're all talking about cultivation of different things."

The Outlaw definitely got more traction from the Atlanta workshop than from the one in San Francisco. A member of the Georgia breakout group that chose the Outlaw and the Sage said, "The Outlaw is always thinking against the grain. They're always the most marginalized."

As all the Georgia participants listened to the three breakout groups' reports, it was "balance" and "freedom" that united them. The Outlaw disrupted the status quo and cast away the old. That disruption, it was said, needed to be balanced by the Sage, who conserved old wisdom and community tradition. "The Lover and the Jester were the first two we got rid of because they felt more restrictive. The Ruler, Outlaw, Sage—they felt like less freedom than Creator and Magician," said one participant near the very end of the discussion in Atlanta.

In the end, in Georgia, it was a creative force that everyone united behind—a force and a voice that speaks for balance, just as San Francisco agreed that balance was a core attribute of their chosen creator archetypes—a natural balance, a balance between community and individual rights, between safety and risk, and so on.

In the New York mini-workshop, which was part of a reproductive justice convening, the group was focused on how we could bring all the audiences along toward a liberatory future. They felt that the Creator archetype was expansive enough to take us there, especially if it was paired with different archetypes that could speak effectively with specific audience segments (for example, it was felt that the Everyday Person, which in the New York mini-workshop was called the Neighbor, might be great with Kids First). One leader said, "We need to bring joy and rest and healing or we will not survive. We need to talk about the liberation, not the struggle." Many of the reproductive justice leaders agreed that reproductive justice was inherently creative and was inherently about culture change.

What might be called the "Creator of Balance" emerged as a cohesive voice that can speak to all of gender justice's audiences.

> "It wasn't until I started organizing that I realized that I had power. . . . I didn't think that I was worth anything. Right? I didn't think that I deserved anything. I had no clue that my voice counted, even post-incarceration. I had no clue. Through me coming to this work, and through me helping others to liberate themselves, something really funny happened: I became liberated.
>
> **Bridgette Simpson**
> **Community Organizer, Racial Justice Action Center, and a co-creator of the Story Platform.**
> **She/her, African American, Atlanta, 30s**

Narrative Circles: Finding Our Values, Articulating Our Goals

Values embody goals by guiding actions that define desired outcomes. These are important elements in crafting a narrative of any kind. The values that guide characters and their actions are necessary to set the direction and find the ultimate climax of the story arc.

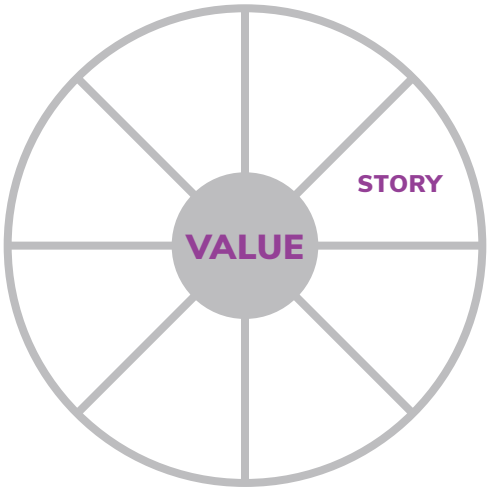
In the "Narrative Circles" exercise, participants are asked to identify the most important values of gender justice and then to work out the general themes or subjects of the stories they would tell to show how the values work in real life—stories that make the values specific and believable.

It's a three-step exercise:

1. The entire group brainstorms values until an exhaustive list has been compiled.
2. The goal then shifts to reducing the long list down to the six or seven most essential and comprehensive values. This involves successive rounds of voting to determine which values have the most support. In addition, there are discussions to decide which values with fewer votes might be contained within other, more widely supported, values.
3. Once there is a group of six or seven core values, the participants are divided into breakout groups, each of which is assigned two or three of the chosen values. The breakout groups then must identify a series of stories that show what each value really means and what goals each value embodies.

The exercise is called “Narrative Circles” because in the last step, the participants fill in a circular chart where the value occupies the center and the stories surround the value.

