



Roadmap to Victory: Finishing the Job

Drawing on the history of other social justice movements in the United States, Freedom to Marry has shaped the national strategy that – in partnership with many – has brought us to this point of extraordinary momentum and opportunity. That strategy, the “Roadmap to Victory,” calls for advancing work on three tracks – winning more states, growing the majority, and ending federal discrimination – so that we can return to the U.S. Supreme Court with a critical mass of states and undeniable momentum in public opinion, the conditions history tells us are required for the Supreme Court to be most likely to rule for national resolution.

In the next 30-month push, Freedom to Marry will continue to bring together national and local organizations committed to winning marriage, provide a plan and the necessary tools, and deliver programs and expertise to guide, focus, and propel the campaign to victory nationwide. Working together, we seek to achieve, by the end of 2016:

- A majority of Americans living in a freedom to marry state.
- Public support at greater than 60%.
- An end to federal marriage discrimination through full repeal of DOMA and equal treatment of all marriages for all federal programs and purposes, throughout the country.

We will thereby maximize our chances of winning when the next freedom to marry case reaches the Supreme Court – in a matter of years, not decades.

Winning More States

With undeniable momentum from the federal win and increasing pressures and opportunities as litigation and ballot-measure efforts multiply (some more strategic than others), Freedom to Marry is fast-tracking its proven strategy for winning states in all three manners available – through the legislature, at the ballot, and in court.

Freedom to Marry’s A-Team of seasoned campaign operatives leads our efforts in the states. **Under the direction of Richard Carlbom, Freedom to Marry’s new director of state campaigns** (following his unprecedented success at both ballot and legislative campaigns running Minnesotans United for All Families), Freedom to Marry will use public education and legislative/ballot advocacy strategies to lay the groundwork for, and secure, victories at the ballot and in the legislature while also supporting our legal partners to create the best environment for favorable court rulings.

On the public education front, Freedom to Marry uses its *Why Marriage Matters* public engagement campaign to lay an early foundation of support, using paid media, story placement, and conversation campaigns. As states enter into ballot or legislative campaigns, our team of operatives ensures successful campaigns by helping guide strategy; communications; advocacy with legislative and executive branches; and grassroots and grassroots organizing and mobilizing.

Freedom to Marry has led our movement's efforts to bring state-of-the-art digital organizing tools and strategies to the states, including the successful campaigns in Delaware, Maine, New Hampshire and Rhode Island. In this new stage, we are proud to formalize this segment of our work with state campaigns in the **Digital Action Center**, which will help state campaigns to develop innovative digital communications and advocacy strategies, create social media content, engage bloggers, and support the day-to-day online needs. Freedom to Marry currently manages online work for the campaigns in Hawaii, Illinois, and New Jersey and supports the effort in Oregon. As an example of efficient central capacity for state wins, Freedom to Marry is prepared to expand the program as additional state campaigns ramp up.

Win More States Fund

In 2012, Freedom to Marry launched the Win More States Fund to raise, channel, and invest resources into the key battlegrounds that will best advance the national win. To date, work through the Fund has had enormous success – protecting the freedom to marry in New Hampshire and winning marriage in Delaware, Maine, Maryland, Minnesota, Rhode Island, and Washington. Through the Win More States Fund, Freedom to Marry has raised and invested nearly \$6 million directly into states to date. This calendar year, we've already invested more than \$1 million into priority states, and we seek to raise and invest at least an additional \$2 million.

Freedom to Marry is hard at work to add four states by 2013/2014 (Hawaii, Illinois, New Jersey and Oregon). We are also laying the groundwork to win six more states by 2015-2016 (some mix of Arizona, Colorado, Michigan, Nevada, New Mexico, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Virginia), while teeing up states for post-2016 (and recognizing that others could be added to the mix based on changing circumstances). As lawsuits are filed, we are working closely with our legal partners on state-specific public engagement strategies. Freedom to Marry also is providing organizing and education opportunities in all 50 states, part of the national strategy that enables every state to be an element of the drive to national resolution.

