



**“It’s always  
worth it to fight  
for justice.”** — Cecilia González Herrera,  
named plaintiff in  
immigrants’ rights case

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# THE FIGHT FOR JUSTICE

Dear friends,

Thank you for being our partner in the fight for justice.

Justice has never come easy. Justice has never come without setbacks. And justice has always relied on those of us who will keep fighting, even when — and especially when — the challenges are exceptional. We are deeply grateful that you are with us in this fight.

The threats under the second Trump administration are serious, egregious, and relentless. We will not minimize them, but we also will not be deterred.

The ACLU has spent decades preparing for exactly this kind of moment: deepening our legal expertise, building our base of advocates, and strengthening community partnerships. It takes all of us — staff, volunteers, activists, supporters, and, of course, courageous clients — to effect real change.

Cecilia González Herrera, featured on the cover of this report, is one such client — a named plaintiff in *National Temporary Protected Status Alliance v. Noem*. (See the facing page for more on this case.) Following a devastating U.S. Supreme Court “shadow docket” ruling, knowing that setbacks like this can lead to despair, Cecilia reminded us: “It’s *always* worth it to fight for justice.”

Cecilia is right. Through rising authoritarianism and unrelenting attacks on the foundations of our democracy, we must keep fighting. And we are getting results. Inside these pages you will find inspiration from cases won, rights defended, communities protected, and progress made even under the most challenging conditions. Because when we do lose ground, we regroup, adapt, and push forward.

