WINNING WITH THE
RACE CLASS NARRATIVE

A Proven Framework For Progressive Victories

The Race Class Narrative (RCN) – and the complementary and still-developing Race Class Gender Narrative (RCGN), is a proven messaging and organizing framework that weaves together race, class, and gender, advances our progressive worldview, and counters right-wing divide and conquer politics. The framework builds cross-racial solidarity, fueling desire for a government that serves us all and linking shared economic prosperity directly to racial and gender justice. Research consistently shows that speaking affirmatively about races and genders strengthens our ability to mobilize our base and persuade the middle, allowing us to challenge our opposition's hold on susceptible voters. But the ordering and content of our messaging matters. RCN messages follow a specific architecture drawn from broader research in political communication that can be adapted across issues, as seen in **this messaging template**.

This winning narrative framework follows the principles of "mobisuasion:" a recognition that mobilizing and persuading is a both-and, not an either-or, proposition. Moreover, we must activate our choir to repeat our message in order for us to reach and move the conflicted members of our audience.

Where conventional wisdom insists on holding our tongues about race in order to woo swing voters, RCN addresses race in a way that engages our base (predominantly Black, brown, young, LGBTQ people and unmarried women) while moving persuadables. By activating already ideologically aligned potential voters, we generate the repetition needed for persuading malleable voters to adopt a new "common sense." This approach calls out and neutralizes the right-wing strategy of using deliberate division, manifested through racially-coded dog whistles and gender-coded siren songs, to turn working people against each other, undermine support for government, and hoard wealth and power. RC(G)N enables advocates and activists, candidates and elected officials to set the terms of debate and move supporters to our views and cause by exposing right-wing tactics that keep us from demanding the freedoms and resources all of us need.

Continuously iterated, refined and tested, the Race Class Narrative has been used across the country to pass progressive policies, increase organizational support, and win campaigns and elections. We offer (and continue to update) the following non-exhaustive list of victories since RCN's inception in 2017 as concrete examples of its impact so far:

U.S. WINS

MULTI-STATE EFFORTS

- In 2022, **progressive organizations across the country**, especially in critical battlegrounds, delivered a consistent, effective electoral demand to "**Protect Our Freedoms**" derived from and applying the Race Class Narrative through **social media**, **in-person events**, **organizing**, **celebrity** and **influencer engagement**, and **paid ads.** We see this clearly in many of the races where candidates and groups defied precedent, punditry and polling: from MI Gov. Whitmer **emphasizing freedom** in the abortion context as well situating this and broader social issues in the "**someone you love**" framing and MI Secretary of State Jocelyn Benson winning her race by messaging that "**our rights, our freedoms are on the ballot**" to PA gubernatorial candidate Josh Shapiro employing RCN to **set the terms of the debate** and delivered a closing argument focused on **real freedom** and We Make the Road Action and their allies pulling Sen. Cortez Masto over the line in Nevada **by mobilizing and moving voters to protect our freedoms**. The full summary of the Protect Our Freedoms midterm campaign can be seen **here**.

- Showing Up for Racial Justice (SURJ) has been applying RCN into their "**shared stakes**" organizing – and in all of their 2022 voter contact work. They helped **elect 7 judicial candidates supporting bail reform in Louisville** while **defeating the judge who signed the no-knock warrant** police used to murder Breonna Taylor and helped **defeat a proposed constitutional amendment banning abortion in Kentucky**. In Georgia, they **used RCN** to campaign for Demetrius Rucker in state house district 117, where he came the closest to victory of all the toss up races, while their messaging on how Trump Republicans "exploit the existing fault lines between us" contributed to delivering Sen. Warnock's general and runoff wins.

- **Moms Rising** has integrated RCN into their work across the board since 2018 and have now grown to well over a million members across the country, with an online audience of over 5 million, including over 3,000 bloggers. In 2022, **Moms Rising Together** used RCN, and more specifically the **Protect Our Freedoms** framework developed from it, to mobilize over 64,000 volunteers, send over 1.6 million postcards to mom voters, make over 6 million calls, and garner 30+ million impressions through English and Spanish language ads on social media, including an

[RCGN ad](#) for Sen. Maggie Hassan (NH) and radio ads for Sen. Warnock during the GA runoff. They engaged high potential mom voters across races and helped [deliver victories for more than half of their endorsed slate of candidates](#).

