# FOR ALL AMERICANS FINAL REPORT



"We encouraged the **Administration to** continue calling for nondiscrimination, framing the Respect for **Marriage Act as** one facet of legal protections that **LGBTQ** families deserve. "

**Kasey Suffredini**Chief Executive Officer

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### A NOTE FROM OUR CEO

# **Kasey Suffredini**

In early 2015, with all eyes on Hillary Clinton as the leading contender for President of the United States, Freedom for All Americans was launched. Our mission was straightforward and short-term: seize the emerging opportunity under a Hillary Clinton Administration to secure nationwide LGBTQ nondiscrimination protections through passage of a federal law.

We all recall how the 2016 elections actually turned out. After the results were in, the FFAA/EF boards of directors voted to extend the campaign through the next presidential cycle, with the hopes that the 47th presidential administration would provide the opportunity we'd been working toward. Our goal in the interim was to build momentum by winning nondiscrimination in more states, growing public support, and maximizing our movement's chances to win major nondiscrimination breakthroughs in the courts.

As this report details, we accomplished an incredible amount during those years: expanding the number of states with protections by over 25% and growing public support to an all-time high of 83% – an increase of 11% since FFAA's launch. We won for the first time in the Supreme Court and at the ballot box in red and blue states.

With the election of President Biden and pro-equality majorities in Congress in 2020, we mobilized the most coordinated movement push for LGBTQ federal protections in U.S. history. Over three dozen movement organizations – national groups, statewide advocacy organizations, and community centers – generated hundreds of constituent contacts, media stories, and personal grasstops touches over an 18-month campaign to secure the 10+ GOP Senate votes needed to pass a bill. FFAA's campaign team doubled in size to coordinate the effort. We passed the Equality Act through the U.S. House for the second time, and we supported the

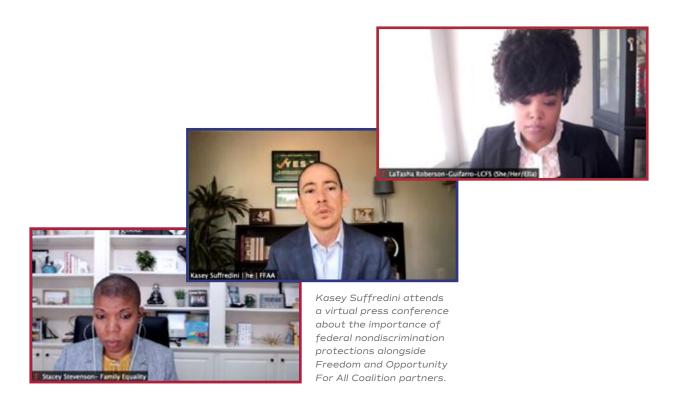




first-ever hearing on comprehensive nondiscrimination protections in the U.S. Senate. Center-right Republicans and faith leaders made history by publicly calling for nondiscrimination protections, and a bipartisan group of Senators began negotiating language.

And then, in June of 2022, the Supreme Court issued the *Dobbs* decision. The political zeitgeist quickly shifted to shoring up marriage protections. FFAA jumped into that effort from the get-go, mobilizing our bipartisan strategies, relationships, consultants, and messaging to secure bipartisan passage of the Respect for Marriage Act in the House and the 10+ GOP votes needed to pass the bill through the Senate.

This was all in service to passing a nondiscrimination bill; we never let up on our full court press for nondiscrimination protections. We encouraged the Administration to continue calling for nondiscrimination, framing the Respect for Marriage Act as one facet of legal protections that LGBTQ



families deserve. Our messaging was reflected by both Republican and Democratic elected officials, calling for dignity and respect for LGBTQ people and continued work to pass bipartisan nondiscrimination protections.

We worked hard to drive marriage over the finish line as quickly as possible, in order that the Senate would retain time to pivot back to negotiating and passing a nondiscrimination bill. Ultimately, the clock ran out on our ability to win both issues before the end of this Congress.

It's not a coincidence that 10 of the 12 Senate Republicans who voted "yes" on marriage were FFAA nondiscrimination priorities. While marriage affirmation is not the issue we were organized to accomplish, it's a tremendous win for our families and communities. We know this bipartisan success is a step forward for the effort to win nondiscrimination nationwide. It's proof that with strategic organizing and deliberative advocacy, we can bring Democrats and Republicans together to do the big things our communities need.

