winthrop
rockefeller
foundation

A—B

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Identity-Powered Arkansas

Audience Segmentation Playbook

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01
Challenges and Opportunities

Arkansas has a
long history of
power-building

The Women's Project, a grassroots organization founded in 1980, brought together Arkansas women of all races, socio-economic classes, and regions to address critical issues facing them and their communities. They were able to build community through their shared values and worked to dismantle sexism, racism and economic injustice in the state.

1934

1980

The Southern Tenant Farmers Union, a labor union founded by tenant farmers in 1934, aimed at protecting the rights of sharecroppers, tenant farmers, and farm laborers. The lasting impact of the STFU lies in its compelling demonstration, pre Civil Rights Era, of how racial integration and shared values could effectively foster power-building in the South.

But opposition forces have worked to erase them from mainstream narratives in order to make equitable power building in our state seem **unthinkable or unattainable**

This limited belief only helps maintain imbalanced power structures that favor the minority at the expense of the majority.

Power in Arkansas doesn't have to be inequitable

We know that every day Arkansans hold values that are aligned with equity and support equitable solutions, yet they are not adequately engaged or feel like their voices are reflected.

This playbook is designed to help lay the building blocks for Arkansans to build a path towards equity

In order to change the narrative we first need to identify *who* to talk to, *what* we need to say to them, *where* to find them and *how* to properly support them.

Who

In order to change narratives about power, equity, and political action, we need a nuanced understanding of who Arkansans are, their ideological diversity, and **the values and experiences that shape their identities**

Our goal was to create a set of audiences comprehensive enough to reflect the diverse needs of HEAL Lab grantees yet simple enough to be usable. Our attempt to achieve this balance combined with the limitations of available data yielded 9 segments. While these 9 segments don't address the entire population *(yet!)* we chose to start with them because our data showed that this is where power building could gain a fertile start. When activated together, these segments together represent a significant power bloc within the state.

At the same time, you can use the playbook to suit a very tailored set of needs. You can identify your core audiences based on your unique objectives. For example, if you're embarking on a campaign to call for higher wages, you can identify which audiences are most likely to fight alongside you and which audiences need to be persuaded.

What ————————●

In order to mobilize Arkansans, we need to **build messaging** that overcomes their unique narrative barriers— and leverages their values, interests, and experiences to target opportunities to engage them.

Arkansas has low rates of political participation, especially among the relatively more liberal/Blue portions of the state. This is because current efforts fail to build the narratives that move Arkansans from unengaged to engaged.

Based on the issues our audience cares about most, you'll find key opportunities for how to think about framing messages specific to each segment— be it through inoculation, persuasion or mobilization*.

*more on these terms in the glossary

Where

In order to reach Arkansans, we need to identify their habits when it comes to media consumption.

Whether it's TikTok, YouTube, Twitch or television we all consume media differently.

This playbook lays out the social habits for each audience segment so you know where to find them and which platforms to tailor your content to.

How ———————•

In order to pull more power into the state, we need to offer proof points of opportunities to build equity that provoke investors to rethink how resources are directed.

Arkansas received little resources and funding from progressive efforts, which makes expanding political identity and engagement a greater challenge.

At the end of the playbook you'll find 1-2 case studies profiling H.E.A.L Lab grantees who are modeling what it looks like to build towards equity in Arkansas.

02

Methodology and Usage

How we built it: Methodology

Purpose

In collaboration with ReImagine Arkansas & Proper Southern Communications, Winthrop Rockefeller Foundation launched a narrative lab focused on a community of narrative practitioners (aka HEAL Lab grantees) working to advance a common vision for an Arkansas where everyone thrives.

A—B built this playbook to support the grantees' communication efforts & activate their communities. Given the different focus areas of the grantees, the first step in building a playbook was to establish the different values, drivers, and behaviors across a range of Arkansans.

This foundational work will provide stakeholders with strategies for understanding what motivates their audiences and where to reach them.

Process

We mined U.S. census and online behavioral and survey data for outcomes related to ideology, political engagement, political and economic issue priorities (e.g., healthcare, workers' rights, and entitlement reform). Through an iterative process, we examined which factors account for the most variance in engagement behaviors. Based on prior research and the goals of the HEAL Lab, we examined factors such as race, ethnicity, age, location, occupation, urbanicity, and income. We observed that counties and regions in Arkansas have vastly different levels of political engagement, income levels, and racial compositions and used these to drive our segmentation.

Research

Using a proprietary platform, A—B mined through over 1.5 million voluntary, unique survey participants' responses in Arkansas.

In this playbook, we summarize the unique qualities of and differences between these audiences in terms of their
1) demographic characteristics,
2) political and social attitudes,
3) media habits
4) personal values, interests, and behaviors.

The audience segmentation measures two key statistics:
- Composition: the number, or percentage, of those in an audience segment who have an attribute or trait.
- Index: the degree to which the prevalence of an attribute or trait within an audience is greater or less than the general public.

Rationale

To pinpoint our audiences, we sought to look at all Arkansans. We observed that 78.6% of Arkansans are white, demonstrating a sizable population that should be considered and addressed in the work. However, we also recognized that Black, Indigenous, and People of Color (BIPOC) comprise an audience that has not been adequately addressed, regarding political, economic, and racial equity matters, so we also sought to particularly focus our research on these critical audiences.

In total, we developed 9 audience segmentations of Arkansans, including 4 distinct working-class white audiences and 3 distinct Black audiences.

The ALICE (Asset-Limited, Income-Constrained, Employed) framework directly informed our segments.

Glossary

Narrative Strategy Because the narratives that circulate within our public discourse shape our mindsets, changing which narratives are dominant can shift how people understand society and their role in it.
As a strategic matter, engaging in a narrative change effort requires identifying the narratives you are trying to counter—the narratives that you want to sideline or transform—and identifying a new or transformed narrative you want to move into the center of discourse.

Inoculation narratives curb disinformation and misinformation by confronting and defusing opponents' arguments. These narratives arm audiences with compelling, memorable counterarguments and a healthy skepticism toward future opposition messaging. Inoculation messages should follow the Fact, Myth, Fallacy framework and are an effective way to fight back when audiences are more aligned with the opposition.

Mobilization narrative inspires action by **stressing urgency and hope for solutions**. Mobilization messaging leans on the pragmatic and clarifies direct actions audiences can take to be a part of building the future they want.

Persuasion narratives are intended to shift perceptions when an audience is ambivalent, unsure, or leaning. Successful persuasion messages lead with emotion and often require heightening and clarifying the stakes and material benefit to audiences' lives.

03

Audience Segment

i.
Blue Collar
Bobby

ii.
Bible Betty

iii.
Napoleon
Urbanite

iv.
Moderate
Metro Mamas

v.
Delta Kings

vi.
Savvy Sistas

vii.
Magnolia
Madeas

viii.
La Fuerza
For Good

ix
Natural State
Nation

i. Blue Collar Bobby

Blue Collar

Bobby

Frontiersmen at heart with an independent streak, libertarian values, and strong religious ties

Demographics: White, Men, 35-55 yrs old, $25-50K income, rural and exurban Arkansas

Political Profile: Socially & Fiscally Conservative (Deep Red)

Values: Independence, Safety, Duty

Social Habits: Twitch, Discord, Facebook
- ↪ Watching Fox News, NCIS, Discovery Channel
- ↪ Hunting, Fishing, Outdoors, Cars, Football, Country and Rock Music

Opposed to
- **Pro-Choice**
- Gun Control
- Racial Equality
- Pro-LGBTQ+

Persuadable on
- **Open Border**
- Labour Unions
- Canceling Student Debt

In Support of
- Higher Taxes on Rich

OPPORTUNITY

Position policies that drive equity as a pathway to economic security and enduring American values of hard work, freedom, and safety.

Inoculate

- Fight disinformation that leads them to believe that social equity is a threat to their financial security by amplifying messages that demonstrate how social equity for everyone means more economic security for everyone.

