

Movement Labs

Impact Report

Come “inside the lab” with us to discover:

- What **110** experiments in 2024-2025 taught us about how to influence voter behavior
- How we plan to shift electoral outcomes by **1 percent** in favor of pro-democracy candidates in 2026



From our Founder and CEO, Yoni Landau

We've got a steep road to climb to escape autocracy in America. I hope you find a way to partner with Movement Labs to make that happen.

I started Movement Labs right after Trump won in 2016. We launched mass texting programs that helped power major protests against Trump's early abuses of power. For durable impact, we expanded our focus to recruiting a Democrat in every race and winning elections. We've been innovating, testing, and scaling voter engagement programs ever since.

In 2024, our goal was clear. Stop Trump by generating votes in states that mattered most. We tried some truly novel programs and ran over 110 randomized controlled trials (RCTs) studying their actual impact on voter behavior. We scaled dozens of programs, including texting millions of Americans a photo of their polling location because the research proved it boosts turnout.

Trump won. But the work we did and the data we collected were still vitally important. Through rigorous testing and rapid iteration, we delivered 135,277 net Democratic votes across presidential, congressional, and Senate battlegrounds at under \$400 per net vote.

Trump won by just 230,000 votes in 2024. Scaling our interventions two-fold could have meant a Harris presidency for under \$40 million additional dollars.

Looking to 2026, we're focused on:

The election-winning machine: reaching the right voters, at the right moment, with the right message — cost-effectively and at scale, to win elections.

Contest Every Race: long-term power-building and candidate recruitment in the places Democrats have ceded ground.

Innovation and R&D: pushing the boundaries of what's possible in technology and electoral strategy.

With proven programs ready to scale and new ideas in development, we're positioned to add roughly one percentage point of vote share across dozens of high-impact races in 2026. **If we can do that, we will flip an additional 3 to 6 House races and likely a Senate race.**

2024-2025 Impact By The Numbers



110

Randomized controlled trials conducted



3,827

Candidates recruited to run for local office



135,277

Net Democratic votes in 2024 (costing on average under \$400 per net Democratic vote)



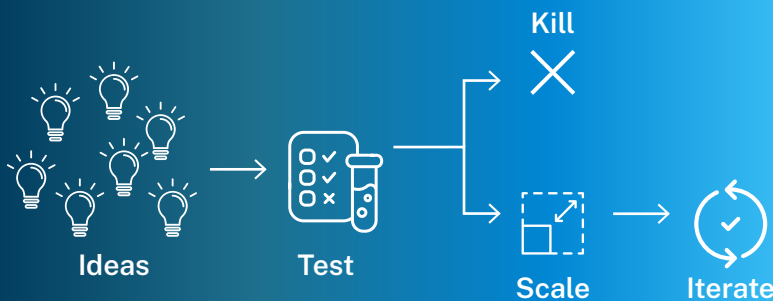
40+

Progressive and pro-democracy organizations supported with mass recruitment

Innovation Lab and Program Deployment

Movement Labs occupies a rare space in the progressive ecosystem: we're both a national voter contact operation and a tactical innovation lab. We run programs and invent the next generation of tactics that feed them. That dual capacity makes us operationally distinct.

OUR APPROACH



This model allows us to move quickly from concept to real-world validation, using the rigor of randomized controlled trials to evaluate what actually works. When a tactic proves effective, we scale it across millions of voters. When it doesn't, we refine it or retire it. We maintain relentless focus on what wins elections, and we are always trying new things.



Our voter contact engine has been built and refined over multiple election cycles to operate at a scale and speed that simply doesn't exist elsewhere in the progressive ecosystem. By combining massive data infrastructure with constantly evolving outreach systems, we can test ideas quickly, reach millions of voters, and improve our tactics every cycle."