- SEIU has been a major supporter and implementer of Race Class Narrative messaging since its inception. By 2022, the International Union and its locals conducted 12 RCN workshops for over 241 members, created an RCN Learning Community made up of over 32 local union leaders and communications and political staff, and rooted RCN and the "freedoms frame" throughout SEIU's midterms messaging for races across the country.

- [Blue Future](#), a youth-led organization that trains and develops student leaders helping progressive Democrats win key elections, trained over 100 organizers in 2022 and 10 partner organizations in RCN materials from WMTFA and ASO and supported them in implementing RCN into their local organizing and midterms campaigning.

- In 2020, through the Race Class Narrative Action project, now newly named [We Make the Future Action](#), over 2,000 state leaders and organizers trained in RCN launched seven statewide RCN-driven campaigns in PA, OH, MI, WI, MN, IN, and CO. These state coalitions were able to successfully implement RCN to win legislation, local races, and flip several of their states in the presidential election. The full summary of these efforts and how RCN contributed to increased votes can be seen [here](#).

- In 2020, People's Action utilized an RCN closing argument as an element of their [deep canvass experiment](#) with conflicted voters, first increasing support for universal healthcare (including for undocumented people) and then moving respondents on vote choice from Trump to Biden. The research showed a critical 3.1% impact on decreasing Trump's overall vote margin.

- In coalition with partners, People's Action pushed Congress to [pass the Mainstreaming Addiction Treatment (MAT) Act](#) in 2022 after 2+ years of [campaigning utilizing RCN messages](#) The bill passed with large majorities in support to remove bureaucratic barriers and increase access to life-saving treatment for people facing opioid addiction and seeking care.

- [Organizers in Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, Michigan and several other states](#) wielded RCN messaging to demand election officials count every vote and certify the results of the 2020 elections, spreading their message through direct actions, marches and demonstrations, and across social media.

- In 2020, Community Change Action/Community Change Voters worked in partnership with Way to Win to distribute **RCN-inspired ads** in AZ and GA, which flipped to Democrats in the presidential cycle.

CALIFORNIA

- In 2022, LA Voice, a multiracial, interfaith organization, played a leading role in pushing for three ballot measures in the Los Angeles area: LA County Measure A on sheriff accountability, Pasadena Measure H on rent control, and LA City Measure ULA on housing. **Using RCN messaging**, **they won all three**.

- In 2022, California Latinas for Reproductive Justice used RCN messaging to successfully get the city council of Bell Gardens in southeast Los Angeles to **pass a rent stabilization law protecting tenants.**

COLORADO

- In 2024, Together Colorado organized faith leaders in Jefferson County, Colorado to educate voters about a progressive taxation ballot measure. They worked with those leaders to integrate Race Class Narrative (RCN) and other race-forward, empirically based messaging across all of their organizing and communications tactics. Using the Fund Our Futures messaging guidance, **they helped pass the measure**, which **will result in additional revenue for public infrastructure and public safety measures,** including critical mental health services, transportation, and road safety.

- In 2023, **Together Colorado** and their C4 political arm **Faith in Colorado** engaged in a get out the vote (GOTV) strategy for the Denver municipal elections, which included [a video](#) rooted in RCN highlighting what is possible when Coloradans join together to fight for clean air, good wages, and affordable housing. This work, in addition to Faith in Colorado's community-led endorsement process, helped elect champions on the Denver City Council. Among other victories, [the city council successfully passed $30 million in emergency rental assistance](#), a substantial increase from the previous budget commitment from the City.