Persuade on

- Leverage their concern for a level playing field to garner support for more liberal policies by focusing on how they build opportunity
- Frame criminal reform and community response efforts as a way to enact preventative measures that increase their safety beyond reactive policing

Mobilize for

- Emphasize that they can take action to address economic inequity through support for liberal fiscal policies

ii. **Bible** Betty

Bible

Betty

Nurturers leading lifestyles based on family, deep red politics, and Christianity

Demographics: White, Women, 55+yrs old, $25-50K income, rural and exurban Arkansas

Political Profile: Socially & Fiscally Conservative (Deep Red)

Values: Caring, Dependability, Safety

Social Habits: Pinterest, Nextdoor, Facebook
↪ Watching Fox News, NCIS, HGTV
↪ Gardening, Cooking/Baking, Hosting, Country Music, True Crime

Opposed to

- **Gun Control**
- **Raising Minimum Wage**
- **Pro-Choice**
- **Pro-LGBTQ+**

Persuadable on

- **Canceling Student Debt**
- **Raising Minimum Wage**
- **Labor Unions**

In Support of

- **Higher Taxes on Rich**

OPPORTUNITY

Position embracing policies that drive equity as a pathway to a stable future for their children and enduring family values.

Inoculate

- Fight disinformation that positions social equity as a threat to family values by amplifying narratives that show how inequality harms family units

Persuade on

- Garner support for equitable immigration families by amplifying their role in keeping families together and building supportive communities
- Leverage their concern for their own children's futures to gain support on climate justice and equitable education efforts

Mobilize for

- Assert that they have power to address economic disparities and ensure a brighter future for their children by mobilizing for fiscally liberal policies

iii. Napoleon Urbanite

Napoleon

Urbanite

Digitally entrenched young men defying conventions, bypassing institutions and charting their own path with a libertarian spirit

Demographics: White, Men, <35-55 yrs old, $25-50K income, urban Arkansas

Political Profile: Socially & Fiscally Conservative (Solid Red)

Values: Independence, Creativity, Conformity

Social Habits: Twitch, Reddit, YouTube
- ↪ Watching Family Guy, NBC
- ↪ Gaming, Adult Animation, Football, Fishing. Rock Music

Opposed to

- **Open Border**
- Pro-Choice

Persuadable on

- **Canceling Student Debt**
- Raising Minimum Wage
- Labor Unions

In Support of

- Higher Taxes on Rich
- Canceling Student Debt

OPPORTUNITY

Position embracing policies that drive equity as a pathway to personal autonomy and expanding individual freedoms.

Inoculate

- Fight disinformation that undermines the importance of social issues for this audience by amplifying narratives that emphasize the interconnectedness of these issues and their impact on personal freedoms

Persuade on

- Convince them to engage in political action by connecting fair policy solutions to their existing concerns, including safeguarding their autonomy, economic stability, and personal privacy from potential threats

Mobilize for

- Emphasize the urgency of political participation as a way to exercise their autonomy, ensure their own interests are protected, expand their individual freedoms and secure a better future for themselves

iv. **Moderate** *Metro Mamas*

Moderate

Metro Mamas

Working mothers striving for financial security, guided by duty and dependability

Demographics: White, Men, <35-55 yrs old, $25-50K income, urban Arkansas

Political Profile: Socially & Fiscally Conservative (Solid Red)

Values: Independence, Creativity, Conformity

Social Habits: Twitch, Reddit, YouTube
- ↪ Watching Family Guy, NBC
- ↪ Gaming, Adult Animation, Football, Fishing. Rock Music

Opposed to
- **Open Border**
- Pro-Choice
- Gun Control
- Labor Unions

Persuadable on
- **Racial Equality**
- **Canceling Student Debt**

In Support of
- **Raising Minimum Wage**
- **Higher Taxes on Rich**

OPPORTUNITY

Position embracing policies that drive equity as a pathway to personal autonomy and expanding individual freedoms.

Inoculate

- Fight disinformation that undermines the importance of social issues for this audience by amplifying narratives that emphasize the interconnectedness of these issues and their impact on personal freedoms

Persuade on

- Convince them to engage in political action by connecting fair policy solutions to their existing concerns, including safeguarding their autonomy, economic stability, and personal privacy from potential threats

Mobilize for

- Emphasize the urgency of political participation as a way to exercise their autonomy, ensure their own interests are protected, expand their individual freedoms and secure a better future for themselves

v. Delta King

Delta King

Sports fanatics valuing reputation and yearning for influence over their environment

Demographics: Black, Men, 35-55yrs old, $25-50K income

Political Profile: Socially & Fiscally Conservative (Light Red)

Values: Influence, Humility, Reputation

Social Habits: TikTok, Twitch, YouTube
↪ Watching Football, BET, Fox News
↪ Sports, Video Games, Exercise, Comedy

Opposed to

- **Pro-Choice**
- Higher Taxes on Rich
- Pro-LGBTQ+

Persuadable on

- **Racial Equality**
- Gun Control
- Labor Unions

In Support of

- **Canceling Student Debt**
- Raising Minimum Wage
- Open Border

OPPORTUNITY

Position embracing policies that drive equity as a pathway to personal autonomy and expanding individual freedoms.

Inoculate

- Fight disinformation that presents equity and liberal policies as elite by amplifying narratives that highlight how opposition forces hoard power

Persuade on

- Highlight concrete policy measures that directly affect their lives, such as police reform and minimum wage increases, while employing intersectional perspectives to garner support for related issues they don't yet support

Mobilize for

- Encourage their participation in local community initiatives and organizations that showcase how they "walk the walk" and live true to their values of influence, humility, and reputation

vi. **Savvy** Sistas

Savvy Sistas

Justice-oriented young women driven by progressive ideals, faith, and a deep-rooted commitment to creating an equitable society

Demographics: Black, Women, <35 yrs old, income $25-50K

Political Profile: Socially & Fiscally Liberal (Solid Blue)

Values: Reputation, Achievement, Humility

Social Habits: TikTok, Snapchat, Instagram
  ↳   Watching Law & Order SVU, BET
  ↳   Fashion/Shopping, Black-Centered Media, Cooking/Baking, Hip Hop, R&B, Pop Music

Opposed to

- **Pro-Choice**

Persuadable on

- **Labor Unions**
- Higher Taxes on Rich
- Gun Control

In Support of

- **Canceling Student Debt**
- Open Border
- Pro-LGBTQ+
- Raising Minimum Wage
- Racial Equality

OPPORTUNITY

Position embracing policies that drive equity as a pathway to practicing leadership, advance their values, and drive collective action for a just and equitable society.

Inoculate

- Fight disinformation that disincentivizes political action by by amplifying narratives that affirm the power of individuals as political actors and expose the opposition's efforts to suppress their voices

Persuade on

- Emphasize the importance of politicians in advancing progressive agendas, and the need for their leadership in holding these politicians accountable for their commitments

Mobilize for

- Highlight the urgency for their leadership in driving collective action and social support for meaningful change
- Encourage their active involvement in grassroots movements, community organizing, and advocacy efforts that align with their values of reputation, achievement, and humility

vii. Magnolia Madeas

Magnolia

Madeas

Family leaders guided by old-school values, rooting their lives in family, faith, and tradition

Demographics: Black, Women, 55+yrs old, income $25-50K

Political Profile: Socially & Fiscally Conservative (Light Red)

Values: Tradition, Humility, Security

Social Habits: Facebook, Pinterest, TikTok
- ↪ Watching Law & Order SVU, OWN, CW News
- ↪ Cooking/Baking, Reading, Mobile Games, True Crime

Opposed to

- **Pro-LGBTQ+**
- Open Border
- Raising Minimum Wage
- Pro-Choice

Persuadable on

- **Labor Unions**
- Higher Taxes on Rich

In Support of

- **Gun Control**
- Racial Equality

OPPORTUNITY

Position embracing policies that drive equity as a pathway to preserving tradition and promote enduring community bonds.