— Madeline Eden
Chief Technology
Officer,
Movement Labs



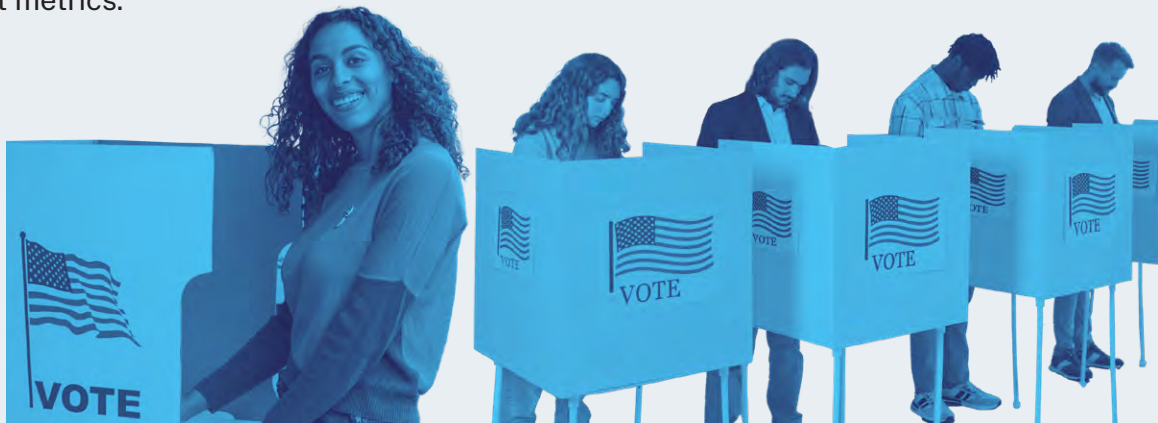
Operation “Net Votes” 2024

The 2024 election cost an estimated \$15.9 billion, making it the most expensive in U.S. history. But spending doesn't measure impact, and neither do metrics like “impressions” – we believe impact should be proven.

Randomized controlled trials are the foundation of our research agenda at Movement Labs, guiding our investments. In 2024, we conducted 70 RCTs, the gold standard for measuring causal impact. These experiments allowed us to identify which tactics actually moved voters and which ones didn't.

The result: 135,277 net Democratic votes in key Presidential, Senate and Congressional battlegrounds validated with scientific precision.

A net vote measures the direct electoral impact of a program, estimating how many additional votes for Democratic candidates were actually generated because of the tactic, rather than simply tracking contact or engagement metrics.



Randomized controlled trials let us measure what actually changes voter behavior, not just what we think might work. By testing tactics in real elections and learning from the results, Movement Labs can quickly scale what works, discard what doesn't, and keep improving the pro-democracy playbook.”

— **Saul Cunow, Ph.D.,
Vice President of
Research,
Movement
Labs**



These experiments are among the largest, most rigorous, and most precise experiments conducted in the social sciences. Movement Labs is to be commended for their commitment to rigorous and transparent measurement in addition to running a successful GOTV program.”

— **David Nickerson
Former Director of Experiments for the 2012 Obama Campaign**



Polling Place Images Case Study

A simple visual reminder of where to vote has become a scalable, evidence-based tactic that measurably increases turnout

What began as a simple idea became one of our flagship voter mobilization programs by asking a straightforward question: would showing voters a picture of where they vote make them more likely to turn out?

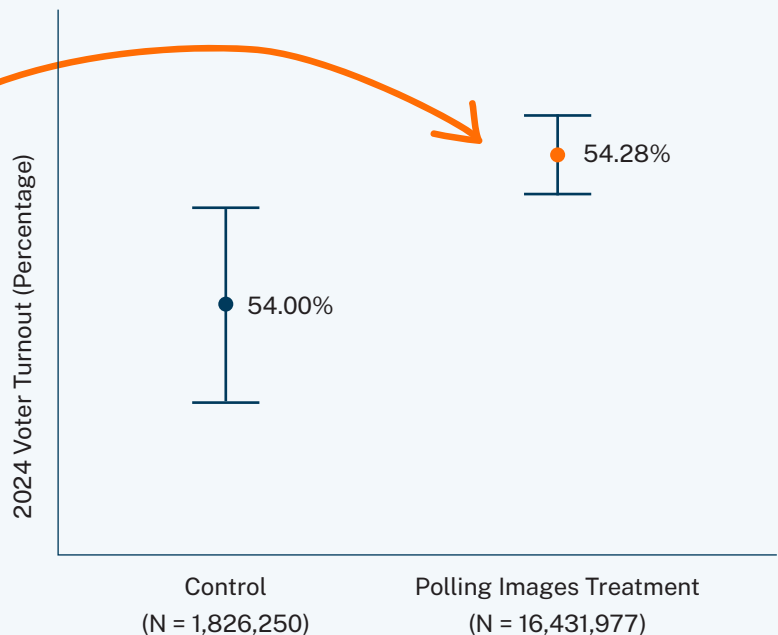
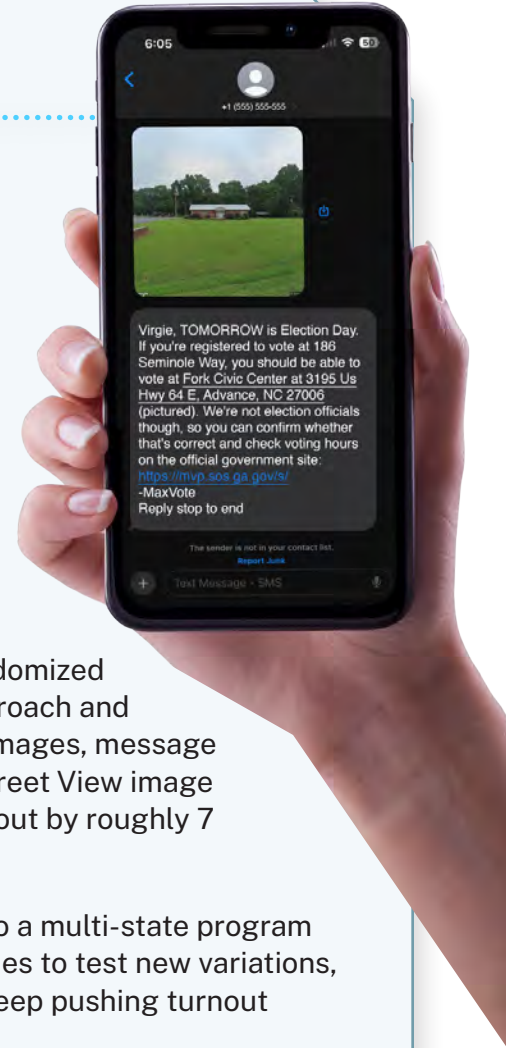
In 2021, Movement Labs tested this idea for the first time in the Virginia gubernatorial election, sending voters a text message with a Google Street View image of their polling location shortly before Election Day. Our study estimated that **voters who received the image were +0.8 pp more likely to vote than those who did not**. A second randomized controlled trial in the 2022 Illinois primary both refined the original approach and opened up new variations to test, comparing Street View images, map images, message timing, and follow-up texts. That testing showed a single, well-timed Street View image consistently outperformed traditional GOTV messages, increasing turnout by roughly 7 percent in a low-turnout election.