The San Francisco workshop produced fifty values in the first round. Atlanta generated fifty-two. The voting reduced those numbers to thirteen in San Francisco and thirteen in Atlanta. Here are the values that survived the voting:



SAN FRANCISCO

Inclusion
Biodiversity
Interdependence
Mutual accountability
Authenticity
Self-Determination
Abundance
Dignity
Pleasure
Love
Connection
Power Healing
Equity

ATLANTA

Community
Self-Determination
Pleasure
Abundance
Autonomy
Love
Freedom
Joy
Safety
Creativity
Compassion
Liberation
Imagination

Following the voting, both workshops considered how to combine some of the values to reduce the total to the target of six or seven. They were asked to discuss which of the values were similar. Or, looking at it in another way, did any of the values mean the same thing, or were any contained or implied by another?

In Atlanta, the participants agreed that Self-Determination includes Autonomy, Creativity implies Imagination, Freedom is essentially the same as Liberation, and Love includes both Joy and Pleasure. Safety had been eliminated when it received only three votes from the eighteen participants, but one participant revived it with an impassioned speech: “If we are not safe to declare autonomy, we cannot be in a practice of self-determination; and if we don’t have self-determination, then we don’t have liberation; then, if we don’t have liberation, then we don’t have freedoms.” The entire group agreed that Safety had to be restored to the final list of seven values.

A similar process in San Francisco reduced the final list to six. Here are the two final sets of values:

SAN FRANCISCO

Inclusion
Dignity
Love
Equity
Abundance
Healing

ATLANTA

Community
Self-Determination
Love
Freedom
Abundance
Safety
Creativity

The chosen values from both cities are similar. And the stories chosen to support the values are consistent in both workshops.

For example, in the Abundance circle, the storyline "We are enough" was written in both workshops. For Love, the Georgia workshop included the storyline "I won't go without you"; San Francisco included a more formally political version of that sentiment: "Solidarity. Allies. Upstanders."

For the storylines supporting Inclusion, the San Francisco participants focused both on emotional themes and some policies or political goals; "Family" and "Kid power" were listed alongside "Labor protection." In Atlanta, the storylines defining the value "Community" explored some of the same territory covered by Inclusion in California. The Atlanta group's emphasis was wholly emotional: "We protect each other. . . . We belong to one another. . . . We are connected."

What emerges from the Narrative Circles exercise is a set of values that center individual freedom to define the self within loving communities that maintain abundance and safety.

Brand Mountain

In classical marketing, since competition and imitation are unavoidable, sustainable differentiation is seen as a critical element in standing out, maintaining a distinct identity, and holding an audience's attention and loyalty. The "Brand Mountain" exercise addresses this marketing problem.

The final exercise of the story platform workshop asks participants to identify the real differences between the narrative they want to spread and all the other narratives out there—particularly those that claim to compete, whether directly or indirectly, with ours.

Where the previous exercises aim at locating essential elements of a narrative, the Brand Mountain is in a different category—it's solely about emphasis.

In San Francisco, participants had an open discussion about what makes gender justice different, not just from movement's ideological opposites and antagonists on the right, but also from other centrist and left-of-center movements with similar values of inclusion and equality.

In Atlanta, based on how late the workshop was running and how much similar material had been covered throughout the day, the facilitators chose to skip the Brand Mountain exercise in order to extend and deepen the Narrative Circles exercise. The decision also opened time for workshop participants to discuss how they most wanted to use this project's results in their local work. That discussion also provided some useful material about differentiation.

One participant in San Francisco pointed out that gender justice is not limited to an "issue" or a policy problem with a finite solution in a finite time period: "It's not gonna go away. It's not a one-hit wonder." Another echoed, "This is not teleological; there's no terminus, it's ever-evolving."

Overall, in both groups, there was a sense that gender justice touches everything—that it is intimately personal while also reaching out to connect to every other liberation movement in existence.

These closing discussions in both workshops also brought into focus one important point that kept coming up all day and that affects virtually all strategy conversations in all left-of-center movements: the notion entertained by members of different groups participating in a meeting or discussion that their group is either underrepresented in the discussion or should be "centered" by the movement. Groups defined by race, ethnicity, and gender identity shared this sense of exclusion, minimization, or under-representation.

One participant in San Francisco said, for example, “In my fantasy, disabled people of color are in the center.” In Atlanta, one participant said, “One of the things: any time we’re talking about any kind of subject, we’re talking about LGBTQ+, etc. We need to have more people who are queer in the room.”

