



I VOTED

ACCESS
FOR
ALL

HEALTHCARE
SAVES
LIVES

MISSOURI
DESERVES
RIGHTS!



FISCAL YEAR 2025

Annual Report

ACLU Missouri

Photo: Monica Haines



Photo: Tom Bastian





Photo: Tom Bastian



Photo: Kohar Minassian

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Photo: Luz María Henríquez

A Letter from the Executive Director

The report in your hands covers the ACLU of Missouri's state-based work during our 2025 fiscal year, which spans April 1, 2024, to March 31, 2025. My key word for the year is "ambition." Arm in arm with you and our coalition partners, the ACLU of Missouri won an unprecedented statewide reproductive rights ballot initiative. Then, my team had the privilege to lead the litigation that allowed Planned Parenthood to open their doors. The ACLU of Missouri won a statewide voting rights case, fought like hell for health care for transgender people, and continued organizing for education equity in the bootheel.

Looking back is powerful because it gives us the strength to step forward in difficult times. Right now, the ACLU machine is fighting the fight of our lives. In May of 2025, the Missouri legislature referred a constitutional amendment to reinstate an abortion ban. But voters will have the final say. I want you to know this: together, we are going to stop the ban and protect reproductive freedom. Missouri organizations are strong and prepared.

Nationwide, the ACLU community is fierce enough to challenge President Trump and change the course of our nation's history. Our freedom is worth fighting for, and wins are possible. The ACLU will continue to press forward with ambition in Missouri and across the nation. Thank you for standing with us during this historic time.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Luz Ma. Henríquez".

LUZ MARÍA HENRÍQUEZ

(she/ella)

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Voting Rights

In 2022, the legislature passed House Bill 1878, an omnibus bill targeting voting rights and political speech. The bill included additional restrictions on the type of acceptable IDs Missourians could use to vote as well as several provisions that criminalized voter engagement efforts and chilled the freedom of speech of organizations whose priorities are to register and educate voters.

These provisions include a criminal prohibition on compensating non-governmental actors registering voters; a felony criminal penalty for soliciting a voter to obtain an absentee ballot application; criminal penalties for anyone other than Missouri registered voters who engages in voter registration; and a requirement of volunteers who will register more than 10 voters to apply with the Secretary of State's office.

In partnership with several voting rights advocates, we filed two separate lawsuits challenging each of these restrictions in June of 2022. In separate rulings, a Cole County Circuit Court judge blocked the enforcement of the portion of the law that criminalizes voter engagement efforts but allowed the ID restrictions to remain in place. Both challenges are slated to be heard before the Missouri Supreme Court, who will ultimately decide the fate of these provisions.

The ACLU of Missouri will continue to fight attacks on our voting rights in court, in the statehouse, and beyond.

“Voting is a
fundamental and
constitutional right,
not a privilege.”

Hayti and the School to Prison Pipeline

In 2022, the ACLU's Missouri office did something new: we created a three-year fellowship designed to improve education equity in the rural Missouri town of Hayti. Why Hayti? Because the diverse farming community was one of the state's worst offenders for over-disciplining Black children and children with disabilities.

For three years, two Community Engagement Restorative Justice Fellows took on tasks like organizing to diversify the school board, educating school administrators about restorative discipline practices, tracking data, and organizing parents and students to advocate for

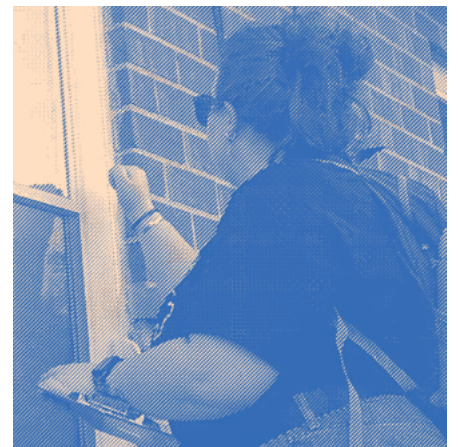
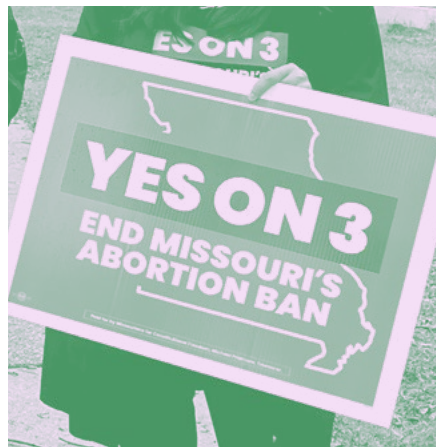
themselves. The Fellows attended countless sports games, handed out thousands of snacks, and registered voters.