Ending Federal Discrimination

With the Supreme Court decision striking down a central part of DOMA, Freedom to Marry has guided a multi-faceted strategy to ensure that same-sex couples who are legally married are treated as such by the federal government for all federal programs and purposes.

To ensure full and fair implementation of the ruling across all programs and across the country, Freedom to Marry helped to guide **work with the Obama administration**, which has already taken strong steps in crucial areas such as immigration and personnel policies for federal employees. We have proudly worked closely with, and relied on the expertise of, our movement's legal organizations.

In addition, Freedom to Marry leads **the work on Capitol Hill to pass the Respect for Marriage Act**, which would repeal DOMA in its entirety and codify that crucial programs, such as income tax and Social Security spousal and survivor benefits, must treat all married couples equally, no matter where they live. Our bipartisan federal team has helped grow support for the Respect for Marriage Act from 18 senators and 108 representatives at the time of its introduction in 2011 to 42 senators and 161 representatives today. We will continue to expand the Respect for Marriage Coalition, which Freedom to Marry created and co-chairs with HRC. The Coalition is now made up of more than 100 health, civil rights, labor, LGBT, and other organizations working to advance the freedom to marry inside the Beltway.

Growing the Majority to 60 Percent and Beyond

Over the past four years, Freedom to Marry and our partners have reshaped the national conversation on marriage around winning messages focused on love, commitment, and freedom, while highlighting the journey stories of people in the “moveable middle.” This shift away from a focus on abstract rights and benefits has been crucial to the exponential growth in support for marriage.

Moving forward, Freedom to Marry will continue to enlarge and diversify the national support for marriage, leading the way in efforts to change hearts and minds through powerful messengers and groundbreaking research with the new goal of getting public support for the freedom to marry over 60% by 2016. Our programs include:

- **Message Research Consortium.** Since 2010, Freedom to Marry has brought national and state partners conducting research on marriage together to ensure the movement is researching the right questions, using state-of-the-art methodologies, sharing findings, and avoiding duplication. We will continue the work of conducting groundbreaking research and serving as the coordination hub to ensure the movement is tackling the next round of challenges.
- [Why Marriage Matters](#). Through our core public education program, we will continue to use state-of-the-art message research, personal stories, and ready-made tools (such as videos, house party kits, and the like) to reshape the national conversation on marriage and help states with marriage campaigns.
- [Mayors for the Freedom to Marry](#). Launched in 2012, the program currently has enlisted more than 350 mayors from 35 states. By the end of 2013, we seek to grow to 500 mayors from all 50 states. This program garners spokespeople for key state and national campaigns, grows support throughout the country, and enables advocates in every state to advance the cause by seeking to enlist their mayor.

- [Young Conservatives](#) for the Freedom to Marry. This program's [newly expanded](#) roster includes a who's who of under-40 former Romney/McCain campaign leaders along with CNN commentator Margaret Hoover and Meghan McCain, and will continue to assert its voice in the media while having active presences in networks such as College Republicans and Young Republicans.
- [Familia es Familia](#). Through this partnership of two dozen leading national Latino organizations hosted by Freedom to Marry, we've launched marriage and [family unity](#) PSA's featuring civil rights and labor leader Dolores Huerta, including \$500,000 in ads that began last week on Comcast channels. We will leverage this partnership to continue to grow support among Latinos, both in target states and nationwide.

Cost

Based on work to date nationally and in the states, including what it takes to do public education groundwork and build and run successful ballot campaigns, Freedom to Marry estimates the cost of this push to finish the job to be more than \$100 million, of which Freedom to Marry is determined to raise and contribute one quarter or more, building on its success at becoming the nation's largest funder of marriage work.

Conclusion

The Supreme Court got interracial marriage wrong before it got it right. Our strategy – the same winning strategy that has gotten us to this moment of opportunity and victory – is the strategy that will bring home the victory nationwide. With the moral and legal weight of the federal government now on the side of our families, the Constitution, and the freedom to marry, the house divided in the states will not stand. With continued hard work, smart focus, and real investment of time and money in the battles ahead, Freedom to Marry will within a matter of years deliver the goal we set out to achieve a decade ago – winning marriage nationwide – and happily go out of business.