Today, Polling Place Images has grown from a one-state experiment into a multi-state program reaching millions of voters every election cycle. Movement Labs continues to test new variations, message framing, and text cadences to learn what works best, and to keep pushing turnout higher with each cycle.

In 2024, we scaled Polling Place Images to show over 16 million voters their polling place visually, in their texting inbox.

31,535 net Democratic votes attributed to our 2024 program.

Polling Place Images is now a core Movement Labs program and an ongoing testing ground for improving how voters are moved to action.



Contest Every Race

Candidate recruitment + local organizing in rural areas

Movement Labs deploys a range of voter contact strategies, from data-driven innovations to grassroots organizing, and rigorously tests each approach to meet voters where they are most effectively reached. One of these efforts is Contest Every Race (CER), a program incubated by Movement Labs since 2018 to recruit candidates for uncontested down-ballot races.



Contest Every Race Staff knock doors with endorsed candidate for MI state house in October, 2024

CER began with a simple premise: no election should go uncontested. What started with recruiting a single candidate in an overlooked race has since grown into a nationwide initiative focused on rural and down-ballot elections.

By lowering barriers for first-time candidates and empowering everyday Democrats to step forward, especially in communities where Republicans and the radical right had long run unopposed, Contest Every Race built a durable pipeline of local leaders and future officeholders. **Contest Every Race has recruited nearly 12,000 candidates nationwide and almost 50% have won their races, flipping seats, breaking one-party control, and reshaping the political landscape at the local and state level.**

In 2024, Contest Every Race also bet on rural organizers' ability to boost Democratic vote share in their counties. By distributing micro-grants, running organizing trainings in hundreds of counties, and giving county organizing teams access to free texting and voter data, we were able to see a meaningful effect. CER works because it meets voters where they are: at county party events, through local messengers, and with candidates who understand their communities. Relationships, authenticity, and local leadership remain powerful tools in our arsenal. In 2026, we're expanding CER's reach, bringing this community-centered approach to even more down-ballot races where it can make the difference.

The result? In 2024, CER netted 5,000 Democratic votes by mobilizing local candidates and energizing voters through trusted community networks.

Digital outreach leads to thousands of new candidates running for office - in races Democrats have left uncontested for years.

Hi Michael, it's Sam w/ Contest Every Race. Take the first step in running for local office and join our webinar on Jan 15 at 7pm ET. Can you attend? Stop to End
2 days ago

Hello Sam, I think you may have been the same person who was communicating with me last year and I'm happy to say I ran for and am now the Mayor of my town! I feel bad because I didn't keep up very well with Contest Every Race as an organization but you guys helped inspire me and direct me initially so thank you very much for that and what you continue to do!

2 days ago

Contact Action: MD: Last Day to File

Hi Rocio, it's Alex w/Maryland Democrats. TODAY is the DEADLINE to file as a candidate for local office. Do you need any help?