- Together, Colorado uses RCN as the foundation for all of their communications and campaign work. In 2018, they [successfully abolished enslavement](#) in the Colorado constitution. In 2020, they worked with Race Class Narrative Action and a coalition across the state to create an RCN branded campaign called [We Make the Way](#) for the 2020 elections. They built on their successes in 2021 to [pass legislation to limit abusive and discriminatory practices by police](#) and [to defeat Initiative 2F](#), [a proposed law](#) that would have pushed more people out of their homes and closed group housing for people left struggling to make ends meet or recover from addiction. As part of the [Fund Colorado's Future](#) effort, a campaign tied to the national RCN Fund Our Future project, they passed proposition GG, a measure to guarantee transparency on tax ballot measures and that makes it harder for the super-rich to hide behind fine print.

FLORIDA

- Despite facing a landscape saturated with corporate money and disinformation, the Florida for All coalition managed to defeat [two ballot initiatives](#) in the 2024 Florida General Election, one of which would have increased partisan influence on the state's education system and the other which would have made it harder for working-class candidates to run for office. They nearly won in their campaign on Amendment 4 to stop government interference with abortion (they helped secure 57% in favor, just shy of the 60% required for an Amendment to pass). And in places where they focused both organizing and communications tactics to create a narrative echo chamber - like in Alachua County, Florida - they saw a 100% success

rate across all of their ballot initiative campaigns. Lastly, they reported that 58 of their endorsed candidates were victorious. **Most of their materials**, from canvassing materials to digital ads to printed lit, used the Freedom to Thrive messaging guidance, rooted in Race Class Narrative (RCN).

INDIANA

- In 2023, **Faith in Indiana** kicked off their **"A Call for Care" Campaign** with over 800 faith leaders of all races, denominations, and backgrounds urging the Indiana state legislature to fund a new response system that is not reliant on police for people experiencing mental health crises. Kicked off by successful local fights in South Bend and Gary, northern Indiana organizers partnered with the Black Church Coalition in Indianapolis and others for this statewide campaign. Using RCN, the campaign led with values – expressed through stories, art, and public events – and built a multiracial coalition based on those values, from Black communities to white rural communities. Organizers intentionally engaged Black churches to support this campaign, with a total of 45,928 Black voters reached through their efforts. Because of their work, Faith in Indiana won **$100 million for crisis response** and helped **achieve record turnout in an Indiana municipal election**.

- Under the banner of We Make Indiana, organizers are wielding RCN to win political power. In 2021, **activists in Indianapolis** mobilized and moved voters to enact the nation's strongest civilian oversight over police, including placing a Faith in Indiana leader on the commission. Building on this success, **Act Indiana supported 210 grassroot leaders, 75% of them people of color, to run for Democratic Party precinct positions** in 2022, with 151 of them (more than 70%) winning. Their members are now one quarter of precinct leaders in Indianapolis and pluralities in several other counties. In the same year, Faith in Indiana held over 3,200 RCN-based conversations at the doors to recruit new members and leaders, convened 40 organizers, clergy, and grassroots leaders from across the state at the Indiana Voices coalition table for intensive RCN training, and supported their Black Church Coalition in using RCN messaging as part of their Souls to the Polls voter

mobilization events. In addition to turning out voters to elect Democrat Frank Mrvan to Congress in a close race in the Indiana suburbs of Chicago, their efforts in House District 32 proved pivotal to **electing champion Victoria Garcia Willburn** to the state legislature. They used an RCN-based digital program across several house districts to contact voters over 1.6 million times on text or social media, knocked more than 2,200 doors and made over 36,000 in her district alone – ultimately flipping the seat and electing Willburn by 232 votes.

- In 2022, Faith in Indiana led a successful campaign to build a statewide system of crisis response so that **all Hoosiers get help, not handcuffs**, such as **getting Indianapolis Mayor Joe Hogsett to fund a $2 million program**, winning millions more in funding in South Bend and Gary, and persuading the Family and Social Services Administration of Indiana to apply their crisis response approach.

KENTUCKY

- In 2024, **Kentuckians for the Commonwealth (KFTC)** successfully defeated **Amendment 2**, which would have changed the state constitution to enable school vouchers. Through WMTF/A's Implementation Boo$t program, they launched a layered field and communications campaign which included texts, field literature, swag, billboards, transit ads, and digital ads - all rooted in the Freedom to Learn messaging guidance, which is rooted in Race Class Narrative (RCN). **Not only did they defeat the Amendment**, they exceeded their engagement goals and saw an increase in the number of leaders attending their education work team meetings, building power for future public education wins.