Inoculate

- Fight disinformation that falsely portrays liberal policies like gun control and labor unions as contradictory to their values by amplifying narratives that demonstrate their alignment

Persuade on

- Leverage their support for gun control and racial equality to introduce other policies that contribute to safer communities and foster a sense of security for their loved ones

Mobilize for

- Leverage their "vote blue no matter what" ethos to ensure participation in all policy actions
- Emphasize the urgency of supporting specific policies addressing their values of tradition, humility, and security to create meaningful change in their communities

viii. La Fuerza For Good

La Fuerza

For Good

Young parents and music lovers, prioritizing economic stability and surmounting societal challenges

Demographics: Latinx, Men & Women, <35 yrs old, income <$25k

Political Profile: Socially & Fiscally Liberal (Deep Blue)

Values: Achievement, Influence, Reputation

Social Habits: Twitch, Snapchat, TikTok
  ↳ Watching Family Guy, The Voice, Univision
  ↳ Spanish and Country Music, Gaming, Cooking/Baking, Shopping, Rodeo

Opposed to

- **Higher Taxes on Rich**
- Pro-Choice

Persuadable on

- **Racial Equality**
- Gun Control

In Support of

- **Open Border**
- Canceling Student Debt
- Pro-LGBTQ+
- Raising Minimum Wage
- Labor Unions

OPPORTUNITY

Position embracing policies that drive equity as a pathway to practice self expression, achieve belonging and overcome systemic barriers.

Inoculate

- Fight disinformation that falsely portrays liberal policies as detrimental to upward mobility by amplifying narratives that expose the opposition's efforts to increase societal obstacles

Persuade on

- Connect their support for socially liberal policies like immigration and LGBTQ+ rights to other issues through the lens of inclusivity, equality, and community opportunities

Mobilize for

- Motivate them to take action on immigration and LGBTQ+ protection by affirming their exceptional power to inspire change

ix. **Natural State** Nation

Natural

State Nation

Community and family-centric individuals focused on upholding tradition and protecting autonomy

Demographics: Indigenous, Men & Women, 35-55 yrs old, income $25-50k

Political Profile: Socially & Fiscally Conservative (Solid Red)

Values: Dependability, Safety, Tradition

Social Habits: Pinterest, Facebook, Discord
- ↪ Watching The Voice, NCIS, SYFY
- ↪ Gambling, Hunting, Fishing, Country Music

Opposed to
- **Gun Control**
- Pro-Choice
- Raising Minimum Wage
- Open Border

Persuadable on
- **Pro-LGBTQ+**
- Canceling Student Debt
- Racial Equality

In Support of
- **Labor Unions**
- Higher Taxes on Rich

OPPORTUNITY

Position embracing policies that drive equity as a pathway to express their community's identity and promote its autonomy and traditions.

Inoculate

- Fight disinformation that spreads divisive and polarizing messages by amplifying narratives that deconstruct specific issues, shifting the focus from broad political ideologies to foster a more nuanced and inclusive understanding

Persuade on

- Emphasize support for labor unions and higher taxes for rich as dependable and pragmatic
- Discuss issues like racial equality and LGBTQ+ rights within the frame of equity and freedom, appealing to fairness and a tradition of self determinism

Mobilize for

- Highlight the potential impact of their votes as a powerful force in ensuring that their community has its say, especially about their financial security concerns

04

Insights Summary

	Blue Collar Bobby	Bible Betty	Napoleon Urbanite	Moderate Metro Mamas
Audience				
Opportunity	Position policies that drive equity as a **pathway to economic security** and enduring American values of hard work, freedom, and safety	Position embracing policies that drive equity as a **pathway to a stable future for their children** and enduring family values	Position embracing policies that drive equity as a **pathway to personal autonomy** and expanding individual freedoms	Position embracing policies that drive equity as a **pathway to getting their fair share** and safeguarding their stability and well-being
Opposed to	• **Pro-Choice** • Gun Control • Racial Equality • Pro-LGBTQ+	• **Gun Control** • Raising Minimum Wage • Pro-Choice • Pro-LGBTQ+	• **Open Border** • Pro-Choice	• **Open Border** • Gun Control • Labor Unions • Pro-Choice
Persuadable on	• **Canceling Student Debt** • Raising Minimum Wage • Labor Unions	• **Open Border** • Labor Unions • Canceling Student Debt • Racial Equality	• **Racial Equality** • Labor Unions • Raising Minimum Wage	• **Racial Equality** • Canceling Student Debt
In Support of	• **Higher Taxes on Rich**	• **Higher Taxes on Rich**	• **Higher Taxes on Rich** • Canceling Student Debt	• **Raising Minimum Wage** • Higher Taxes on Rich

	Delta Kings	Savvy Sistas	Magnolia Madeas	La Fuerza For Good	Natural State Nation
Opportunity	Position embracing policies that drive equity as a **pathway to hold control** over the future of their communities and earn respect and stature	Position embracing policies that drive equity as a **pathway to practicing leadership**, advance their values, and drive collective action for a just society	Position embracing policies that drive equity as a **pathway to preserving tradition** and promote enduring community bonds	Position embracing policies that drive equity as a **pathway to practice self expression**, achieve belonging and overcome systemic barriers	Position embracing policies that drive equity as a **pathway to express their community's identity** and promote its autonomy and traditions
Opposed to	● **Pro-Choice** ● Higher Taxes on Rich ● Pro-LGBTQ+	● **Pro-Choice**	● **Pro-LGBTQ+** ● Open Border ● Raising Minimum Wage ● Pro-Choice	● **Higher Taxes on Rich** ● Pro-Choice	● **Gun Control** ● Pro-Choice ● Raising Minimum Wage ● Open Border
Persuadable on	● **Racial Equality** ● Gun Control ● Labor Unions	● **Labor Unions** ● Higher Taxes on Rich ● Gun Control	● **Labor Unions** ● Higher Taxes on Rich	● **Racial Equality** ● Gun Control	● **Pro-LGBTQ+** ● Canceling Student Debt ● Racial Equality
In Support of	● **Canceling Student Debt** ● Raising Minimum Wage ● Open Border	● **Canceling Student Debt** ● Open Border ● Pro-LGBTQ+ ● Raising Minimum Wage ● Racial Equality	● **Gun Control** ● Racial Equality	● **Open Border** ● Canceling Student Debt ● Pro-LGBTQ+ ● Raising Minimum Wage ● Labor Unions	● **Labor Unions** ● Higher Taxes on Rich

Audience

With these identity-powered strategies we can unlock a **new force for equity in Arkansas**

Thank You

Appendix

Research Audit

Audience Segments

Background

In collaboration with ReImagine Arkansas & Proper Southern Communications, Winthrop Rockefeller Foundation launched a narrative lab focused on **a community of narrative practitioners (aka HEAL Lab grantees) who can utilize Arkansas-specific data and research to advance a common vision** for an Arkansas where everyone thrives.

Starting with the HEAL Lab grantees, **we sought to build a playbook to support the grantees' communication efforts & activate their communities to engage in support.** Given the different focus areas of the HEAL Lab grantees, the first step in building a playbook was to establish the different values, drivers, and behaviors across a range of Arkansans. This foundational work will provide stakeholders with strategies for understanding what motivates their audiences and where to reach them.

Given the different focus areas of the HEAL Lab grantees, the first step in building a playbook was to establish the different values, drivers, and behaviors across a range of Arkansans. Audience segmentation presents us with not only the opportunity to track the motivations, needs, and desires of distinct Arkansan audiences but also the issues and priorities that unify them, persuading and mobilizing them to advance a common vision of equity. To pinpoint our audiences, we sought to look at all Arkansans. **We observed that 78.6% of Arkansans are White, demonstrating a sizable population that should be considered and addressed in the work. However, we also recognized that Black, Indigenous, and People of Color (BIPOC) comprise an audience that has not been adequately addressed, regarding political, economic, and racial equity matters, so we also sought to particularly focus our research on these critical audiences.** Narratives that are united by issues bring together the priorities of our audiences, so we can move forward with a scalable and flexible audience model that reaches all Arkansans.