Delivered 9:27 am 9:30 am

I'm on my way to file now

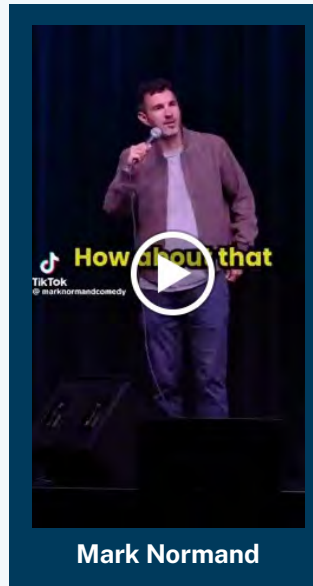
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Comedy as Persuasion: Reaching Young Men

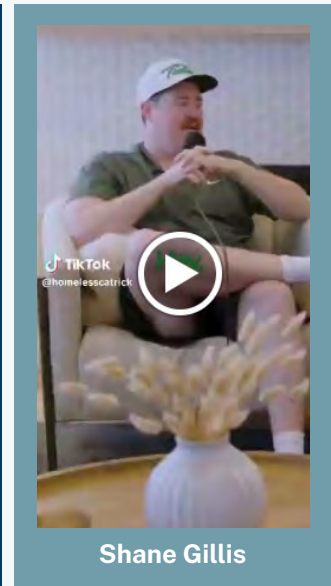
Comedy clips mocking Trump and his administration, served through a comedy-branded channel, measurably lowered Trump favorability.

Prominent male comedians have been a major influence on young men’s support for Trump. So we asked: if those same comedians turn on Trump, would clips of them ridiculing him hurt his favorability with young men?

To find out, we built a Meta presence designed to look and feel like an authentic comedy hub -posting a mix of apolitical content alongside clips from comedians popular in the “Rogansphere” -and ran those clips as paid digital ads to a national panel of men ages 18 to 29. Ads ran for one week in late July; we re-surveyed Trump favorability the day after on a 100-point scale. We studied this tactic via a randomized controlled trial.

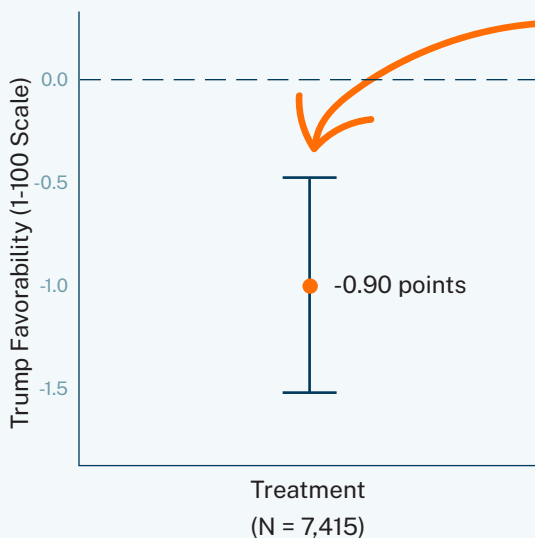


Mark Normand



Shane Gillis

Comedians were effective at reducing Trump favorability!



The result: a statistically significant **-0.9 point drop in Trump favorability among the treatment group ($p < .01$). Subgroup analysis suggested even larger effects among Black and Hispanic respondents (**-5.5** and **-4.6** points), though smaller sample sizes mean those numbers warrant their own dedicated test.**

One finding stood out: the comedy itself drives the effect, not just the messenger. When we tested non-comedic clips of the same “Rogansphere” figures talking about the Trump administration without jokes, favorability didn’t move. The punchline does the work. The ads also generated organic engagement beyond the paid placement, which we tracked through sentiment analysis.

Comedy is one of the most promising new persuasion channels we’ve tested, and we’re scaling it in 2026. We’re expanding the clip library and testing whether demographically matched comedians can magnify effects among Black and Latino men. We’re also exploring expanded targeting on YouTube, Connected TV and X.

Neighborhood Captains: Reactivating 2024 Vote-Skippers

Paid local organizers drove a significant turnout effect by going deep, building trust, and sustaining multi-modal contact over 3 months.

In 2024, nearly 90 million eligible Americans didn't cast a ballot — including an estimated 12 million who voted for Biden in 2020. Re-engaging 2024 nonvoters is a critical way to build power and win future elections.

After 2024, voters in low-turnout, highly Democratic precincts were frustrated, unheard, and tired of remote outreach that felt inauthentic. We wanted to find out whether deeper, longer, locally-rooted contact could pull 2024 vote-skippers back to the polls.