With appreciation and determination,



*Abdi Soltani*

**Abdi Soltani,**  
Executive Director



*Nancy Stuart*

**Nancy Stuart,**  
Chair of the Boards

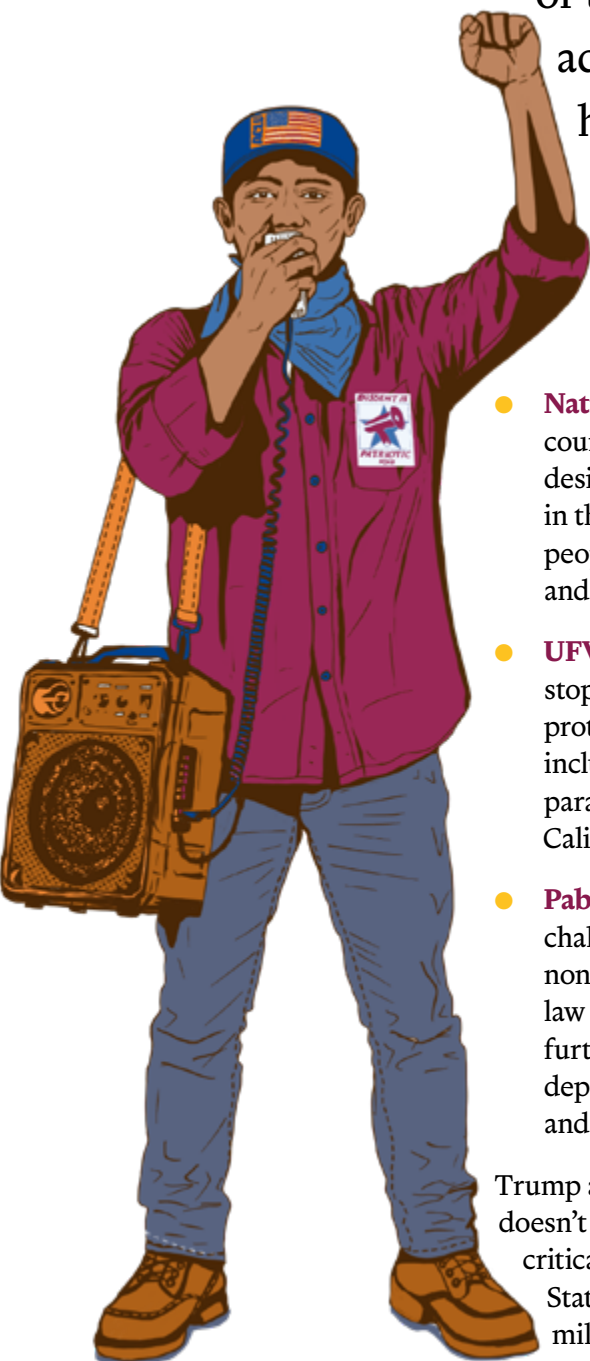


*Cori Stell*

**Cori Stell,**  
Director of Development

# TRUMP 2.0, YEAR 1: DEFENDING IMMIGRANTS' RIGHTS

**Every case we bring is powered by brave clients.** And the plaintiffs in the immigrants' rights lawsuits we brought in 2025 are squaring off against one of the most lawless, violent, anti-immigrant administrations in our nation's history. In the cases highlighted below, two organizational and twenty-six individual clients stepped up to challenge egregious abuses of government power — *on behalf of us all.*



- **National TPS Alliance v. Noem (I & II)** impacts over a million people from five countries who were granted Temporary Protected Status (TPS), a humanitarian designation allowing those unable to return safely to their home countries to stay in the United States. **Our argument:** the government cannot nullify over a million people's legal immigration status overnight without cause, contrary to statute, and motivated by racism.
- **UFW v. Noem** addresses racially biased, unwarranted immigration enforcement stops and detentions in the Central Valley. **Our argument:** all people are protected against unlawful stops and arrests, and all are guaranteed due process, including access to counsel and to fair trials. **Vasquez Perdomo v. Noem** is a parallel case spurred by the L.A. raids; we're supporting our ACLU of Southern California colleagues as co-counsel.
- **Pablo Sequen v. Albarran** and **Garro Pinchi v. Noem** are class-action suits that challenge immigration courthouse arrests and the inhumane re-detention of noncitizens who were previously released and complying with all immigration law requirements. **Our argument:** the plaintiffs' due process rights were violated; furthermore, these unconstitutional arrests and re-detentions are an arbitrary departure from longstanding federal immigration policies. These practices — and the hastily installed policies permitting them — must end.

Trump and his administration have regularly acted with contempt for the law, but he doesn't get the last word. These clients, their cases, and our determined voices are critical to how we uphold the protections guaranteed to everyone in the United States. Each of these cases is ongoing. Their outcomes will impact the lives of millions of immigrants and the very integrity of our democracy.

# 2025 BY THE NUMBERS

Filed **59** new legal actions while continuing to advance **40** ongoing cases



Our class-action suit fighting illegal re-detentions of immigrants impacts **over 20,000 people in our region**, and would ultimately protect over **7.6 million** nationwide

Volunteer Intake Counselors spent **1,600** hours fielding over **3,000** requests for legal assistance through our Civil Liberties Intake program

Held **40** in-district visits with state legislators to lobby on priority civil liberties issues, including housing justice and police misconduct

Volunteers in **10** CHAPTERS organized and advocated across the NorCal region



Grew to over

**120,000** ACLU members in Northern California, **20% more than last year**



Monitored **1,001** bills, actively opposing 97 (defeating or resolving our concerns on 71) and actively supporting 89, **37 of which were signed into law**

Our Know Your Rights webpages drew **303,439** views (2.5x more than the year before), providing critical information on topics such as your rights at U.S. airports and points of entry, your right to protest, and what to do if confronted by ICE

# THE YEAR IN REVIEW

The attacks on immigrants have been vicious and protracted. **In 2025, other foundations of our democracy also came under fierce, widespread assault**, such as the security of each vote and our right to free speech without fear of government reprisal. We've responded to these threats with speed and vigor, even as we continue to advance the dozens of ongoing cases brought in previous years. The journey toward a more perfect union is a long one — but every year, we see our tenacity and perseverance making a difference.