- In 2023, **Kentuckians for the Commonwealth (KFTC)** secured a cleaner energy future through their **"We Got the Power"** campaign. KFTC mobilized thousands of Kentuckians across race and class, using RCN in their canvass scripts, digital ads, mailers, and billboards. As a result of their efforts, **they won more solar power for the state, a battery storage facility, and several energy efficiency programs**. Their victories didn't stop there. They also successfully pressured their state Public Service Commission to reject the creation of a natural gas plant and **limited planned rate hikes by other utilities**. KFTC channeled the momentum from their victory into a nonpartisan GOTV effort in 2023, connecting top races to their role

in critical energy decisions. This effort helped in the re-election of Governor Andy Beshear in November 2023.

MARYLAND

- After being part of a cohort of teacher's union affiliates involved in RCN research to develop **Freedom to Learn** messaging, the Maryland State Education Association integrated it into all of their 2022 electoral work and created additional digital media and **mail pieces** going on offense on public education in the face of anti-CRT right wing attacks. They won the majority of their school board campaigns, including **3 out of 4 seats** in an intense contest with the opposition in politically purple Frederick County.

MICHIGAN

- We the People Michigan has been an anchor for the state's RCN-branded coalition campaign, **We Make Michigan**. They played a leading role in **using this effective messaging** to demand certification in 2020. In 2022, their efforts culminated in electing former **We the People organizer Betsy Coffia** to the state legislature. They defeated an incumbent Republican, galvanized friends and family of undocumented farmworkers in this rural northern MI district, and **made the case for their progressive vision using** RCN.

- In 2022, when the dominant energy provider in southeast Michigan, DTE Energy, announced a nearly 9% residential rate hike, the Michigan Environmental Justice Coalition (MEJC) along with several coalition partners **utilized RCN messaging to**

demand affordable energy for all. Their efforts alongside We the People MI's **utility accountability campaign** secured the first ever public hearing held by the Public Service Commission to discuss the proposed rate hike – where the coalition **turned out over 300 people to oppose it**. Their efforts culminated in **DTE announcing just a .078% rate increase** while the Commission announced new plans to update the grid, which hadn't been done in about 25 years, and to use more clean energy, crediting MEJC for raising these issues.

- In 2022, **Fund MI Future** won new American Rescue Plan funding for schools and services at the state level, while also defeating several corporate kickbacks in the then-GOP controlled legislature by using RCN **Fund Our Future** messaging, demanding "**ultra-wealthy individuals and corporations pay what they owe… so that we can all prosper together**."

MINNESOTA

- In 2024, Faith in Minnesota, 100% Action, SEIU MN, and Education MN – launched a coordinated, statewide GOTV campaign rooted in Race Class Gender Narrative (RCGN) called "**We Make Our Future (WMOF)**." WMOF's approach demonstrates how to design a research-backed, aligned narrative strategy that has the reach and power to mobilize people. Through WMTF/A's Implementation Boo$t program, they produced videos, digital ads, swag, and mailers – with data showing that Minnesotans saw their messages between 4-6 times during the election cycle. Because of their efforts, **Minnesota bucked the trend of state legislatures swinging to the right, helping to retain critical seats in the House and Senate**, thus protecting the progress they made for Minnesotans across race, gender, immigration status, and zip code. This outcome hinged on razor-thin victories in the districts where WMOF organizations like Faith in Minnesota led layered field and communications strategies to GOTV.

- In 2023, **Education Minnesota** and other progressive advocates **defeated** anti-freedom school board candidates using **RCGN**. They were successful in **pushing** the local media to **adopt** their narrative which contributed to an 85% win rate in mostly suburban school board elections against the Minnesota Parents

Alliance, a group similar to Moms 4 Liberty, which operated with the backing of big money MAGA groups in the state. Education Minnesota and its allies used **their version of the Freedom to Learn messaging**, which was co-developed by WMTF and ASO Communications, and independently tested in Minnesota by Lake Research Partners.