The program aimed to end the practice of corporal punishment in Hayti schools and improve discipline disparities overall. The Fellowship is wrapping up in the summer of 2025 – and a coalition of community members are prepared to take over the work. The final step is codifying our efforts as a best practice that can be replicated by others. In August 2025, we will release a comprehensive report.





Reproductive





Rights



Photos: Tom Bastian, Nicole Rainey



Missouri Passes Amendment 3, Abortion is Legal. In the 2024 General Election, nearly 52 percent of Missourians approved Amendment 3 to add a constitutional protection for the fundamental right to reproductive freedom, including access to abortion care, birth control, prenatal and miscarriage care, and more. Missouri is the first state in the country to overturn a total abortion ban through a voter-approved constitutional amendment.

The ACLU of Missouri wasted no time and filed a lawsuit the following day on behalf of the state's local Planned Parenthood affiliates to stop the enforcement of Missouri's total abortion ban and several targeted restrictions on abortion providers, also known as TRAP laws. On December 20th, a Jackson County Circuit Court judge granted a preliminary injunction blocking the state's total abortion ban and several TRAP laws.

While the court order was an extraordinary victory for people across the state, it briefly left in place a discriminatory and unnecessary abortion facility licensure requirement that prevented providers like Planned Parenthood from resuming care. But we did not stop fighting for our rights and asked the court to reconsider blocking the abortion facility licensure requirements. Shortly after a hearing on this issue, the court issued an order on February 14 blocking these requirements, allowing abortion care to resume at Planned Parenthood locations in the state.

The ACLU of Missouri was pivotal in restoring reproductive freedom in Missouri at the ballot box. At every step of the initiative petition process, we were there. Our team led efforts to build the coalition, develop the policy, fight the legal challenges, fundraise to resource the campaign, collect signatures, and campaign across the state, ensuring that Missourians' fundamental right to reproductive freedom was attained.

In a nationally unprecedented maneuver, the 2025 Missouri General Assembly legislatively referred abortion back to voters in an attempt to reinstate a ban. Abortion will appear on the ballot as early as a special election in 2025 or as late as the November 2026 election. Missouri is ground zero for the fight between politicians who want to ban abortion and voters who want to protect access. Amendment 3 was hard won and will be defended.





“Trans liberation is tied to
all of our freedoms.”



Transgender Rights

Amid growing backlash and discrimination, the ACLU of Missouri continues to work for equal rights for transgender people. As part of a state-wide coalition that includes organizations like PROMO and Planned Parenthood, we advocate for LGBTQ+ rights across Missouri. Looking ahead, we're excited to announce that later this calendar year, Jamie Sgarro will join the ACLU of Missouri as a Skadden Legal Fellow to focus specifically on trans justice work.

Last year, we challenged Missouri's gender-affirming care ban for minors and Medicaid recipients in court. Although the circuit court upheld the ban, the fight is far from over. We are appealing the case to the Missouri Supreme Court.

While we are proud that no anti-trans bills passed in 2024, the fight continued in 2025. Bills targeting transgender and LGBTQ+ individuals were introduced in record numbers in Missouri. To address this, for the fourth year in a row, we contracted a lobbyist who specializes in LGBTQ+ issues. Unfortunately, the 2025 abortion ban bill included a cynical attack on health care for transgender youth, which remains banned (pending our appeal). The ACLU of Missouri and our coalition partners are prepared to do whatever it takes to defeat this ban at the ballot box.

How we work with National

Donations to the ACLU protect civil liberties at every level: local, statewide, and national. Contributions from Missourians are shared between the ACLU of Missouri and the national ACLU, ensuring your support strengthens our grassroots advocacy in Missouri while advancing broader nationwide efforts.

This dual-impact approach is possible because of our federated structure, which connects local affiliates like the ACLU of Missouri to a powerful nationwide network. It enables us to champion community-based solutions while leveraging national resources, ensuring that ideas, funding, and support are directed where they are most needed.