## VOTER PROTECTION AND ELECTION INTEGRITY ON THE LINE

Since May 2025, the Trump Department of Justice (DOJ) has demanded full, unredacted voter rolls — private, state-held data which includes birthdates and driver's license and partial Social Security numbers — from at least 48 states and the District of Columbia (DC). As of this update, they've sued 30 states and DC, with California among the first. ACLU NorCal and partners intervened on behalf of the League of Women Voters so we could participate in *U.S. v. Weber*, DOJ's case against California. **Its outcome will be critical to voting rights in California and the nation.**

In early 2026, a U.S. District court judge granted our motion to dismiss the suit, writing that “state run elections mean that voters recognize their neighbors who staff polling stations, trust their Secretaries of State — whom they voted for — to keep their personally identifying information safe, and believe that they will not be targeted because of what they look like or who they vote for.” *Weber* **was the first ruling to come out of the spate of lawsuits against noncompliant states.** The Trump administration appealed to the Ninth Circuit, where we argued it in late spring. We'll be following its next steps very closely.

## POLICING RACIAL INJUSTICE

Over four years ago, we began to investigate pervasive and systematic racial discrimination against Asian American and Hmong residents in Siskiyou County. Under the guise of cannabis enforcement, the County and Sheriff's Office were depriving them of water, land, and even free movement. Asian American drivers were roughly 17 times more likely to be pulled over than white drivers. We filed the class action lawsuit *Mathis v. County of Siskiyou* in 2022, with partners Asian Law Caucus and Covington & Burling LLP. Years of dialog, and persistent, complex legal footwork have brought one half an historic conclusion. Before the close of 2025, the court approved and ordered the terms of the settlement, which provides for **sweeping reforms of race-based traffic stops, monitored by independent oversight.** We continue to fight the remainder of the case: restoring community members' access to water.



## PRIVACY AND FREE SPEECH ON THE DIGITAL BATTLEFRONT

The Constitution protects our right to speak out against governmental abuses, whether we do so anonymously or not.

We've proven this in two "digital unmasking" cases — *J. Doe v. DHS* and *Jon Doe v. DHS*.

In September 2025, our Southern California-based client reposted a video on Facebook showing a Border Patrol agent conducting official government business in public. The Department of Homeland Security (DHS) sent Meta a subpoena demanding the user's name, email address, and phone number — as well as those of other Instagram accounts that also posted the video and who had spoken out about ongoing ICE and Border Patrol raids in Los Angeles.

In October 2025, our Pennsylvania-based client read an article revealing questionable conduct by DHS attorneys attempting to deport an Afghan asylum-seeker. Our client used Google Search to locate the attorney's official, public DHS email, and used Gmail to send a letter urging the attorney to "apply principles of common sense and decency" in the case. Hours later DHS sent a subpoena to Google, seeking extensive private information about our client. Later, DHS officers appeared at our client's home to interrogate them about the email.

Both cases were filed in Northern California's District Court because Meta and Google are headquartered here. **We filed motions to nullify each of the subpoenas. After we sued, in a victory for free speech, DHS withdrew them.**



## BROUGHT & FOUGHT IN 2025 BY ACLU NORCAL

### CRIMINAL JUSTICE & POLICING

- Adkins v. Hill
- Powell v. Schultz
- ACLU v. Rosen
- Bean v. Stockton

### FREE SPEECH, PRIVACY, & TECH

- Schmitz v. Permit Sonoma
- J. Doe v. DHS
- SIREN v. City of San José
- SF Tenants Union v. Smart Rent
- Jon Doe v. DHS
- In re Search Warrant to Seize and Search Property of Laaila Irshad

### ELECTION INTEGRITY & VOTING RIGHTS

- Issa v. Weber
- U.S. v. Weber
- U.S. v. Page

### IMMIGRANTS' RIGHTS

- NTPSA v. Noem I
- UFW v. Noem
- Singh v. Andrews
- Vasquez Perdomo v. Noem
- NTPSA v. Noem II
- Pablo Sequen v. Albarran
- Garro Pinchi v. Noem
- Santos v. Albarran
- Sente v. Albarran

This list includes all new cases ACLU NorCal filed in 2025. Most — but not all — are against the Trump administration.

# DEVELOPMENT & FINANCIAL REPORT

## MAKE A GIFT TODAY

Thank *you* for all the ways you showed up for civil liberties over the past year. Whether you lobbied your legislator, joined an ACLU chapter, worked with us as a client or community partner, or gave financial resources, **your contributions are deeply appreciated and vital to our impact.** We look forward to our continued partnership as we work together to defend civil liberties in truly unprecedented times.