01
_____

Methodology

Methodology

We analyzed **over 1.5 million survey responses to develop 9 audience segmentations of Arkansans, including 4 distinct working-class White audiences and 3 distinct Black audiences**. We specifically researched outcomes related to ideology, political engagement, political and economic issue priorities (e.g., healthcare, workers' rights, and entitlement reform). Through an iterative process, we examined which factors account for the most variance in engagement behaviors. Based on prior research and the goals of the HEAL Lab, we examined factors such as race, ethnicity, age, location, occupation, urbanicity, and income. We observed that counties and regions in Arkansas have vastly different levels of political engagement, income levels, and racial compositions and used these to drive our segmentation.

The ALICE (Asset-Limited, Income-Constrained, Employed) framework directly informed our segments. In addition, we found that racial groups accounted for a large share of the differences across individuals. We also observed that within the White, working-class racial groups, segmenting by urbanicity captured distinct political drivers and behaviors, including differences in political ideology, party membership, and issue priorities. For example, among Black women we found distinct personal values and political drivers across age groups (younger Black women, those between 18 and 44 and older Black women, those that are 45 and older). This memo summarizes the unique qualities of and differences between these audiences in terms of their:
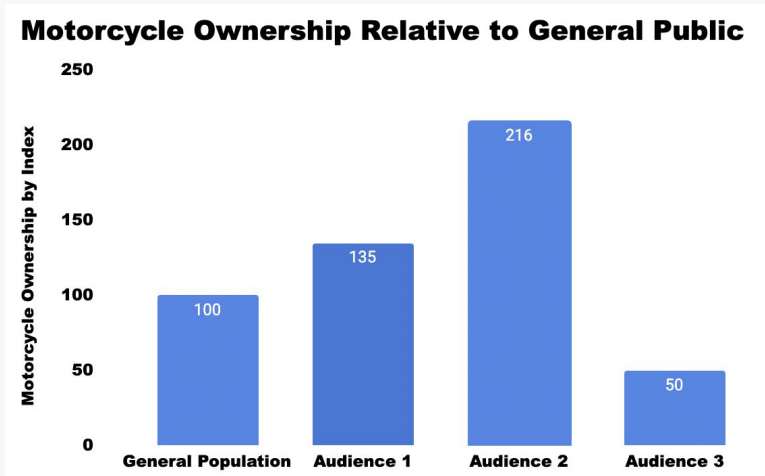
1) Demographic Characteristics
2) Political and Social Attitudes
3) Media Habits
4) Personal Values, Interests, and Behaviors.

Methodology cont.

The report measures two key statistics:

COMPOSITION: the number, or percentage, of those in an audience segment who have an attribute or trait.

INDEX: the degree to which the prevalence of an attribute or trait within an audience is greater or less than the general public. As an example, the graph below uses the index to show how, compared to the general public, Audience 1 is 1.35x more likely, Audience 2 is 2.16x more likely, and Audience 3 is half as likely to own a motorcycle.

Motorcycle Ownership Relative to General Public

General Population	Audience 1	Audience 2	Audience 3
100	135	216	50

02

Audience Identity Overview

Audience Identity Overview

Audience	Identity Statement	Hobbies and Interests
Blue Collar Bobby	Older, blue-collar White rural and exurban men without a college degree and with deep red political sentiments. They are frontiersmen at heart, with an independent streak, libertarian values, and strong religious ties.	Hunting, Fishing, Outdoors, Cars, Football, Music (Country and Rock)
Bible Betty	Older rural and exurban White women without a college degree. They lead with a nurturing spirit and lifestyle based on family. They have deep red political views and are committed Christians. The majority are either retired or work in pink-collar jobs like healthcare.	Gardening, Cooking/Baking, Hosting, Music (Country), True Crime
Napoleon Urbanite	Younger, blue-collar White single men who live in urban areas, are highly online and did not attend college. Disconnected from institutions, they attend church at the lowest rate of any audience and are libertarian in spirit and action.	Gaming, Adult Animation, Football, Fishing. Music (Rock)
Moderate Metro Mamas	Non-college White working mothers struggling to get by, living in urban areas. Nearly as conservative on social issues as their rural counterparts but moderate on fiscal policy, although they are politically disengaged.	Mobile Games, True Crime, Cooking, Gardening, Music (Pop and Country)
Delta Kings	Overwhelmingly, blue-collar and single men, who value reputation and yearn for influence over their environment. These Black men have conservative politics except on issues hitting close to home (minimum wage, police reform, etc.). Whether playing, watching, or betting, they are huge sports fanatics.	Sports, Video Games, Exercise, Comedy

Audience Identity Overview cont.

Audience	Identity Statement	Hobbies and Interests
Savvy Sistas	One of the most progressive audiences, these young Black women dream of a more just and fair society and think politicians should do more to help. They are driven to achieve but face barriers such as student debt. They are highly religious and very social.	Fashion, Shopping, Black-Centered Media, Cooking/Baking, Music (Hip Hop, R&B, Pop)
Magnolia Madeas	Older Black women with old-school values who root their lives in faith and family. Their "vote blue no matter what" ethos belies their ideological conservatism and strong attachment to tradition.	Cooking/Baking, Reading, Mobile Games, True Crime
La Fuerza for Good	The other somewhat-progressive audience is Hispanic/Latino and made up disproportionately of young lower-income parents. They are focused on getting ahead; they recognize societal obstacles but remain politically disengaged. Music is a big part of their lives.	Music (Spanish and Country), Gaming, Cooking/Baking, Shopping, Rodeo
Natural State Nation	Community and family-centric individuals from the Indigenous population with solidly but not extremely conservative attitudes. That said, they strongly oppose gun control. They are disproportionately married with children and have a higher likelihood of being from a military family.	Gambling, Hunting, Fishing, Music (Country)

02

Demographic Profiles

White Audiences

Audiences were examined across a range of key variables, including age, income, marital status, children, employment status, and work status.

Age: Within each audience, the plurality of White Arkansans fall into the 35-55 age range. The exception was that 44% of the Bible Betties, who are majority 55+.
Income: Across audiences, White Arkansas mostly falls within the $25-50k income range. Napoleon Urbanites have the largest share in the income range of under 25k.

Work: Men are concentrated in blue-collar jobs, and women in pink-collar jobs. The majority of White audiences with college degrees are in white-collar jobs.

Dark Blue = Highest Across all Audiences   Medium Blue = Second Highest

Light Blue = Third Highest

	Blue Collar Bobby	Bible Betty	Napoleon Urbanite	Moderate Metro Mamas	White, College Degree
Age					
< 35	25%	18%	37%	36%	21%
35-55	41%	38%	46%	37%	48%
55+	35%	44%	17%	27%	32%
Income					
<$25k	17%	20%	26%	22%	4%
$25-50k	41%	53%	40%	39%	20%
$50-75k	22%	17%	18%	15%	16%
Married	61%	56%	29%	51%	68%
Children	49%	48%	39%	53%	50%
Unemployment	15%	13%	15%	N/A	6%
Retired	24%	35%	8%	20%	15%
Homemaker	6%	10%	N/A	17%	3%
Work					
Blue Collar	61%	17%	61%	11%	12%
White Collar	16%	25%	21%	36%	69%
Pink Collar	23%	59%	19%	54%	19%

BIPOC Audiences

Audiences were examined across a range of key variables including age, income, marital status, children, employment status, and work status.

Age: Within each audience, the plurality of BIPOC Arkansans tended to be in the 35-55 age range. Most of La Fuerza for Good, however, are split across the under 35 age and 35-55 age ranges.

Income: Relative to their White counterparts, larger shares of BIPOC segments reported incomes under $25k.

Work: Delta Kings tend to be in blue-collar jobs. The Savvy Sistas tend to be in pink-collar jobs, and Magnolia Madeas tend to be in either white- or pink-collar jobs. La Fuerza for Good and the Natural State Nation are most likely to be in pink-collar jobs.