While FFAA/EF's time has come to an end, the movement for nondiscrimination continues. Your deep and transformative investment in this campaign has advanced nondiscrimination farther than ever before. We will prevail. And that victory, when it comes, will be attributed in no small way to the generosity, advocacy, and laser focus of the donors, Boards, and staff of this campaign. Thank you, it has been my honor to serve this effort.

Kasey Suffredini, CEO Freedom for All Americans

# FFAA/EF Achievements

Freedom for All Americans and Freedom for All American Education Fund (FFAA/EF) launched in 2015 with the goal of securing comprehensive nondiscrimination protections for LGBTQ people through passage of new statewide laws, victories in the courts and, ultimately, passage of a federal law in the 117th Congress. We've brought our movement together in unprecedented levels of coordination to secure historic victories and combat dangerous policies in the years since our campaign began.

When our campaign launched, transgender people lacked express protection from discrimination under state law in places like New York, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire, even though each of those states had passed sexual orientation nondiscrimination laws. No Southern state had passed a comprehensive statewide nondiscrimination law protecting LGBTQ people from discrimination. Many Americans assumed protections for LGBTQ people against discrimination already existed nationwide and didn't realize the need for Congress to finally pass a federal nondiscrimination law.

We've made enormous progress over the last seven years, in partnership with passionate and tenacious local, state, and national advocates; and thanks to the relentless and inspiring commitment of the FFAA/EF team. Twenty-one states now have comprehensive nondiscrimination laws on the books – a 25 percent increase since the launch of FFAA/EF.

Support for nondiscrimination protections is at an all-time high – 83 percent of Americans (a 11-point increase since our campaign began). This includes 68 percent of conservatives nationwide as well as majorities of every demographic, political affiliation, and mainstream faith denomination in every state. We have mobilized more conservatives than ever before to

speak out for nondiscrimination in the states and in Congress; to veto bills with harmful, overly broad religious exemptions and anti-transgender measures; and to sign transgenderinclusive bills into law, echoing the sentiments of the majority of their constituents and showing that nondiscrimination isn't a partisan issue among the public and shouldn't be among lawmakers. Our movement still has work ahead of us in the states, in the courts, and in Congress. But as we pause to assess the political landscape in the months and years ahead, we're also reflecting on all that FFAA/EF has accomplished in partnership with our local, state, and national advocates over

the last seven years. Here's a snapshot of some of that work.

### **Achievements:**

# Leading Efforts to Secure Historic State Victories & Defeat Bad Bills



FFAA played a central role in founding and running winning campaigns that resulted in a **25 percent increase in states with comprehensive protections** since the launch of our campaign in 2015. This included:

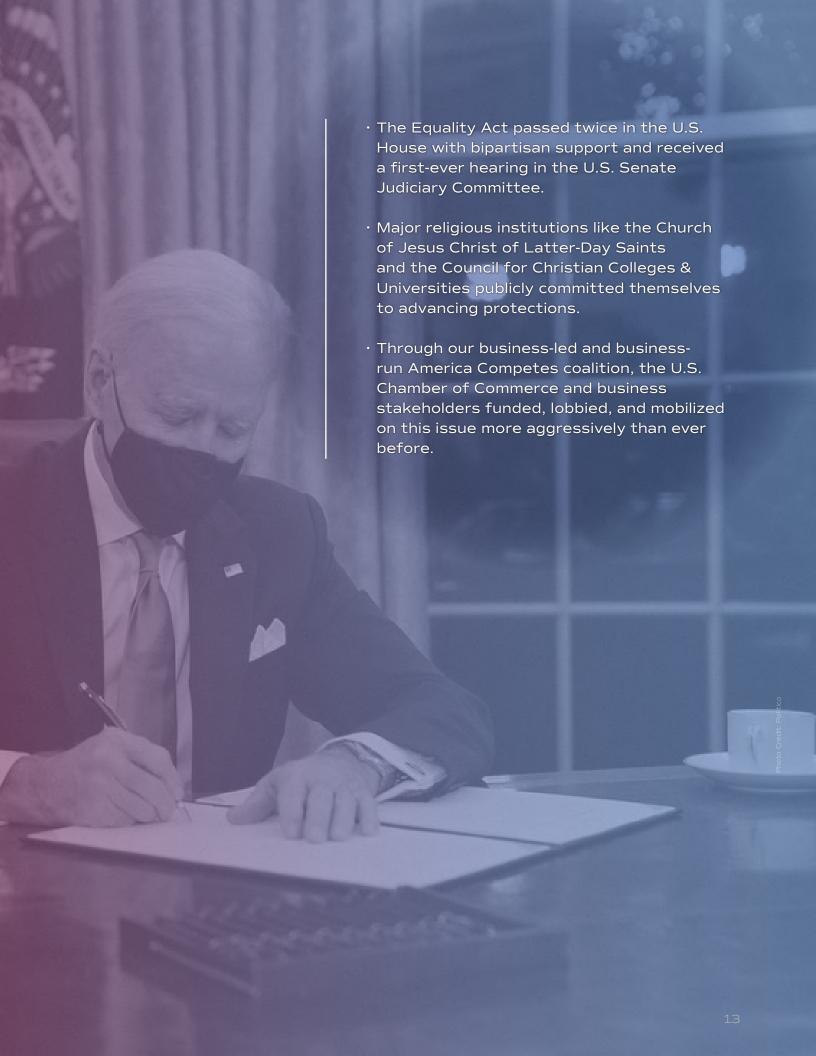
- Founding the campaign that passed transgender nondiscrimination protections in New Hampshire - the first time a Republican-controlled state legislature advanced such a bill, which was quickly signed into law by the state's Republican governor.
- Founding and co-chairing the campaign that passed and later successfully defended at the ballot transgender nondiscrimination protections in Massachusetts. The dual Massachusetts victories marked the first time a state passed a standalone transgender public accommodations law, and the first time a Republican governor signed a transgender nondiscrimination bill into law; and the successful ballot fight we spearheaded marked the first-time voters affirmed transgender protections at the statewide ballot box. Thanks to that campaign, a victory many thought was out of reach, we won by a landslide margin with two-thirds of voters supporting transgender protections.
- Founding and leading the campaign coalition that passed comprehensive nondiscrimination protections in Virginia – the first victory of its kind in a Southern state.
- Participating in the statewide coalition to secure proactive transgender nondiscrimination protections in New York.

- We proved that we could win not only in legislatures but directly with voters at the ballot box mobilizing to keep anti-transgender measures off the ballot in Washington State (twice!) and Jacksonville, Florida; and supporting successful efforts to win a ballot fight in Anchorage, Alaska that would have repealed existing nondiscrimination protections for transgender people.
- Along the way, we coordinated deeply with state and national partners to hold the line against state-level opponent attacks designed to overwhelm us with their unprecedented volume and cruelty. FFAA provided strategic advice, founded coalition tables, made direct financial investments, and provided in-kind staffing support, lobbying, earned media pitching, digital strategy, and business organizing in approximately 40 states since its founding in 2015. Some of our most meaningful defensive engagements were in places like Georgia, Montana, North Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, and Texas.

### **Achievements:**

# Pushing Progress Forward at the Federal Level

- During the Trump Administration, FFAA/EF worked in coalition with our movement partners to defend against the administration's antitransgender attacks, including the transgender military ban and efforts to rewrite federal law to exclude recognition of transgender people. We engaged much of this advocacy at the same time that our campaigns in places like Massachusetts and New Hampshire were expanding protections for transgender people with the support of Republican lawmakers and governors.
- After the 2018 midterms and the subsequent election of President Biden, FFAA/EF drove a laser-focused campaign strategy to maximize our chances of passing federal nondiscrimination protections. Our collective earned media strategy, digital organizing, field mobilization, lobbying on the Hill, and overall advocacy efforts supported historic milestones:
  - President Biden became the first president to explicitly support federal passage of LGBTQ nondiscrimination protections during his campaign. He then became the first sitting president to endorse the Equality Act in two Congressional addresses and to make explicit mention of his support for the transgender community. He has gone further than any other president to advance these protections through executive orders enforcing implementation of the Bostock v. Clayton County ruling and overturning the ban on transgender service members.





Our team also engaged heavily in briefing and organizing around all of the recent Supreme Court cases related to nondiscrimination, particularly Masterpiece Cakeshop v. Colorado Civil Rights Commission, Bostock v. Clayton County, and Fulton v. City of Philadelphia.