Outreach didn't lead with the ask. It led with listening: how are you holding up, how's your family doing, what's going on in the neighborhood. The vote conversation came later, alongside resource-sharing and follow-up. Each canvassed voter was canvassed twice on average; each called voter received three calls. The results were some of the largest turnout effects we've measured in 110+ experiments.

Voters who were actually contacted by a captain were +9.36pp more likely to vote (p = 0.01) — nearly tripling turnout against a baseline of about 5 percent. In census blocks chosen by captains, turnout lift was +1.85 pp. Cost per net Democratic vote came in at \$1,473 — high relative to digital programs, but a different kind of investment, and one that produced movement in voters most programs can't reach at all.

This is a program we want to scale. We see several pathways, including partnering with power-building organizations that already have local relationships in states with target races or running our own paid captain campaigns directly. Either way, we're carrying forward what worked — local hires, listening-first scripts, sustained contact, and genuine resource-sharing — while tightening recruitment, training, and voter registration infrastructure for scale.



Neighborhood captains at a community event

Creator-Led GOTV with SEIU in Detroit



Trusted local creators can measurably increase voter turnout



Chris



Curtis



Donny



Tianna

Movement Labs partnered with SEIU to rigorously test whether creator-led GOTV can increase voter turnout among Black voters in Detroit. As SEIU shaped its 2025 research agenda, the organization sought clear evidence about the impact of influencers, particularly among Black men. Together, we designed and implemented a randomized controlled experiment to measure real turnout effects, not just digital engagement.

The study included approximately 247,000 Black registered voters in Detroit, who were randomly assigned to treatment and control groups.

Detroit-based creators recorded short videos encouraging voters to participate in the election. These videos were distributed through paid digital advertising on Meta and connected TV platforms, and in some cases layered with MMS text messages in the final days before Election Day.

The results showed that creator-led GOTV messages increased turnout. Across both treatment groups, voters who received influencer content were more likely to vote than voters who did not receive the messages. Layering the ads and texts together appeared more effective than ads alone, and the texts may have been the more cost-effective component with limited budget.

This experiment demonstrates the potential of creator-driven outreach rooted in authentic community voices. As campaigns increasingly invest in digital influence, rigorous testing like this helps identify when and how creator partnerships translate into real-world civic participation.

Demonstrators participate in a rally and march during an “ICE Out” general strike and day of protest on Jan. 23, 2026, in Minneapolis.

PHOTO: STEPHEN MATUREN/GETTY IMAGES

Rapid Recruit Advocacy and Movement Building

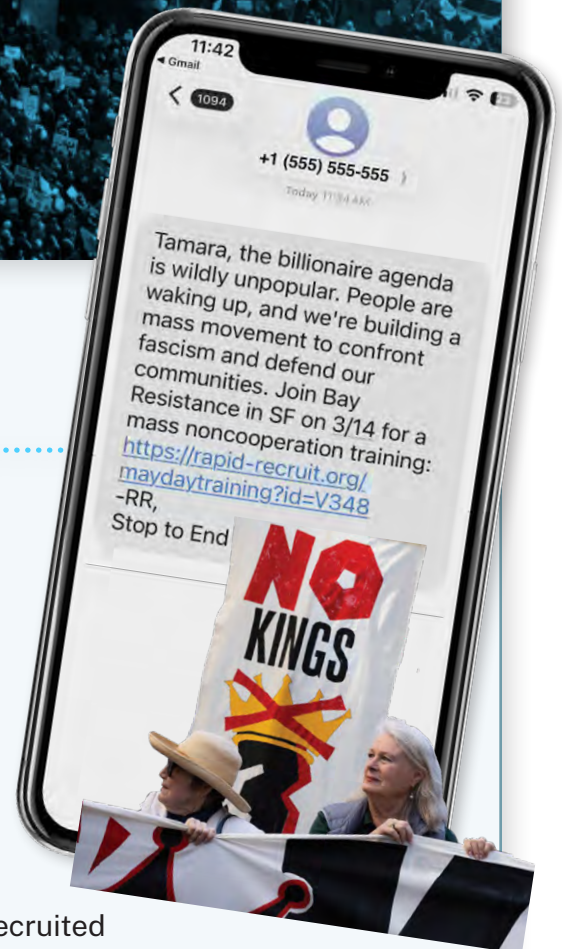
A rapid-response program that mobilizes people at scale to take action when key moments arise.

Movement Labs develops tactics and runs programs to bolster progressive and pro-democracy work outside of elections. Going back to our roots, when we launched mass texting programs to turn people out to protests against the travel ban in 2017, we’ve never stopped believing that building a culture of participation matters as much as any single race. In 2025, we launched Rapid Recruit, to connect millions of people to meaningful actions in real time. In just the past three months, Rapid Recruit sent over **12 million text messages** and recruited more than **300,000 repeat action takers** — at less than \$1 per person — supporting campaigns led by over **40 organizations across 20+ states**.