The ACLU has never been better prepared than we are now. We are almost twice our size when Trump was first elected in 2016. Our membership is triple the size it was when Trump first took office. And having fought aggressively against the first Trump administration, we have the muscle memory of what it takes to stand up for freedom and justice.





Photo: Kohar Minassian



Photo: Kohar Minassian



Photo: Tom Bastian

Notable Work

Missouri's 2024 Legislative Session. The 2024 Missouri legislative session was widely viewed as one of the more chaotic in recent years. Despite the disarray, ACLU of Missouri staff and lobbyists - along with thousands of Missourians who made their voices heard - worked with both sides of the aisle to protect Missourians' right to amend the constitution through the initiative petition process. We continued work with our friends at PROMO to prevent any additional anti-transgender bills from passing. Proactively, the ACLU of Missouri team continued to push for privacy legislation that we initiated in 2023 - and we made headway on legislation that would expand the right to vote to people completing probation or parole stemming from a felony conviction.

Missouri's 2025 Legislative Session. In contrast, 2025 brought a slate of new lawmakers who worked with discipline to pass legislation. The ACLU of Missouri stepped up to the plate: we increased our team of lobbyists, ensured that three staff members had full-time capacity to monitor and advocate in the legislature, partnered with both Democrats and Republicans, and worked in close coalition with organizational partners. Ultimately, anti-abortion politicians had the votes to

achieve their agenda, including legislatively referring a constitutional amendment to the ballot box that would reinstate an abortion ban, plus a gratuitous ban on health care for transgender minors, which is already banned under state statute (HJR 73). Lawmakers also expanded the Missouri Attorney General's ability to appeal preliminary injunctions on laws that violate the constitution.

Supreme Court workplace equality win. The ACLU of Missouri filed an amicus brief in support of plaintiff Jatonya Clayborn Muldrow, who claimed that her employer, the city of St. Louis, violated Title VII by transferring her to a new position and subsequently denying a transfer request because of her sex. The U.S. Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit found that Title VII bars employers from discriminating in decisions like lateral transfers and, in ruling in favor of the worker, the court held that employees are not required to show that the discriminatory decision caused "significant" disadvantage.

Federal Court upholds protesters' rights. In 2015, a St. Louis police officer killed 18-year-old Mansur Ball-Bey. In the ensuing protests, police deployed chemical munitions across the St Louis Fountain Park

neighborhood. The tear gas hit volunteer attorneys serving as Legal Observers as well as individuals who had been protesting but dispersed as ordered. Earlier that year, the City revised their chemical munitions policy – making it clear that tear gas could not be used in an indiscriminate and retaliatory way. The officers did not follow the policy, and the individual officers were shielded from liability through the qualified immunity legal doctrine. The City of St. Louis argued that they were not liable for the officers' terrible error as a municipality – and asked the Court to rule in its favor without a trial. In February 2025, a judge in the U.S. District Court found that the legal observers could pursue their municipal liability claims. Now, the case will go to a jury trial. This judgment is significant because it creates legal precedent for a municipality to be held liable for police misconduct, even when individual officers receive qualified immunity.

Rolla anti-abortion ordinance thwarted. A Texas-based anti-abortion special interest group convinced the City of Rolla to consider an ordinance that would violate constitutional protections by banning abortion care. Thanks to the work of brave advocates in Rolla, in partnership with ACLU of Missouri staff, the city denied the measure.

Community Control over Police Surveillance (CCOPS) passed in St. Louis! In September 2016, the ACLU launched a nationwide effort to pass CCOPS laws that ensure residents, through their city council representatives, are empowered to decide if and how surveillance technologies are used. In St. Louis, this effort was especially needed because the city acquired a massive web of new surveillance technology after the Ferguson Uprising. In April of 2024, the City of St. Louis Board of Alders passed Board Bill 185 with

a final passage vote of 13-2. Board Bill 185 promotes greater transparency, oversight, and community input in decisions about if and how the police and other city agencies use surveillance technologies.



Photo: Daron Smith

Lawyer of the year. In 2025, Missouri Lawyers Media named ACLU of Missouri attorney Tori Schafer Lawyer of the Year. Schafer, who serves as the Director of Policy and Campaigns at the ACLU of Missouri, was key in the passage of Amendment 3, not only as the lead attorney for several successful legal battles to keep the amendment on the ballot and with language that did not deceive voters, but also as lead strategist, spokesperson and a founding member of Missourians for Constitutional Freedom.