- We were deeply involved in the amicus brief strategy in Fulton, recruiting approximately 450 faith leaders and clergy, 35 current and former Republican elected officials and leaders, more than 30 national businesses, and more than 165 mayors and local governments (including the U.S. Conference of Mayors) representing 50 million Americans to engage as amici in the case.
- · FFAA/EF helped develop the legal strategy that led to a groundbreaking victory in the Bostock, which affirmed that Title VII of the Civil Rights Act prohibits discrimination against LGBTQ workers. FFAA/EF coordinated amicus briefs from more than 50 different constituency signers, including nearly 200 businesses collectively generating hundreds of billions of dollars in revenue, representing hundreds of thousands of employees, and spanning the country and a wide variety of industries; nearly 200 current members of Congress; nearly 75 mayors of cities and municipalities representing over 20 million local constituents; high-ranking Republicans, including Ken Mehlman, the former chair of the Republican National Committee; Reginald J. Brown, former Associate White House Counsel; Gregory S. Walden, former Associate Counsel to President George H.W. Bush and Associate Deputy Attorney General; and approximately 20 other former Republican members of Congress and longstanding members of Republican presidential administrations; and more than 850 clergy, religious leaders and religious organizations.
- FFAA/EF provided extensive earned media and digital support in the high-profile Masterpiece Cakeshop vs. Colorado Civil Rights Commission. FFAA/EF engaged Emmy Award-winning TV personality and conservative Montel Williams to produce a video and publish his opinion in USA Today about the stakes of the case and the conservative case for LGBTQ protections. Dozens of mayors from our Mayors Against LGBTQ Discrimination coalition signed friend-of-the-court briefs, authored op-eds, and provided on-the-record statements for reporters. FFAA/EF amplified in the media the participation of over 100 congregations in the National Weekend of Prayer for LGBTQ Justice and elevated the presence of faith leaders at the Supreme Court for oral argument in earned media and digital platforms.

### **Achievements:**

# Growing Public Support for LGBTQ Nondiscrimination

FFAA/EF worked aggressively to help Americans become more familiar with and empathetic about how discrimination harms LGBTQ people. We launched the movement's first dedicated storytelling hub, Faces of Freedom, featuring more than 500 stories of LGBTQ people and their allies from nearly every U.S. state. We produced award-winning videos highlighting what it means to be transgender, the types of discrimination LGBTQ people encounter, and Republicans explaining why they support nondiscrimination. This included the first-ever national TV ads to feature transgender Americans and the unique discrimination the community faces.

Since FFAA/EF's campaign launch in 2015, public support for nationwide nondiscrimination protections has skyrocketed up 11 points to an all-time current high of 83%. That figure includes nearly 70% of conservatives, and majorities of every demographic, political affiliation, and mainstream faith tradition in every state.

FFAA built deep partnerships with institutions as well as individuals, helping recruit and secure thousands of endorsements for state nondiscrimination bills and the federal Equality Act from conservatives as well as progressives, businesses and labor unions, civil rights organizations and law enforcement, advocates for women, children, and survivors, medical associations, professional sports teams and more. This dramatic expansion of public support for LGBTQ people not only changed laws but transformed culture and improved lives daily.



FFAA/EF mobilized a broad bench of supporters to demonstrate that America is ready for nationwide nondiscrimination protections. Some highlights include:

- Conservatives Against Discrimination a coalition of Americans who believe discrimination violates their values of freedom, family, and small government, including a leadership council of two dozen current and former GOP elected officials and strategists who support nondiscrimination protections for LGBTQ Americans. The coalition was co-chaired by Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, former Congresswoman from Florida's 27th district; and Trey Grayson, former Secretary of State of Kentucky.
- · America Competes a business-run, business-led coalition that's worked to advance nondiscrimination and combat anti-LGBTQ bills in the states, supported the advancement of protections in the courts, and advocated for LGBTQ nondiscrimination protections at the federal level both publicly and directly with lawmakers. Led by companies including BASF, Dell, Hewlett-Packard, IBM, Salesforce, and Sustainable Food Policy Alliance, America Competes became the go-to resource for powerful corporations who wanted to engage and needed access to "need-to-know" intel and action items. FFAA mobilized nearly 100 companies to regularly take action by providing curated reports of state legislative updates and needs, targeted asks to lawmakers, invitations to participate in policy briefings and amicus brief signing opportunities, sample social media toolkits for amplification, and more. At the federal level, FFAA connected dozens of business leaders to key Senate offices for one-on-one lobby meetings.
- Small Businesses Against Discrimination a nationwide coalition of hundreds of small businesses and small business leaders who supported nondiscrimination protections and activated around state campaigns and Supreme Court cases.
- Mayors Against LGBTQ Discrimination a bipartisan coalition of over 500 municipal leaders from all 50 states and Washington, DC representing millions of Americans who are committed to advancing LGBTQ nondiscrimination in their communities and nationwide.
- LGBT-University an innovative program led by FFAA to develop and strengthen on-the-ground leadership to support passage of LGBTQ nondiscrimination protections. LGBT-U led dozens of trainings and provided over 100 campaign teams and local, state, and national advocates with the training and best practices they needed to advocate in the most critical battlegrounds like Florida, Georgia, Pennsylvania, Texas, and more. Many LGBT-U alumni went on to become staff at LGBTQ movement organizations.

# Timeline of Wins



2016





Massachusetts becomes first state to pass standalone statewide transgender public accommodations law Washington voters reject effort to put existing transgender protections on the ballot for a statewide repeal vote



2017







Jacksonville, FL passes hotlycontested human rights ordinance Washington voters reject second effort to put existing transgender protections on the ballot for a statewide repeal vote



2018









New Hampshire becomes first state under Republican control to pass statewide transgender nondiscrimination law Massachusetts becomes first state to uphold transgender protections at the ballot box, by landslide 2/3s margin (68%/32%)

Anchorage,
AK voters
uphold trans
protections at
the ballot box







First time Equality
Act passes in
a chamber of
Congress, and with
bipartisan support

New York passes statewide transgender nondiscrimination law

### 2020







Virginia becomes first Southern state to pass proactive, comprehensive LGBTQ nondiscrimination protections Supreme Court rules in Bostock v. Clayton County that LGBTQ workers are protected from discrimination under existing civil rights laws

Voters elect pro-LGBTQ nondiscrimination leaders to takes control of US Senate, House and White House



### 2021









President Biden signs
expansive Executive Order
that directs all federal
agencies to advance and
enforce gender identity
and or sexual orientation
nondiscrimination
protections

federal campaign to secure bipartisan
Senate support
for the Equality
Act with launch of
11-state national
onstituent and media

Act
passes
U.S.
House for
a second
time on a
bipartisan

Judiciary
Committee
holds
first-ever
hearing on
the Equality





Public support of LGBTQ nondiscrimination protections reaches all-time high of 83%

2022



### increase in states with comprehensive protections



- proactive state victories (MA, NH, NY, VA)
- ballot measure wins (Anchorage, Jacksonville, MA, WA)

Key player in more than 🔼 🕕

states

1000s of voices lifted up in amicus briefs

faith leaders conservatives businesses

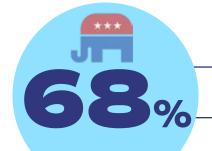


2000 local and national stories placed in the media



nationwide support

(up 11% since FFAA/EF's campaign launch)



Republican support

# Strategy to Secure Protections

FFAA's work was clear cut for the U.S. Senate: leverage all of the expertise and assets we'd built winning conservative support for nondiscrimination protections since 2015 to secure the 10+ Republican votes we needed to pass a federal law.

FFAA's emphasis on GOP support was critical. It was of course about the math needed to overcome a Senate filibuster, but it also was about ensuring a win that would be enduring, one that demonstrated the broad American consensus on nondiscrimination protections, so our lives and freedoms wouldn't be a political football for years to come.

Our efforts grew conservative support across the country. Public support for nondiscrimination protections for LGBTQ people is now at an all-time high, with support from a majority of every political affiliation in every state. We demonstrated that Americans from all walks of life – conservatives and progressives, businesses large and small, and strong majorities of worshippers across all mainstream denominations – want to see LGBTQ people treated with dignity and respect.

Our work to expand support for federal legislation among Republican senators was successful. Many Republican senators publicly recognized the need for protections during and after the first-ever Senate Judiciary Committee hearing on comprehensive federal nondiscrimination protections in May 2021, and by 2022 a bipartisan group of Senators was negotiating the bill.