Acknowledging the issue on behalf of everyone across the movements of the left, one participant said, “We have trouble with difference and we’re very heterogeneous and the right is homogeneous. . . . There’s a piece of culture work of getting comfortable with us really being different from one another.”

I was a young person who basically was living and working on the streets at thirteen. I eventually got . . . arrested seventeen times. [The center where she is now Executive Director] . . . was the first place I was told I was powerful. . . . It was about being looked at, not as someone broken who needs to be fixed, but that, ‘You are powerful right now where you are and you have something to offer.’

Jessica Nowlan,
Executive Director,
Young Women’s Freedom Center,
and a co-creator of the story platform.
She/her, white, San Francisco, 40s

A Story Platform for Gender Justice

How We Got Here

Having traced the course of the research and the workshops, we now arrive at the story platform itself. In the next few pages, we present the three main products of the story platform workshops—a manifesto for gender justice, the story platform itself, and the story pillars, also known as rich storytelling areas.

As we approach the culmination of the story platform process, it is useful to quickly summarize the learnings that got us here and the task we are trying to accomplish.

As our workshop participants said, and as even a casual reader of this report can appreciate, anything involving gender and justice is alarmingly complex, both rationally and emotionally.

Along the pathway of this work, we have learned how the thread of gender is woven into every great and small question confronting human rights and liberation. We have seen how the questions posed by gender inequity are always both intimate and personal, as well as social and public. Gender, therefore, is guaranteed to bring out acute discomfort to individual people and to society as a whole.

Looking at gender justice through an intersectional lens further complicates the matter and heightens the pain. Because an intersectional look at gender requires not only an exhaustive and exhausting look at virtually everything wrong—by which we mean "unjust"—with our culture, but also a close look at oneself and how one's race, class, gender, and sexual orientation have circumscribed one's personal, social, and economic relationships with the world.

To change the unjust and dehumanizing culture that has severely restricted those relationships will require changing the culture that has produced the stubborn myths of limited, rigidly defined gender roles that are frustrating the aspirations for freedom and equality that drive all human progress.

Focusing narrowly on this country for the moment, we can only change our culture by recruiting most of this country's people to support our goals of equity, equality, and freedom. So, we have to ask, "What would motivate such broad support? Why would the majority of the US population actively support these ideas?"

The research we've done inside and outside the movement has provided an answer: We can do this together only if we spread the narrative of how the world can and will be when gender justice prevails. We have to tell people in ways that make sense to them—both our base and those we seek to recruit—exactly how their lives will be better when we all win this fight. And we'll need to convince people the fight can be won—because no one but a saint loves a hopeless cause.

No advocacy campaign for a particular policy, regulation, or public right can do this. Each such campaign is worthy of attention, of course, but such disconnected and often bureaucratic, legalistic battles aren't creating sustainable change. Sustainable change needs a sustaining vision—a promised land, in the words of the powerful Exodus story. And the gender justice movement isn't yet telling such an overarching story.

The Concepts

Pause for a moment and think about the core concepts expressed in the story platform and the manifesto. These are the very concepts our research has discovered as the points where some 80 percent of the US population—our movement's base and all our potential supporters beyond the base—can meet

- Abundance
- Equally valued
- Freedom
- Infinitely sustainable
- Joy and pleasure
- Loving and being loved
- Part of nature
- Safety
- Welcome

The Story Platform

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.

Examining the Story Platform

Joy comes when human needs are met—basic economic and emotional needs.

Abundance is about everyone having enough to meet those needs—being able to earn enough for life's necessities, being able to take care of themselves and loved ones.

Only when those essential needs are met can everyone be free—free to care for emotional needs, free to be whoever they truly are.

There is no freedom when three jobs won't pay for rent and groceries, when healthcare is unaffordable, when competition can be used to violently divide us based on our differences.

When we achieve freedom, when the divisions among us ebb, then all our differences can be seen by everyone without making anyone unsafe. Then, we can work together, at last.

All life can be seen as a necessary and essential part of nature, as equally invaluable, as deserving to be sustained.

We will create this world together. And everyone will be welcome in the world we envisioned and built to support us all.

We will all belong because the world belongs to all.

We will all be welcomed home.

Pillars of the Story Platform: Where to Look for Stories to Tell

The pillars rise out of the story platform to support particular areas of storytelling. They rise out of the strategic understructure to connect the story platform with actual stories. 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

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.