Outputs

17 Staff

Offices in two cities, and a strong presence in four (Hayti, Jefferson City, Kansas City, and St. Louis)

13,251 Missouri ACLU Members

24 Interns and Law Clerks

3,820 Media Mentions

258 Bills Tracked (2024)

Legal Filings:

4 amicus briefs (State and Federal Court), **5 new cases, 3 appeals to the Missouri Supreme Court**

Amendment 3

380,159 signatures to place Amendment 3 on the ballot, far exceeding the required 171,592

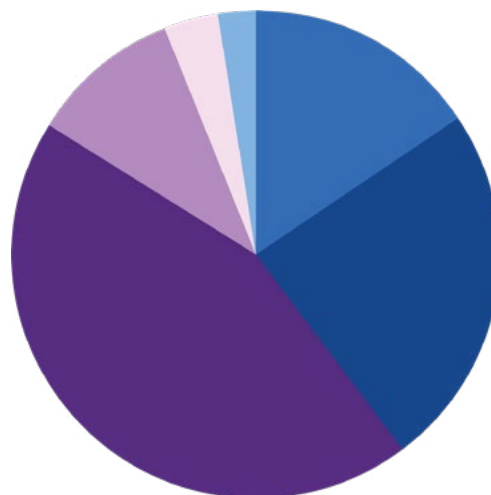
9,180 Missourians for Constitutional Freedom media mentions

Dollars raised: \$30,188,751.05. Over \$6.8 million was raised directly from Missourians or Missouri-based organizations. The ACLU of Missouri staff, board and supporters were key to this fundraising.

Financials

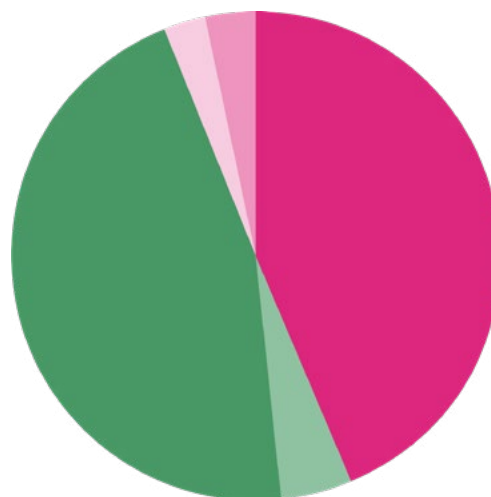
April 1, 2024 – March 31, 2025

Revenue



Total | \$4,332,066

Expenses



Total | \$4,190,901

As of this report's printing in May 2025, ACLU of Missouri's final revenue numbers are still pending our national office's contribution. They will be available by August 2025; please contact us if you would like final numbers: nrainey@aclu-mo.org or 314.669.3419.

(Please note that the numbers above are unaudited)



Photo: Kohar Minassian



Photos (left to right):
Nicole Rainey and Sydney Smith



Photo: Nicole Rainey

Support the ACLU of Missouri

Protecting and defending our constitutional and civil liberties takes hard work – and financial support. Please remember to give generously when you can.

DONATE Support our legal, communications, policy and campaigns and community organizing activities by visiting www.aclu-mo.org to make a tax-deductible donation or by mailing a contribution to:

ACLU of Missouri Foundation
906 Olive Street, Suite 1130
St. Louis, MO, 63101

JOIN Strengthen our lobbying efforts by visiting www.aclu-mo.org and clicking JOIN to become a “card-carrying member” of the ACLU. (*Memberships are*

not tax-deductible but do support our legislative and campaign work.)

OTHER WAYS TO GIVE The ACLU of Missouri accepts gifts of stock, IRA and other retirement assets and offers methods to contribute via your will, trust or life insurance policy. These gifts are a simple and effective way to support the future of civil liberties.

For more information, please contact Chief Development Officer, Nicole Rainey, at nrainey@aclu-mo.org or 314-669-3419.

This report features illustrations by our graphic designer, Monica Haines. Visit our shop at www.aclu-mo.org to browse official ACLU of Missouri merchandise designed by Monica.

Photo: Library of Congress, Angelo Rizzuto



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