When Congress shifted its attention to codifying the freedom to marry after the Supreme Court decision in *Dobbs v. Jackson Women's Health Organization*, we mobilized our bipartisan strategies, relationships, consultants, and messaging to secure the bipartisan support needed to win in the House and Senate. Ten of the 12 GOP Senators who helped ensure the passage of the Respect for Marriage Act had been the focus of our extended education and persuasion efforts on nondiscrimination.

# Strategy: Audience of One Campaigns

FFAA/EF launched highly individualized campaigns for each of our priority senators—our 'Audience of One' campaigns—in 11 states to apply smart constituent pressure and surround senators with messages in the media, both local and national, highlighting the urgency and widespread support for protections in their home states and beyond.

We also mobilized key constituencies, who were important to our priority senators, to come out publicly in support of nondiscrimination protections, including businesses engaged in America Competes, members of Conservatives Against Discrimination, and those who shared their stories on Faces of Freedom.

We also worked to transcend politics by refocusing this issue where it belongs – on people. We organized private conversations between constituents and priority senators to make a personal case for protections.

- We mapped important relationships through all available information: Facebook, Twitter, public records, and conversations with allies
- We provided messaging and training for people to have impactful one-on-one conversations with policymakers
- We organized hundreds of constituent meetings, including people of faith, business leaders, and local communities important to policymakers

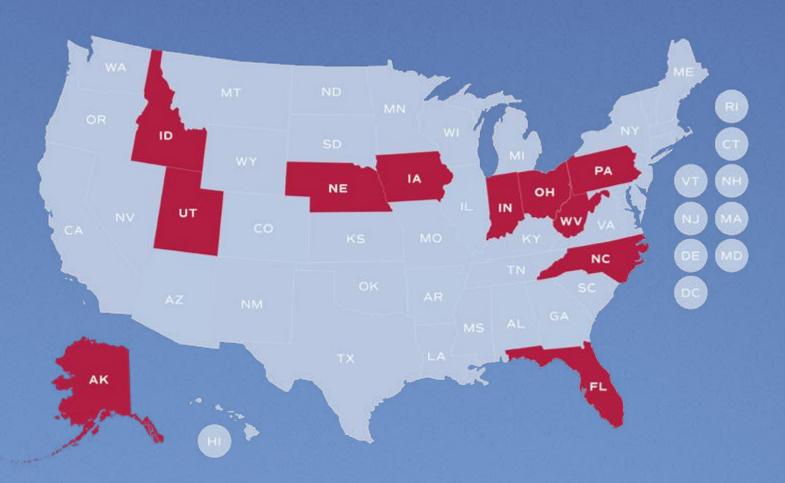
### Media Strategy:

### Surround Sound to Protect LGBTQ Americans

 By placing nearly 225 opinion editorials and human-interest stories in national and local media in 2022, FFAA elevated the urgency and America's readiness to protect LGBTQ people from discrimination.
 As part of our 'Audience of One' campaigns, we found the right constituents to appeal to specific senators and placed stories where they would be sure to read them.

### Mobilized Historic Coordination Between LGBTQ Organizations

 FFAA/EF was a founding member of the Freedom and Opportunity for All Coalition, an alliance of 17 LGBTQ and allied groups that worked to engage over 1,000 additional partners to move collectively in pursuit of federal LGBTQ nondiscrimination protections. This included coordinated lobbying, grassroots and grasstops mobilization, and earned and social media campaigns. This extensive level of coordination on federal policy was unprecedented in our movement's history.



Although the Respect for Marriage Act isn't the legislation FFAA was organized to win, our campaign made its passage possible. In an increasingly polarized political environment, our laser-focused organizing and deliberative, bipartisan advocacy primed Democrats and Republicans to come together to pass one of the few laws to come out of the 117th Congress and accomplish a tremendous milestone for our community.

This stunning bipartisan cooperation was a substantial step forward in the effort to win bipartisan support for federal nondiscrimination protections.



# Thank You To Our Major Supporters!

The following individuals and institutions gave to Freedom for All Americans and Freedom for All Americans Education Fund in 2021/2. We are grateful for their support that allowed us to make all the progress described in this report.

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