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 identiy

“Like I need to build up my own resilience. And I needed to . . . heal from old wounds. And create a sense of inner, inner stillness that I can retreat to. . . . So, I don’t personally think that safe space is actually a thing. I don’t think it can exist in the society that we live in right now. So, I try to just carry it with me . . . like a little umbrella.”

Alexander L. Lee
Project Director, Grantmakers United for Trans Communities, Funders for LGBTQ Issues, and a co-creator of the Story Platform.
He/him, Asian American, San Francisco, 40s

Appendix: The Co-creators

In-Depth Interviews

To investigate the goals, principles, and deep stories of the organizations and activists working to advance gender justice, Story at Scale team members Amber J. Phillips and Kirk Cheyfitz conducted in-depth interviews with the people listed here. Each interview lasted at least an hour. To ensure accuracy in quoting from the interviews, we recorded and transcribed all interviews, with the participants' advance consent.

Kimberly Alvarenga (she/her), Director, California Domestic Workers Coalition

Ali Ebony (Ali), Grassroots Organizer, Spark Reproductive Justice Now

Kalisha Dessources Figures (she/her), Director, National Philanthropic Collaborative of Young Women's Initiatives

Jessica González-Rojas (she/her), Executive Director, National Latina Institute for Reproductive Health

Ebony Ava Harper (she/her), National Alliance for Trans Liberation and Advancement

Kwajelyn Jackson (she/her), Executive Director, Feminist Women's Health Center

Laura Jiménez (she/her), Executive Director, California Latinas for Reproductive Justice

Alexander L. Lee (he/him), Project Director, Grantmakers United for Trans Communities, Funders for LGBTQ Issues

Destiny Lopez (she/her), Co-director, All Above All

Jessica Nowlan (she/her), Executive Director, Young Women's Freedom Center

Bridgette Simpson (she/Beautiful), Community Organizer, Racial Justice Action Center

San Francisco Workshop | August 6, 2019

Participants

Kimberly Alvarenga (she/her), Director, California Domestic Workers Coalition

Eli Andrews (he/him), Director of Innovation, Accelerate Change

Marya Bangee (she/her), Executive Director, Harness

Micah Bazant (they/them), independent artist

Layel Camargo (they/them), Climate Justice Storytelling Manager, Center for Cultural Power

Wyatt Clos (he/him), Principal, Big Bowl of Ideas

Delia Coleman (she/her), Deputy Director, Equal Rights Advocates

Vanice Dunn (she/her), Board member, Equal Rights Advocates

Noreen Farrell (she/her), Executive Director, Equal Rights Advocates

Ebony Ava Harper (she/her), National Alliance for Trans Liberation and Advancement

Maria Ibarra-Frayre (she/her), We the People-Michigan

Janaya Khan (they/them), Activist/Author, co-founder of Black Lives Matter, Canada

Alexander L. Lee (he/him), Project Director, Grantmakers United for Trans Communities, Funders for LGBTQ Issues

Darnell Martin (she/her), independent filmmaker

Jessica Merril (she/her), Communications Program Manager, California Partnership to End Domestic Violence

Claudia Palacios (she/her), Organizer, California Domestic Workers Coalition/ Coalición de Trabajadoras del Hogar de California

Favianna Rodriguez (she/her), Executive Director & Cultural Strategist, Center for Cultural Power

Shannon Sykes-Nehring (she/her), West Michigan Organizer, We the People-Michigan

Shawn Taylor (he/him), Chief Creative Officer, Drum and Gourd and Senior Fellow, Pop Culture Collaborative

Megan Whelan (she/her), Communications Coordinator, California Domestic Workers Coalition/ Coalición de Trabajadoras del Hogar de California

Production and Support

Antonio Ducrot (he/him), Production Assistant

Melissa Merin (she/her), Program Manager, The Women's Foundation of California

Nicola Schulze (she/her), Communications Manager, The Women's Foundation of California

Atlanta Workshop | August 14, 2019

Participants

Danielle Atkinson (she/her), Executive Director, Mothering Justice

Nicole Banks (she/her), Logistics Director, Mothering Justice

Renee Bracey Sherman (she/her), writer, organizer, advocate

Anoa Changa (she/her), Director of Digital Strategy and Storytelling, New Georgia Project