Dark Blue = Highest Across all Audiences   Medium Blue = Second Highest

Light Blue = Third Highest

	Delta Kings	Savvy Sistas	Magnolia Madeas	La Fuerza for Good	Natural State Nation
Age					
< 35	30%	52%	1%	43%	29%
35-55	52%	47%	47%	40%	42%
55+	18%	1%	52%	17%	29%
Income					
<$25k	30%	36%	25%	40%	22%
$25-50k	42%	41%	55%	26%	44%
$50-75k	12%	9%	12%	13%	17%
Married	36%	29%	46%	39%	57%
Children under 18	64%	68%	48%	60%	61%
Unemployment	17%	15%	14%	15%	13%
Retired	12%	N/A	30%	8%	19%
Homemaker	7%	6%	13%	9%	9%
Work					
Blue Collar	50%	13%	15%	22%	23%
White Collar	26%	30%	41%	27%	30%
Pink Collar	25%	57%	44%	51%	47%

04
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Political Profiles

Political Ideology Landscape

Fiscal Ideology and Social Ideology
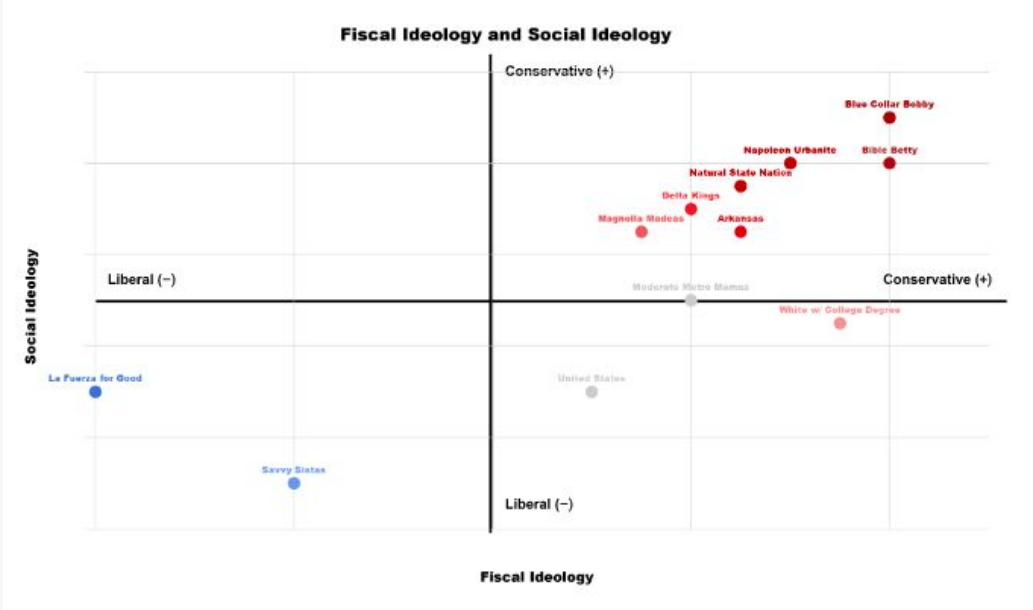
Six out of nine audiences are both fiscally and socially conservative based on policy preferences. But there are gradients of conservatism. Whereas both Blue Collar Bobbies and Bible Betties **express strong conservatism on all issues, Magnolia Madeas and Delta Kings hold some conservative beliefs less strongly and have some liberal views.**

Moderate Metro Mamas are unique in that they are **fiscal moderates and social conservatives.**

Two audiences are both fiscal and social liberals—La Fuerza for Good and the Savvy Sistas. **We hesitate to call either audience progressive, as each holds some conservative values.**

Support for Socially and Fiscally Liberal Policies

Blue cells indicate support for liberal policies, and **Red** indicate opposition. Darker colors indicate higher levels of support or opposition.

La Fuerza for Good and the Savvy Sistas are the most left-leaning audiences, especially on minimum wage, student debt cancellation, immigration policy, and LGBTQ issues.

Moderate Metro Mamas are the most liberal White working-class audience, but only on fiscal policy.

The policies with the most support are a minimum wage increase, cancellation of student debt, and higher taxes on the rich. Nearly all BIPOC audiences support student debt cancellation. Deeply conservative audiences are the most in favor of taxing the rich.

N/A = insufficient data for estimation

	Fiscally Liberal Policies				Socially Liberal Policies				
	Minimum Wage	Labor Unions	Higher Taxes on Rich	Canceling Student Debt	Gun Control	Pro-Choice	Pro-LGBTQ+	Open Border	Racial Equality
Arkansas	104	94	107	119	106	61	114	109	
Blue Collar Bobby	85	80	118	79	28	43	57	N/A	63
Bible Betty	44	79	143	90	51	69	69	99	82
Napoleon Urbanite	88	84	118	114	N/A	68	N/A	59	96
Moderate Metro Mamas	143	82	97	135	67	79	N/A	46	97
White w/ College Degree	88	100	113	99	112	98	99	99	112
Delta Kings	149	86	48	150	85	48	68	147	107
Savvy Sistas	146	94	94	270	93	78	171	204	121
Magnolia Madeas	73	82	80	139	118	71	57	56	111
La Fuerza for Good	153	115	71	166	86	76	158	178	106
Natural State Nation	86	104	102	96	41	78	99	83	95

Less Support vs. U.S. Public   More Support vs. U.S. Public
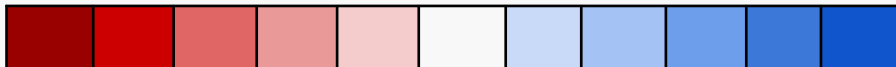
Support for Socially and Fiscally Conservative Policies

Red cells indicate support for conservative policies, and **Blue** indicate opposition. Darker colors indicate higher levels of support or opposition.

The ratio of red to blue reflects Arkansas' overall rightward lean, which appears most firmly entrenched in gun rights and opposition to abortion.

Interestingly, more fiscally liberal audiences (see above) have expressed moderate support for lowering taxes on the rich, suggesting susceptibility to right-wing anti-tax rhetoric.

Support is weakest (and therefore most vulnerable) for cuts to entitlement programs.

Overall, La Fuerza for Good expressed the greatest opposition to conservative policies.

Napoleon Urbanites report low levels of support for pro-life issues. However, they also report low levels of support for pro-choice policies (see above), suggesting they are ambivalent on the issue.

N/A = insufficient data for estimation

	Fiscally Conservative Policies			Socially Conservative Policies		
	Cuts to Medicare	Cuts to Social Security	Lower Taxes on Rich	2nd Amendment	Pro-Life	Reduce Illegal Immigration
Arkansas	113	105	94	121	145	90
Blue Collar Bobby	143	159	100	160	134	140
Bible Betty	179	145	70	140	157	120
Napoleon Urbanite	N/A	88	N/A	134	51	170
Moderate Metro Mamas	81	110	N/A	128	105	103
White w/ College Degree	93	114	112	125	110	90
Delta Kings	94	133	121	135	138	109
Savvy Sistas	72	85	119	96	139	71
Magnolia Madeas	177	156	82	130	166	113
La Fuerza for Good	57	71	133	97	112	77
Natural State Nation	125	120	N/A	112	116	116