- The 2023 legislative session began with three wins - **restoring the freedom to vote** to over 55,000 eligible Minnesotans, allowing Minnesota's **undocumented residents to have drivers licenses,** and passing a new standard of **100% carbon-free electricity by 2040**. The **100% Campaign**, **Unidos MN**, and **ISAIAH MN** used an RCN-based integrated narrative and organizing strategy and empirically backed messaging throughout their work on these campaigns.

- Minnesotans closed their 2023 legislative session with it being hailed as **"the most successful legislative session**, [...] maybe in Minnesota history." **They passed bills for a fairer tax code that ensures the wealthy pay what they owe**, **created a public health care option** for residents - including their undocumented neighbors, and **even secured 20 weeks of paid leave** to make sure workers can take the time they need to care for themselves and their families. With these huge wins, rooted in an integrated RCN communications and organizing strategy, **ISAIAH**, **Faith in MN**, **We Make MN**, **We Choose Us**, and many others are **claiming the title of #BestState** for everyday people across race, place, faith, and genders.

- In 2022, Faith in Minnesota and **SEIU** with partners and **party leaders** across the state used RCN to turn out voters and elect a historic Democratic trifecta, flipping key State Senate seats while pushing back on crime attacks and right-wing dog whistles to also **hold onto Keith Ellison's seat as Attorney General** and win the Hennepin County Attorney race. These victories built on consecutive cycles of gains by progressives and Democrats in the North Star state who have been campaigning with RCN since the **Greater than Fear** campaign in 2018, which helped elect progressives and Democrats by strong margins **up and down the ballot**, and the **We Make Minnesota** campaign in 2020 which **pushed back against state GOP efforts to divide suburban moms** while reaching more than four million people with their **RCN ads program** targeting key state legislative districts.

- In 2022, Faith in Minnesota and their labor partners **won pay owed to over 600,000 people working in child care** using RCGN messaging.

- Unidos MN used RCN messaging throughout their **2022 GOTV program**, after being part of We Make the Future Actions' RCN implementer training series. They scored a major victory in Senate District 36, defeating a longtime GOP incumbent

who opposed their ethnic studies education campaign and electing a key ally, Heather Gustafson, to the seat.

- In 2021, organizers in the Twin Cities used RCN messaging to win historic ballot initiatives **establishing rent stabilization in St. Paul** through a coalition led by The Alliance TC, and **paving a path for rent stabilization in Minneapolis** through a coalition led by ISAIAH. They went on to defend those wins in 2022 by blocking preemption at the state level.

- In 2021, amidst the wave of anti-CRT and anti-trans attacks from the right, **Education Minnesota and their allies utilized Race Class Narrative messaging** to pass two-thirds of all school funding referendums across 34 school districts, rejecting anti-freedom to learn efforts and school board candidates across the state. Critically, they held onto all school boards that had previously supported expanding racial justice in their districts.

- In 2018, **ISAIAH volunteers used RCN messaging** to win on a salient issue in the state capital: collective trash collection. Through grassroots organizing and creative communications, they beat back corporate trawler's attempts to hike rates and dump pollution in vulnerable communities, **prevailing by overwhelming numbers in the election**.

MISSOURI

- In 2024, Missouri Jobs with Justice Voter Action won a major victory for working families by **helping pass a statewide ballot measure that will increase the minimum wage and institute paid sick leave in Missouri**. Through WMTF/A's Implementation Boo$t program, they sent mailers to 24,000 newly registered persons in Missouri using research-backed messaging recommendations to mobilize them to support the measure. They also incorporated these messages in their canvassing scripts and digital content in their organizing to get the measure on the ballot.