The actions we’ve powered range from high-visibility national moments to targeted grassroots pressure campaigns: mobilizing hundreds of thousands for No Kings protests, pressuring Disney and Sinclair to reinstate Jimmy Kimmel, recruiting veterans to speak out against democratic backsliding, and organizing ICE watch networks in communities under threat. We’re building a growing base of people who know how to show up when it counts.

Rapid Recruit fills an important gap. Most organizations mobilize their own lists around their own issues — Rapid Recruit is shared infrastructure that any partner can plug into, from scrappy volunteer-led local groups to national campaigns. When a critical moment emerges, we can mobilize within hours, not weeks — and at under \$1 per action taker, we do so cost-effectively at a massive scale. In a political environment where the news cycle moves fast, that kind of always-on capacity is rare.

And with over 300,000 practiced action takers on our list, we’ve built a dedicated and passionate network ready to defend democracy.



FULL 2024 PROGRAMS REPORT AND 2026 OUTLOOK

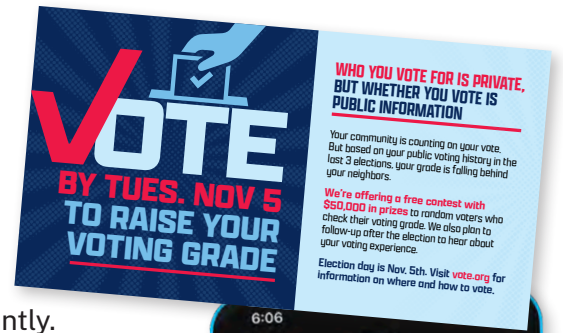
TURNOUT PROGRAMS

Polling Place Image Texts

Sending custom images of voting sites to increase voter turnout.

2024 Result: +0.18pp turnout lift in the top 7 Presidential battleground states, increasing net Democratic votes by 10,968 in the noisiest, most competitive environment. Across a broader geography including competitive Senate and Congressional races, we saw +0.38pp turnout lift increasing net Democratic votes by 20,567. In total, this program netted an additional 31,535 Democratic votes in 2024.

2026 Status: Running again, scaling significantly. Proven, cost-effective innovation that cuts through noise.

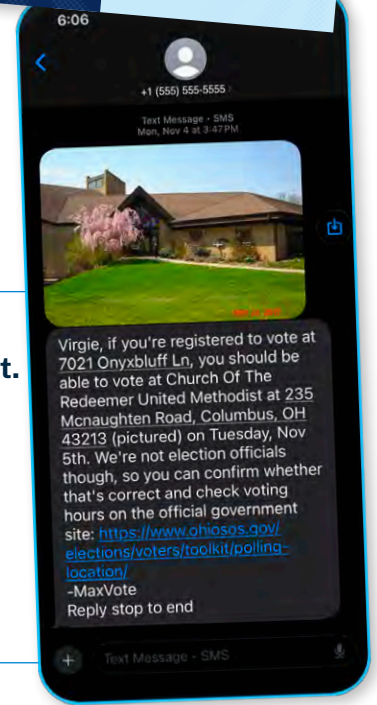


New Voter Phone Data (Voter File Enhancement)

Incorporating newly matched cell numbers into voter contact to increase turnout.

2024 Result: +0.27 pp on voter turnout, creating an additional 3,131 net Democratic votes. Identified and matched 10.1M new phone numbers, expanding the pool voters who can be contacted by cell phone.

2026 Status: Running again, core infrastructure investment. Data quality directly translates to voter contact success.



Community Messenger Videos

Using videos and selfies from local leaders at recognizable local landmarks to increase turnout among nearby voters.

2024 Result: 2,304 net Democratic votes across 7M targeted voters, 1,400 localized videos at recognizable local landmark.

2026 Status: Running tests with other types of messengers such as comedians, celebrities, pastors, and other trusted professionals. May scale pending pilot results. Expanding hyper-local segmentation, testing longer storytelling arcs, integrating sentiment tracking.

Did They Vote? Social Pressure Programs

Various social pressure campaigns leveraging vote history to drive turnout, including a vote history lookup tool showing voters that their record is public and comparing vote history across household members.

2024 Result: 4,108 net Democratic votes across campaign arms. Viral social posts made the concept of public vote history a national talking point.

2026 Status: Running again with modifications including expanded flight of social pressure message variations and messaging comparing vote status among people in the same household.

DJs at the Polls (Partner Program)

Recruiting DJs to perform at polling locations, sending out custom reminders to vote promoting voting and the DJ performance. In partnership with DJs at the Polls, a nonpartisan organization.