Less Support vs. U.S. Public   **More Support vs. U.S. Public**
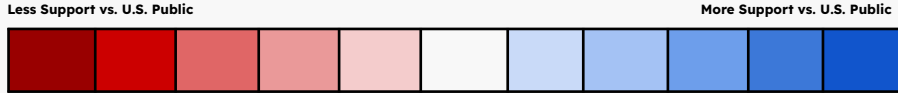
Support for Racial Equality
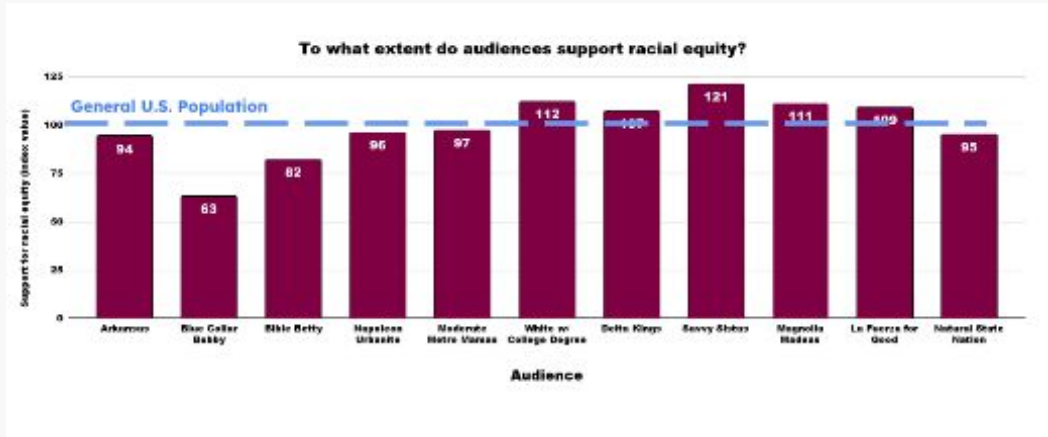
Support for racial equality is lowest among Blue Collar Bobbies and Bible Betties and higher among Black audiences.

While Black audiences supported racial equality at similar levels, subsequent analyses revealed that it is a greater priority for the Savvy Sistas, who are *2.5x more likely than the general public to say that racial equality should be a priority of the Biden administration*.

Mobilization against racism in Arkansas will have to start with this audience.

Interestingly, support for racial equality was on par with the general public among Napoleon Urbanites and Moderate Metro Mamas. Perhaps there is room to persuade these audiences.

Support for Fiscally Liberal Policies
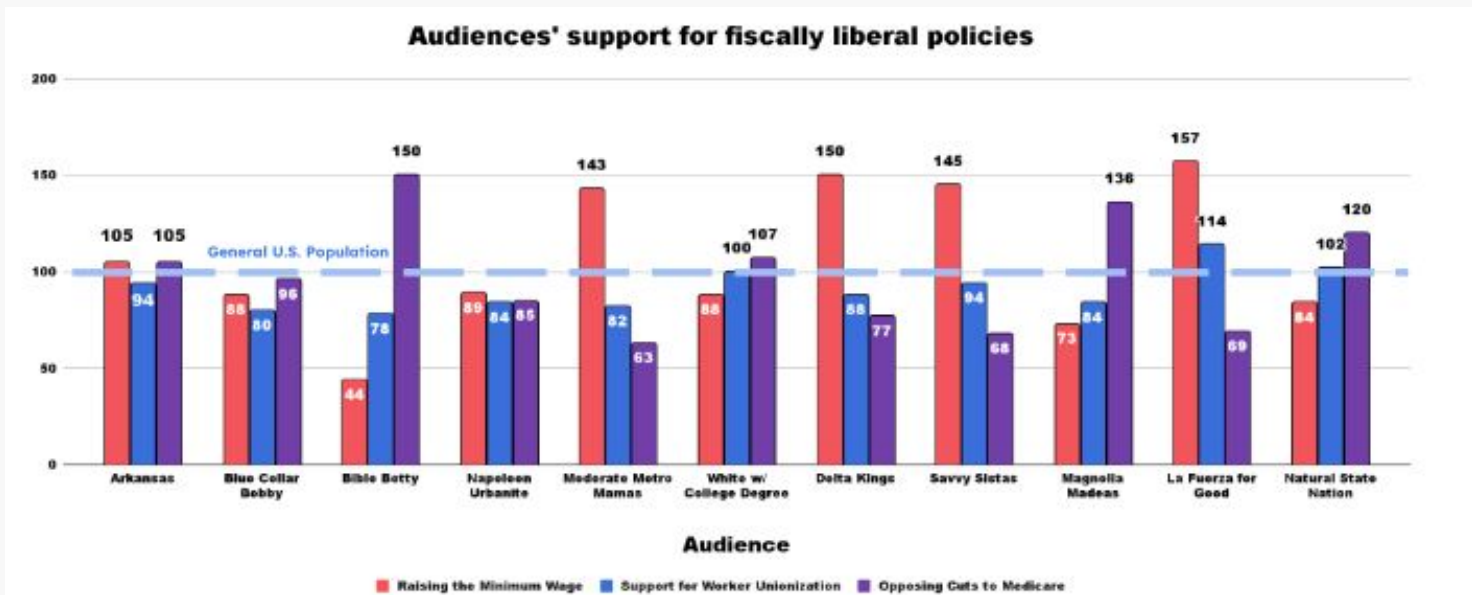
For an ostensibly deep-red state, Arkansans support worker rights and the strengthening of social safety at high rates. For instance, Bible Betties are more likely than the general public to oppose cuts to Medicare, and Moderate Metro Mamas are more likely to support raising the minimum wage.

Voting Registration


Voter Registration Across Audiences
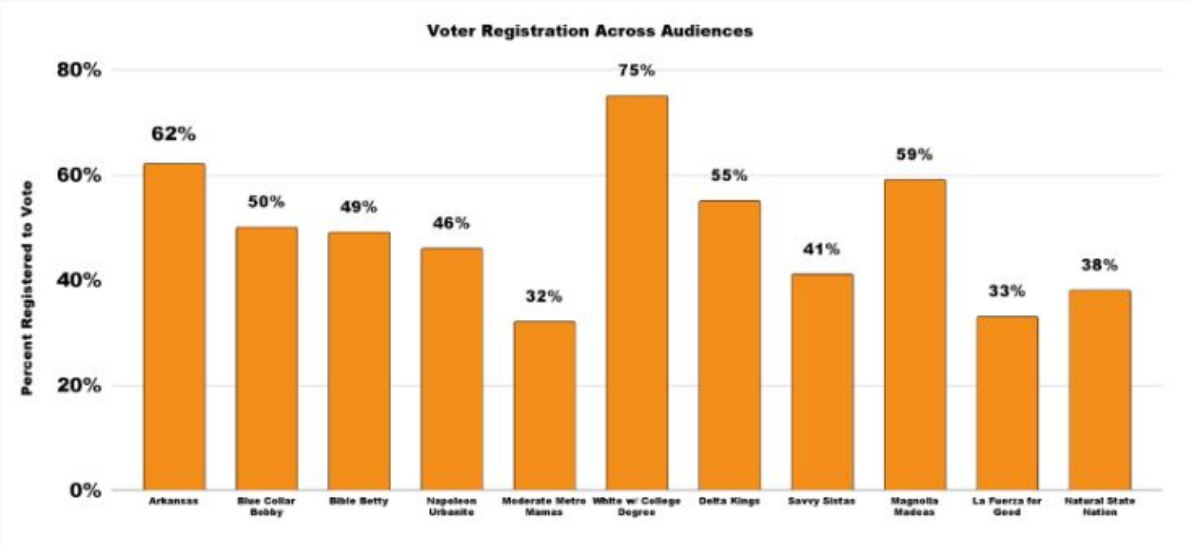
Voter registration rates across audiences suggest a divide between Arkansas' ideological landscape (what people think) and political landscape (who exercises power). The three most liberal audiences in our analyses — La Fuerza for Good, Savvy Sistas, and Moderate Metro Mamas—have the lowest voter registration rates (along with members of Natural State Nation). Not all registered voters take part in the political process. Still, these numbers are proxies for political engagement levels across audiences. In short, the audiences most necessary to shift Arkansas' political culture are currently the least politically active.

The high registration rates among White Arkansans with college degrees, while not surprising, speak to the disproportionate influence of those who are less likely to be experiencing the economic hardship prevalent within the state.