- Organizers in Missouri have used RCN to deliver game changing shifts in the state in recent years. In August of 2020, **MOVE MO and their allies** drove a race-forward narrative and scored a major victory for Missouri families by expanding Medicaid

and extending health care to over 230,000 Missourians. Despite monied opposition wielding racialized wedge strategies and having to campaign in a pandemic, movement organizations soundly passed Amendment 2 to expand Medicaid **with 53.3% of Missouri voters supporting the measure**. And just months later, they replicated their success, electing Tishaura O. Jones, who **ran with RCN** messaging, as St Louis' Mayor.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

- Over 6 months in 2022, the Radical Right Accountability Project recruited over 200 volunteer leaders in New Hampshire **to promote RCN and Protect Our Freedoms messaging** through **a social media campaign** across local grassroots organizations and Democratic Party committees. They contributed to one of the closest races in years, defeating 9 Trump Republicans in the state legislature and positioning Democrats to evenly split the State House.

NEW YORK

- In 2022, progressive candidate Sarahana Shrestha won her primary and general election to represent her Hudson Valley district in the New York State Assembly by **using RCN to run a future-oriented campaign rejecting fear and division**.

- In 2022, progressive candidate Kirsten Gonzalez **utilized RCN elements in her "We Make New York" closing argument** to voters, winning her Queens district in both the primary and general election.

- From 2020 through 2022, **Reimagine Babylon**, a progressive group on Long Island, harnessed Race Class Narrative messaging to win two Library Trustee seats and elect **two new school board members**, in a purple district whose electorate is more than 90% White.

NORTH CAROLINA

- In 2022, **Down Home North Carolina utilized RCN messaging** in campaigning that delivered key wins across the state. **They elected seven of their endorsed candidates** across three counties, defeating anti-CRT right wing slates in each place. **They also turned out voters in rural NC districts to elect progressives and Democrats**, flipping a state senate seat in Granville County and electing the first Black sheriff in the county's 257 year history, electing a local Black farmer to the NC House, unseating a 12 year Republican incumbent, in Person County, and electing **Diamond Staton Williams** to the NC House by a margin of around 650 votes, successfully holding off a Republican supermajority by one seat. In both Granville and Person counties, Down Home collaborated with We Make the Future Action on **RCN mailers** that also helped boost Black voter turnout to levels nearly 10 points higher than the statewide average.

OHIO

- The All In For Ohio Kids coalition reconvened in 2023 to pass the Fair School Funding Plan as part of the biennial Ohio budget, **guaranteeing fairly and fully funded public schools in Ohio** a second time. In 2021, Ohio movement leaders launched **All in for Ohio Kids (AOK)** to win a decades-long battle to "pass fully and fairly-funded schools so we can ensure our kids have the education they need to

thrive." Thanks to the strong RCN infrastructure built in 2021, **grassroots leaders** and public education supporters throughout the state were **organically using RCN messaging** to **promote an undeniable vision for fully funded public education and early childhood education**. Organizers also ran an innovative **RCN digital ad program** that resulted in over 1700 petition signatures from parents and public education supporters who pledged to support fully funded public schools.

- All In For Ohio and partners across the state have been using their RCN informed brand and messaging to advance a statewide **All in For Ohio Agenda** to deliver "safe, healthy, and beautiful communities where everyone can live with respect and dignity, regardless of their race, gender, zip code, or income level." In 2023, they **protected the freedom to vote and the freedom to put popular issues on the ballot by defeating Issue 1** - one of the most egregious attacks on Ohio's democracy in recent years. Organizers and volunteers used RCN messaging to mobilize Ohioans, who overwhelmingly turned out to defeat Issue 1 (57% of Ohioans voted NO on Issue 1) in an often-overlooked summer election. Through the summer, Ohioans came together and used RCN to **ensure that Ohioans have a voice** and **can decide their own futures.** The defeat of Issue 1 ensured safe passage for a popular pro-abortion initiative to be placed on the ballot, which represents the next big fight in Ohio this year that **will use RCN messaging** to protect our reproductive freedoms**.**

- In 2021, organizers with **Citizens for a Safer Cleveland** used RCN, messaging about "**real accountability, justice, and safety for all of us**," for a referendum establishing a civilian review board of policing in their city. Despite a deluge of **attacks from opponents**, the campaign picked up major endorsers such as incoming **Mayor Bibb** and **won by a massive margin** of 59%-41%, delivering **one of the most significant community safety wins** in the country in recent years. In 2022, Freedom BLOC in **Akron** replicated Cleveland's approach, and won their ballot initiative establishing civilian-led oversight of police by large margins.