2024 Result: +0.16 percentage points, 8,050 net Democratic votes and recruited hundreds of DJs to perform at polling places.

2026 Status: Running again, standout partner collaboration with proven results.

PERSUASION PROGRAMS

Core Persuasion SMS and MMS Campaigns

SMS and MMS messages to persuasion targets, featuring 3 persuasion message tracks.

2024 Result: 60,445 net Democratic votes across 14M targeted voters.

2026 Status: Running again, with modifications. Extensive in-field testing and precinct randomization analysis showed persuasive effect among undecided and persuadable voters.

Social Media Handle Matching Program

Matching social media handles to the voter file for more detailed audience insights.

2025 Result: ~15% match rate; 5x higher than the best previously published rate.

2026 Status: Running again, major expansion to measure social media persuasion effectiveness at scale.

Rural Radio Campaigns

Radio ads with pro-Harris persuasion messaging aired in rural communities.

2024 Result: First-of-its-kind precinct-randomized test showed potential backlash of -1pp.

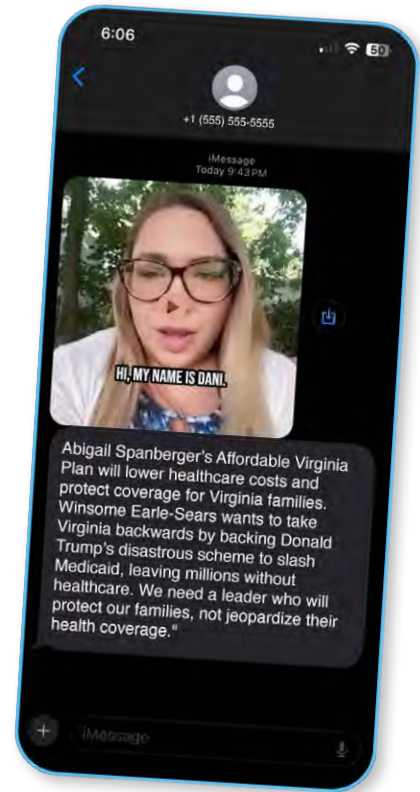
2026 Status: Retired. Evidence suggests that message, audience and mode were not aligned.

Paid Digital Persuasion Ads

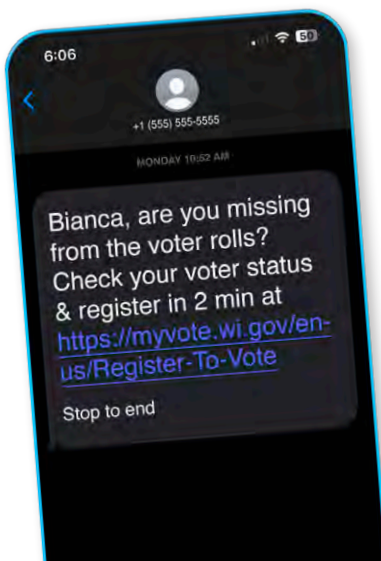
Persuasion video ads testing whether surfacing Trump's personal ties to Jeffrey Epstein and his past financial support of Kamala Harris moves persuadable voters away from supporting him.

2024 Result: No measurable effect.

2026 Status: Retired, evidence suggests digital ad persuasion was not effective



VOTER REGISTRATION PROGRAMS



SMS Voter Registration Messages

SMS-based messaging promoting online, mail, and same-day voter registration opportunities.

2024 Result: Core campaigns did not increase voter registration. Across 8 RCTs, there was a small positive effect on voter turnout, but may be due to statistical chance.