Ali Ebony (Ali), Grassroots Organizer, Spark Reproductive Justice Now

Kwajelyn Jackson (she/her), Executive Director, Feminist Women's Health Center

JT Johnson (she/her), Director of Culture Strategy, The League

Tori Ladipo (she/her), Community Organizer, New Georgia Project

Libby Mandarino (she/her), Grassroots organizer, Feminist Women's Health Center

Cicely Paine (she/her), Community Engagement Manager, Feminist Women's Health Center

Dr. Krystal Redman (she/they), Executive Director, Spark Reproductive Justice Now

Bridgette Simpson (she/Beautiful), Community Organizer, Racial Justice Action Center

Roderick Smith (he/him), Community Organizer, New Georgia Project

Sonja Spoo (she/her), Director of Reproductive Rights Campaigns, UltraViolet

Charles Stephens (he/him), Founder, Counter Narrative Project

Nse Ufot (she/her), Executive Director, New Georgia Project

Toni-Michelle Williams (she/her), SNaP Co-Director, Racial Justice Action Center

Marilyn Winn (she/her), Director of Women on the Rise, Racial Justice Action Center

Production and Support

JaNessa Grant (she/her), Production Assistant

New York Mini-workshop | September 4, 2019

The Story at Scale team also facilitated a mini-workshop during "Shifting Culture for Reproductive Justice: A Day of Exploration," which was hosted by the Ford Foundation, Harness, the Women's Foundation of California, and The Culture Change Fund. Participants included a mix of funders, organizers, and culture changers.

Participants

Jennifer Agmi (she/her), Senior Program Officer, The Libra Foundation

Elizabeth Arndorfer (she/her), Program Officer, The David and Lucile Packard Foundation

Marya Bangee (she/her), Executive Director, Harness

Anna Bean (she/her), Community Engagement Manager, Abortion Access Front

Tanya Coke (she/her), Director, Gender, Racial, and Ethnic Justice, Ford Foundation

Sarah Sophie Flicker (she/her), Co-founder, Firebrand

Miriam Fogelson (she/her), Director of Operations, Harness

Eunique Jones Gibson (she/her)

Jaz Gonzalez (she/her), URGE Texas Coordinator

Jessica González-Rojas (she/her/ella), Executive Director, National Latina Institute for Reproductive Health

Fatima Goss Graves (she/her), President and CEO, National Women's Law Center

Kat Green (she/her), Managing Director, Abortion Access Front

Hanni Hanson (she/her), Senior Program Officer, Compton Foundation

Margaret Hempel (she/her), Reproductive Health Women's Rights Collaborative

Kwajelyn Jackson (she/her), Executive Director, Feminist Women's Health Center

Alicia Jay (she/her), Program Director, The Culture Change Fund

Brook Kelly-Green (she/her), Program Officer, Gender, Racial, and Ethnic Justice, Ford Foundation

Surina Khan (she/her), CEO, The Women's Foundation of California

Kimberly Inez McGuire (she/her/ella), Executive Director, URGE

Amy Irvin (she/her), Executive Director, New Orleans Abortion Fund

Oriaku Njoku (she/her), Executive Director, Access Reproductive Care - Southeast

Amanda Reyes (she/her), Executive Director, The Yellowhammer Fund

Lindsay Rodriguez (she/her), Communications Director, National Network of Abortion Funds

Monica Simpson (she/her), Executive Director, SisterSong

Erika Soto Lamb (she/her), Vice President of Social Impact, Comedy Central, Paramount, TV Land

Tracy Sturdivant (she/her), CEO, The League

Emily Sweet (she/her), Director of Strategic and External Affairs, Lefkofsky Family Foundation

Shaunna Thomas (she/her), Co-Founder and Executive Director, UltraViolet

Maria Torres-Springer (she/her), Vice President, US Programs, Ford Foundation

Tracy Van Slyke (she/her), Strategy Director, Pop Culture Collaborative

Dalissa Vargas (she/her), Senior Director of Development, National Latina Institute for Reproductive Health

Bia Vieira (she/her), Chief Strategist, Programs, The Women's Foundation of California

Production and Support

Mariama Diallo (she/her), Program Assistant, Gender, Racial and Ethnic Justice, Ford Foundation

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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