- In 2020, the **Equal Districts Coalition** in Ohio used RCN messaging on **fair districting** in their legal and legislative campaign to ensure all have an equal say in the decisions that impact their lives. Their efforts culminated in the state supreme court striking down Ohio Republicans' proposed district maps seven times, leading to a map that was the closest to equal and fair. In 2022, these final district lines proved crucial to **electing Democrats Sykes and Landsman** to Congress and keeping the state GOP from seizing all of Ohio's House seats through gerrymandering.

- In 2023, progressives in Pennsylvania **used** **RCGN** to **defeat** anti-freedom "Moms for Liberty" school board **candidates**. These wins included flipping the majority in **three** suburban Philadelphia districts where incumbents had pursued a racist and transphobic agenda.

- One PA is an RCN leader in the state, and in the 2022 midterms, they used this effective messaging to deliver victories. From spreading social media and digital "**Protect Our Freedoms**" ads to driving mobile billboards calling on Philly and Pittsburgh voters to "**Fight like Fannie for Freedom For All**" to using **creative actions** to create a clear contrast between voters' desires and the efforts of Trump Republicans, One PA drove remarkable turnout for Democrats (where total statewide voter turnout was 3.3 points higher in 2022 than in 2018). They registered 12,281 new voters in three months (the leading group in the state) and reached more than 217,000 eligible voters – that's over 10% of those who voted early.

- Ultimately, the RCN and Protect Our Freedoms message that progressive groups including OnePA, We The People PA, Asian Pacific Islander Political Alliance, We the People PA, SEIU PA, Commonwealth Communications and other partners pushed across the state was also picked up by Democratic candidates. This included gubernatorial candidate Josh Shapiro, who **set the terms of the debate** and delivered a closing argument in the final weeks of the campaign focused on **real freedom**. In addition to electing Shapiro as Governor and John Fetterman to the US Senate, Pennsylvania partners also turned out voters to elect PA's first Black Congresswoman, Summer Lee, to re-elect Rep. Susan Wild in one of the closest House races, and pushed a number of Democrats over the line in the state legislature, flipping the state house.

- In 2022, The Movement Cooperative, Progressive Turnout Project, and ASO Communications conducted a field experiment using handwritten postcards in the 2022 Pennsylvania Primary. In the recording breaking primary turnout that primary year (1.2 million), **they found that the RCN plus social pressure had the most powerful effect on turnout (+1.0pp)**, improving upon social pressure-only message effects by an estimated 25%.

TENNESSEE

- In 2025, when Republican House Majority Leader William Lamberth introduced a bill this year to bar children from immigrant families from public schools, the **Tennessee Immigrant Rights & Refugee Coalition (TIRRC)** led the effort to beat back this legislation. Together with 60+ organizations and crucial support from **Forward Tennessee**, they launched the **Education for All Tennessee** campaign, **leading with a proactive, values-based narrative about the right to public education for every child, no matter who they are or where they were born.** Through the campaign, they organized hundreds of volunteers to join multiple days of actions, collecting 50+ personal stories, and coordinating a dozen phone banks over the span of a few weeks to urge constituents in target districts to call their state legislator opposing the bill. Children, parents, **faith leaders**, and **small business owners** mobilized - coordinating rallies, making statements, and disrupting committee sessions. In the span of weeks, **the legislation was dead in the water**.

- In 2022, organizers in Tennessee utilized RCN messaging from Freedom to Learn research and applied it to win a campaign **passing a Black history education bill in the state**.

- In 2019, The **Nashville Justice League** wielded the Race Class Narrative in their successful campaign to elect **the most diverse and progressive Metro Council in Nashville history**.

TEXAS

- In 2022, the Texas Organizing Project in coalition with Texas for All used "**Know Our Worth**" RCN messaging to flip a seat and elect a new County Commissioner in Tarrant County.

- In 2021, **Every Texan utilized RCN messaging** in their successful campaign to stop a corporate kickback bill in the statehouse that would've taken away funding for school children and allowed wealthy corporations out of paying what they owe in taxes.