2026 Status: Scaling down, running small innovation pilots in 2026 to test and refine new approaches.

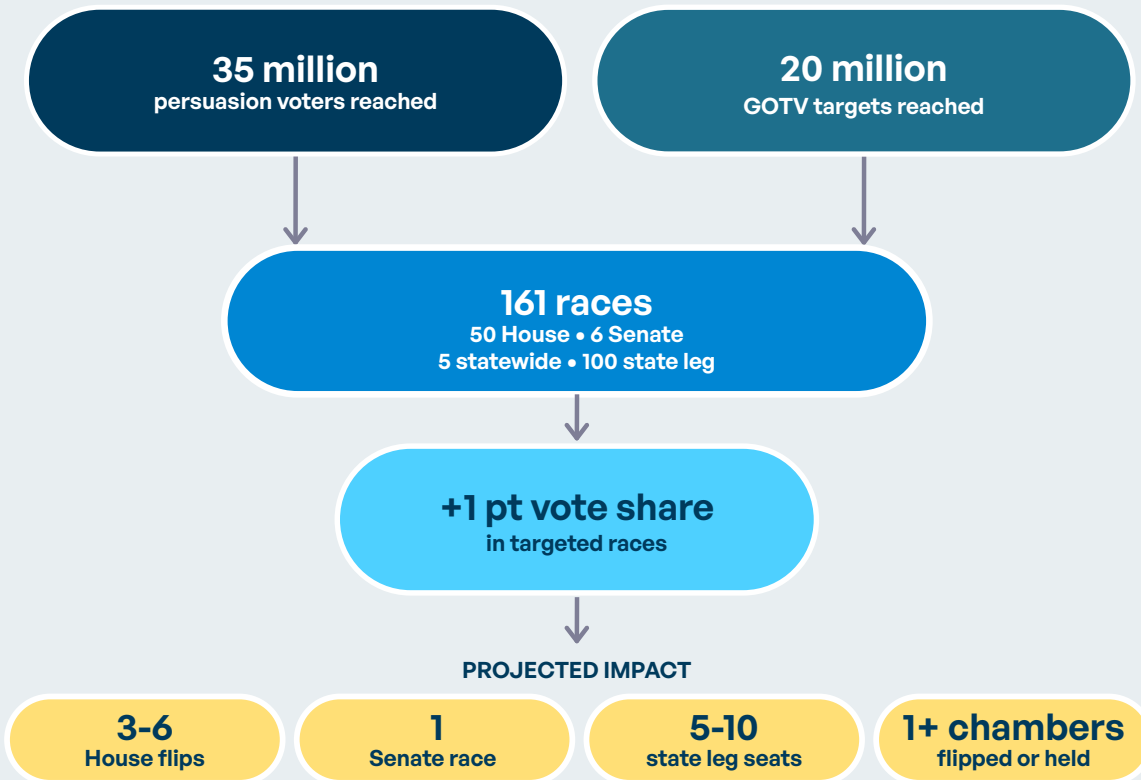
Looking ahead: Scaling in 2026

In 2026, Movement Labs is positioned to deliver approximately one percentage point of vote share across 50 key House races, 6 Senate targets, 5 statewide contests, and up to 100 state legislative races. By reaching 20 million GOTV targets and 35 million persuadable voters, we can meaningfully impact control of Congress and critical state governments.

Our modeling suggests **our programs could make the difference in flipping 3 to 6 Congressional races, 1 Senate race, dozens of state legislative seats, and potentially flipping or maintaining control of at least one state legislative chamber** (or even a legislative supermajority).



Our Plan to Win in 2026



Proven Programs We're Scaling

Our 2024 results give us a clear roadmap for 2026. We're expanding our most successful interventions:



Polling Place Image Texts

Scaling our flagship innovation that delivered 31,933 net votes



Phone Data Enhancement

Continuing to build the highest-quality voter contact infrastructure in the progressive space



Community Messenger Videos

Expanding hyper-local video content with stronger segmentation and longer storytelling formats



Social Matching Program

Doubling down on measuring and optimizing social media persuasion



Contest Every Race

Growing our grassroots organizing footprint to reach more down-ballot races



Partner-Powered Experiments

Expanding collaborations with organizations like DJs at the Polls and others that showed strong results



New Innovations for 2026



We're scaling what worked and investing in the next generation of voter contact and movement-building tactics:

Data & Targeting Innovations	Messaging & Creative Testing	Technical Infrastructure
<ul style="list-style-type: none">→ Integrating social media data with traditional voter files to create richer voter profiles→ Social listening at scale to understand voter sentiment in real-time→ Satellite imagery analysis for improved geographic targeting→ Advanced automation systems to test and iterate faster	<ul style="list-style-type: none">→ New message architectures tested through rapid learning platforms→ Multi-mode “surround sound” persuasion ecosystems that coordinate across channels→ Sentiment tracking to optimize message timing and content→ Long-horizon storytelling campaigns that build narrative over time	<ul style="list-style-type: none">→ Expanded tech and data innovation teams→ Advanced experimentation platforms for faster RCT deployment→ Leadership and technical capacity to prototype bold ideas rapidly



The 2026 landscape is challenging, but our track record proves that smart, evidence-based programs can deliver decisive margins. Movement Labs’ modeling indicates our 2026 programs could deliver **1 percent of additional vote share to Democrats** across target Congressional and Senate races, increasing the likelihood of flipping either the Senate or the House.

Trump won in 2024 by just 230,000 votes across key battleground states. Scaling our interventions could have changed the outcome. **In 2026, we have the chance to scale our proven-effective programs in Congressional, Senate, and state legislative races where margins are even tighter and our impact can be even greater.**

To partner with us in 2026, please contact development@movementlabs.com