05

Media Profiles

Time Spent Online
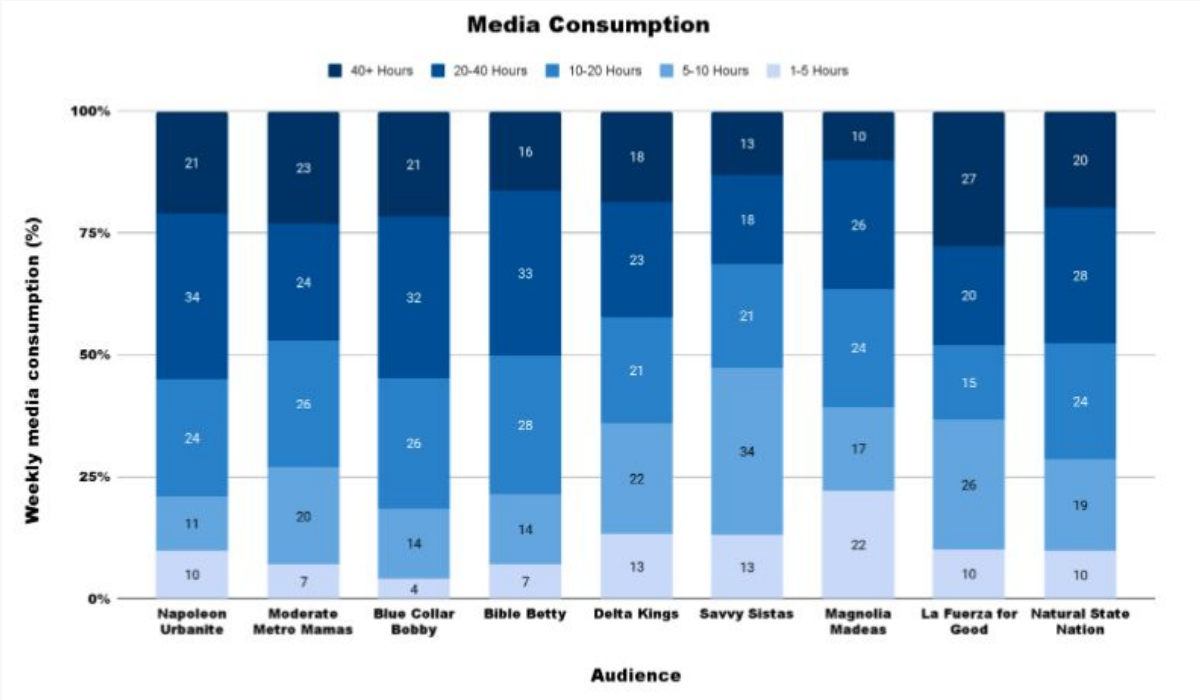
Black audiences spend the least time online, possibly reflecting poor access to broadband internet. Blue Collar Bobbies and Napoleon Urbanites are the most online, each with over 50% of members spending more than 20 hours online a week.

White, Working Class Audiences' Media Tastes

We compared audiences' affinities for social media platforms, TV channels and shows, and TV news programs. Excluding the top TV shows by composition, all the rankings are based on index relative to the general population. For instance, Twitch, Discord, and Facebook are three apps Blue Collar Bobbies belong to at higher rates than Americans in general; and Holiday Baking and Windy City Rehab are two shows that Bible Betties watch at higher rates than Americans in general.

N/A = insufficient data for estimation

BIPOC Media Tastes

We compared audiences' affinities for social media platforms, TV channels and shows, and TV news programs. Excluding the top TV shows by composition, all the rankings are based on index relative to the general population. For example, while live football games are Delta Kings' most commonly watched TV show, shows like TMZ and Basketball Wives and channels like the NBA TV network set them apart from the general public. As another example, the Natural State Nation audience is more likely to use Pinterest than the general population.

N/A = insufficient data for estimation

|	Social Media	TV Channels	TV Shows		News
			By composition	By index	
Delta Kings	TikTok, Twitch, Youtube	BET, NBA TV, VH1	Monday Night Football, Thursday Night Football, Law & Order Special Victims Unit, Family Feud	Basketball Wives, TMZ, Living Single, Maury	Fox News, The CW, ABC News, CBS News
Savvy Sistas	TikTok, Snapchat, Instagram	BET, VH1, OWN	Law & Order Special Victims Unit, Criminal Minds, Family Feud, black-ish	Bring It!, Steve Harvey, Living Single, Twisted Sisters	N/A
Magnolia Madeas	Facebook, Pinterest, TikTok	OWN, WE tv, Lifetime	Law & Order Special Victims Unit, Criminal Minds, NCIS, Family Feud	Living Single, V, The Talk, Judge Mathis	The CW, ABC News, CBS News
La Fuerza for Good	Twitch, Snapchat, TikTok	Univision, Telemundo, Nickelodeon	Family Guy, The Voice, Mythbusters Jr., Family Feud	Mythbusters Jr., Steve, Candid Camera, Twisted Sisters	N/A
Natural State Nation	Pinterest, Facebook, Discord	SYFY, Nick@Nite, ID	The Voice, NCIS, Survivor, Law & Order Special Victims Unit	Dr. Phil, Rachael, Baking Championship	N/A

06
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Personal Values

Personal Values

Both Blue Collar Bobbies and Napoleon Urbanites, White male audiences, were primarily driven by independence, whereas Bible Betties and Moderate Metro Mamas, both White female audiences, were primarily driven by other-oriented values such as caring (for Bible Betties) and dependability (for Moderate Metro Mamas). Napoleon Urbanites were more likely to endorse values related to openness (creativity, pleasure).

Safety and security were among the top 5 values for all White, working-class audiences.