WASHINGTON

- In 2022, the Washington Education Association **applied RCN messaging** from **Freedom to Learn** research and creative content to craft a digital media campaign titled Teaching Truth. Through this campaign, they countered anti-CRT narratives and built a virtual bench of supportive community members, recruiting over 6,000 signers to **pledge to take ongoing action** to defend children's freedom to learn in the state.

- In 2022, Invest in Washington Now **used RCN messaging** and a satirical "**Save Our Yachts**" campaign to protect a capital gains tax on the wealthy and defeat a corporate-backed counter initiative from getting on the ballot.

WISCONSIN

- In 2024, the **Wisconsin Public Education Network** won **78% of their public school millage campaigns, which means public schools in 92 school districts in Wisconsin will see increased funding**. They also successfully advocated for the Wisconsin

Department of Public Instruction to include in their state budget proposal multiple provisions from their campaign to improve public education. Despite a well-resourced opposition, the Network achieved this victory by training up their local affiliates on Race Class Narrative (RCN) and integrating it across all of the tactics they used to reach voters across the state. Through WMTF/A's Implementation Boo$t program, they deployed digital ads and billboards to reach and mobilize voters to support the campaign

- In 2024, GROWW helped pass an ordinance in Pierce County, WI that protects local farmers from an increasingly consolidated agriculture industry, whose practices have poisoned the environment and put financial pressure on Wisconsin farmers. In their organizing, **GROWW evoked shared values to get this ordinance passed**: "Everyone deserves to have access to clean water and safe roads. Across Wisconsin, whether you're in Maiden Rock or Milwaukee, corporate greed gets in the way of that dream becoming reality. In 2025, we hope to see even more towns stand up and pass ordinances of their own."

- In 2024, the **Wisconsin Fair Maps Coalition** secured Wisconsinite's freedom to have an equal say in the decisions impacting their lives. Early in 2024, **they celebrated new electoral maps that put an end to gerrymandering of the state**. This was ushered in by a new state supreme court bench won by voters in the prior election. Members of the Coalition used **race-forward, empirically based messaging** to help voters understand what was at stake and mobilize them to use their vote as their voice. They followed up that victory by **successfully blocking two state constitutional amendments in August** that would have undermined residents' freedom to thrive, choking off federal funds for healthcare, safe and clean drinking water, and combatting the opioid epidemic.

- In Wisconsin, progressives and Democrats have been integrating RCN in their work for years. The core of this is based at **All in Wisconsin**, along with the WI Democratic Party. In the face of arguably the most sustained and well funded torrent of racist dog whistles this cycle, movement organizations like **SEIU's Wisconsin State Council used RCN to counter the right wing narrative against Mandela Barnes**, and his campaign ultimately **adopted this approach late in the race**, bringing him within less than one point of victory - making up a large gap and delivering a far better performance than previous attempts to unseat Republican Ron Johnson.

- In 2022, the Wisconsin Public Education Network and Wisconsin Public Education Action harnessed RCN messaging in their "**Public Schools Unite Us**" campaign. After being part of We Make the Future Action's RCN implementer training series, and receiving ongoing support from All in Wisconsin, the Network built up

effective messaging teams across the state – leading to victories in at least 94% of local school referendum campaigns that year to increase funding and resources for students in the face of right wing anti-CRT and anti-trans attacks against public schools.

EMERGING INTERNATIONAL APPLICATIONS

UNITED KINGDOM

- In 2021, CLASS UK and ASO Communications collaborated on a **UK Race Class Narrative** research project that demonstrated the efficacy of this messaging to mobilize and move British voters for progressive governance. In 2022, UK organizers used the findings and recommendations from the project to begin developing trainings with support from We Make the Future and integrating this messaging into new campaigns. The project is now housed at NEON (New Economy Organisers Network).

AUSTRALIA

- In 2021, the Victorian Trades Hall Council in Australia conducted testing of RCN among Australian union members and voters, finding it to be incredibly successful with their audiences. Union organizers have now launched **a blueprint guide** for implementing this messaging in the field to deliver future wins.

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