Moderate Metro Mamas were the White audience most likely to over-index on values related to equity (i.e., tolerance and equality).
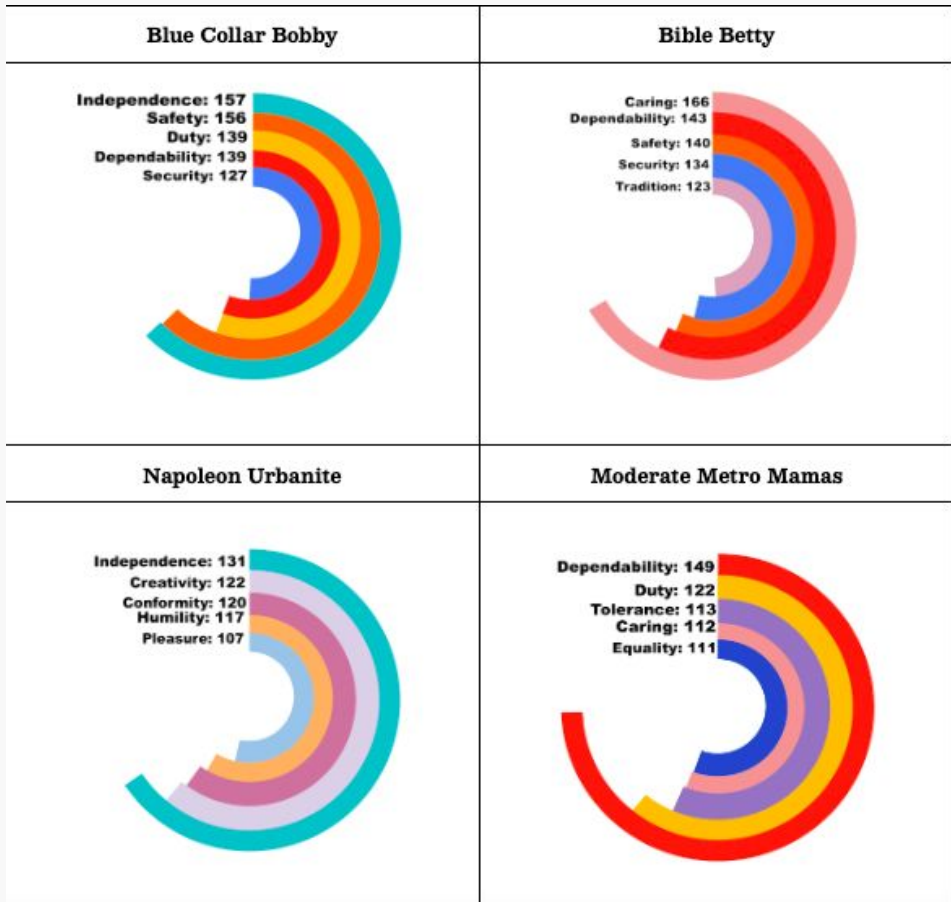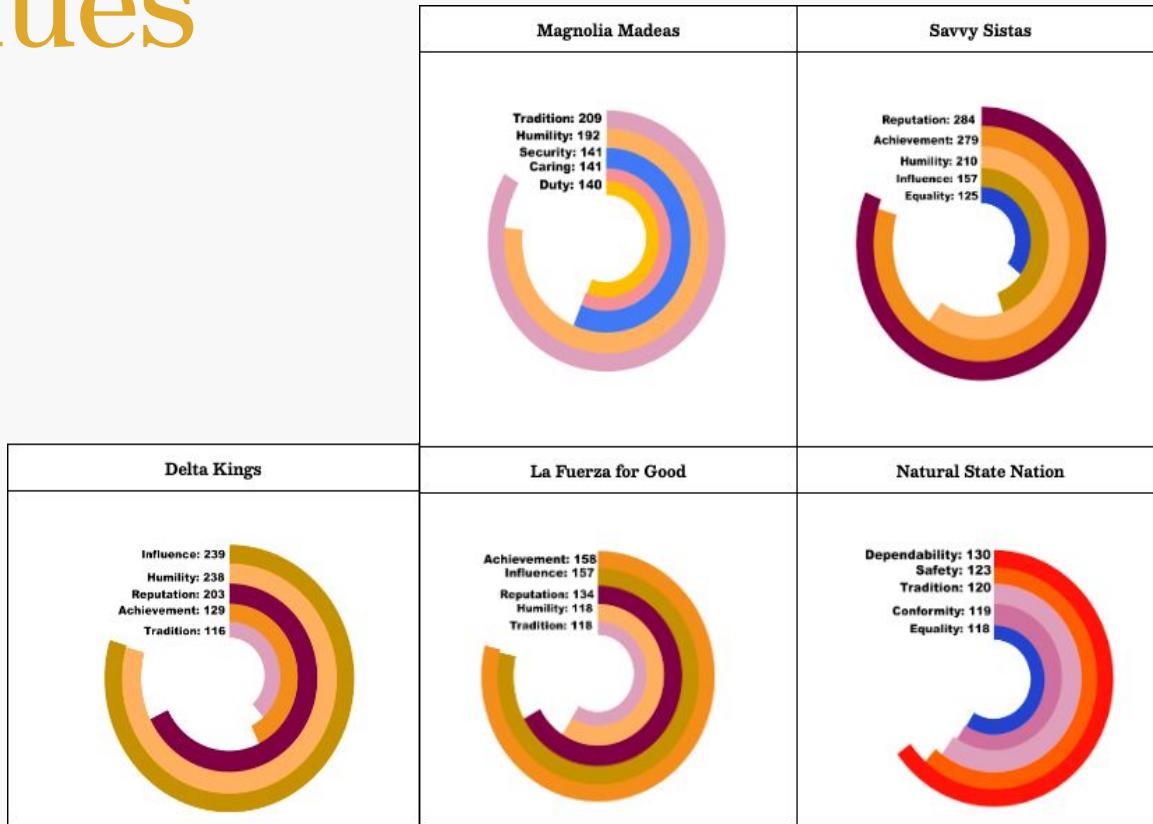
Personal Values

Maintaining tradition was a top value among all BIPOC audiences and strongest among Magnolia Madeas.

The Savvy Sistas, La Fuerza for Good, and Delta Kings were far more likely (vs. the general public) to endorse values related to status and agency—Reputation, Achievement, and Influence. Their endorsement of these values also far outstrips the White audience above. This may reflect these audiences' experiences of disempowerment and desire to overcome their circumstances.

The Savvy Sistas have a strong focus on Achievement (2.8x the general public), which is consistent with their support for opportunity-generating policies like student debt cancellation.
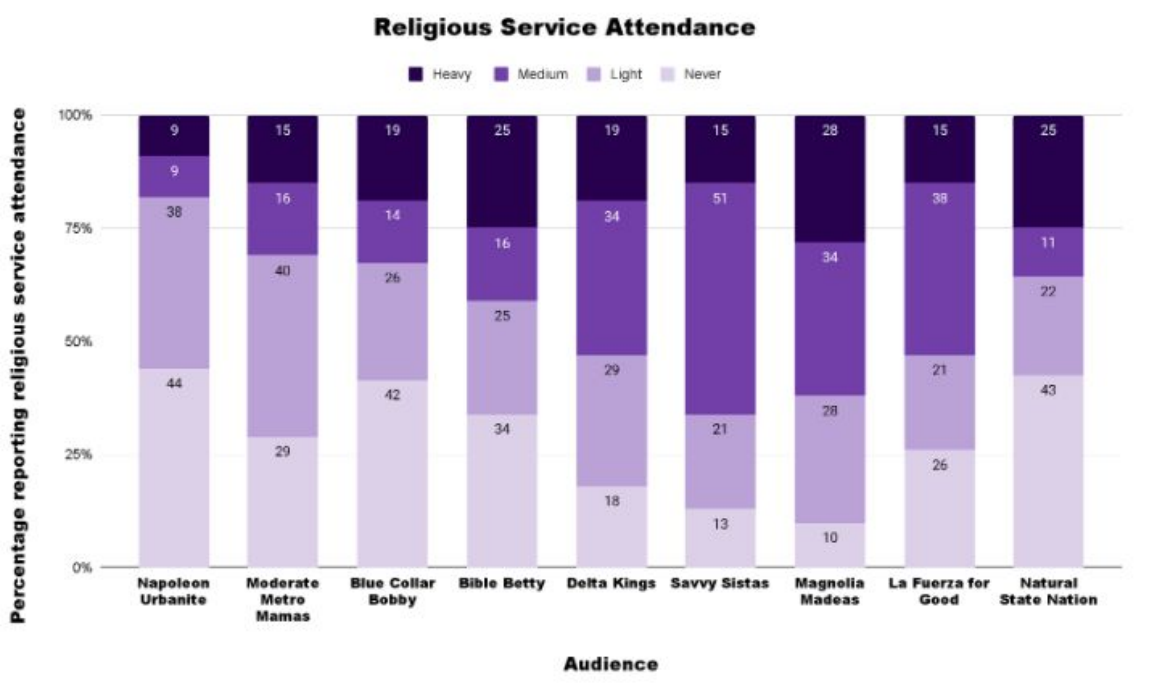
By contrast, the Natural State Nation's value set is more similar to the Blue Collar Bobbies' and Bible Betties' (see above).

Magnolia Madeas	Savvy Sistas
Tradition: 209 Humility: 192 Security: 141 Caring: 141 Duty: 140	Reputation: 284 Achievement: 279 Humility: 210 Influence: 157 Equality: 125

Delta Kings	La Fuerza for Good	Natural State Nation
Influence: 239 Humility: 238 Reputation: 203 Achievement: 129 Tradition: 116	Achievement: 158 Influence: 157 Reputation: 134 Humility: 118 Tradition: 118	Dependability: 130 Safety: 123 Tradition: 120 Conformity: 119 Equality: 118

07

Church Attendance

Church Attendance

Religious Service Attendance

The church plays a strong role in the lives of most Arkansans, in particular in the lives of Black audiences and La Fuerza for Good, who were more likely than not to report medium or heavy church attendance. The Natural State Nation segment was likely to say they never attend church, but those who do attend were more likely to report heavy (over medium or light) attendance.

Both Napoleon Urbanites and the Moderate Metro Mamas reported the lowest church attendance, with the former reporting substantially lower rates than their female counterparts. This is further evidence of Napoleon Urbanites' social isolation and disconnection from institutions. Mirroring the gendered pattern in cities, Bible Betties also attend church at higher rates than Blue Collar Bobbies.