Visit [aclunorcal.org/donate](https://aclunorcal.org/donate) to learn about the many ways to give to ACLU NorCal. In addition to making a gift online, you can explore creative, effective options—from donating stock or giving through a donor-advised fund or IRA, to hosting benefit events or making a tribute gift. You'll also find information on ways to make a legacy gift to ACLU NorCal—such as through insurance and retirement accounts, gift annuities, charitable trusts, and estate plans.

For more information on these or other ways to support the ACLU, contact Director of Development Cori Stell at (415) 621-2493 or [giving@aclunc.org](mailto:giving@aclunc.org).

## HOW WE ADVANCE WORK HERE AND NATIONWIDE

The ACLU is a federated organization, comprising both the national ACLU and affiliates in every state, Puerto Rico, and the District of Columbia. The national ACLU and the ACLU of Northern California share your generous donations made in our region. Recognizing differences in available local support, the ACLU makes additional investments in its affiliates around the country that otherwise would be unable to address the serious threats to civil liberties in their states.

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## ABOUT SOURCES OF INCOME

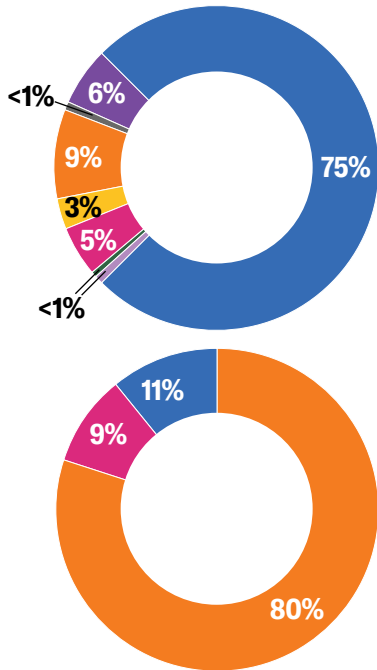
The ACLU Foundation of Northern California (Foundation) and the ACLU of Northern California (Union) are separately incorporated nonprofit organizations operating in Northern California. The Foundation conducts litigation and public education programs in support of civil liberties. The Foundation is a 501(c)(3) organization, and contributions to it are tax deductible to the extent allowed by law. The Union conducts membership outreach and organizing, legislative advocacy, and lobbying. It is supported primarily by membership dues. It is a 501(c)(4) organization, which means that donations to it are not tax deductible.

Most of the funding for the Foundation and the Union comes from individuals like you. The organizations' effectiveness and impact depend upon our full community of stakeholders, which includes those contributing financial resources: private donations, foundation grants, bequests, and membership dues from individuals and organizations that are dedicated to advancing civil liberties for all. Neither the Foundation nor the Union accepts government grants, but the Foundation may receive court-awarded attorneys' fees from successful cases. The Foundation never charges clients for legal representation.

# OPERATING INCOME & EXPENSES

## APRIL 1, 2024-MARCH 31, 2025

### ACLU FOUNDATION OF NORTHERN CALIFORNIA



#### Support and Revenue

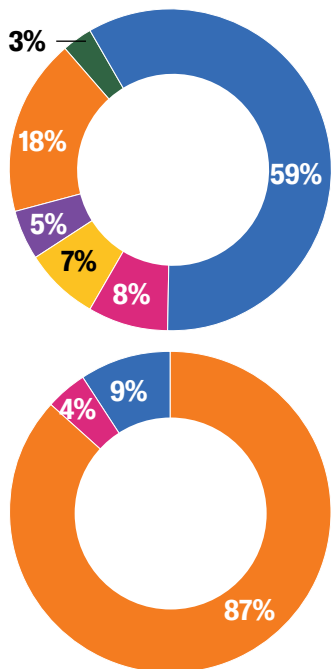
■ Annual and Special Contributions	\$ 18,686,323
■ Foundation Grants	\$ 180,500
■ Grant from National ACLU	\$ 125,000
■ Bequests/Planned Gift Contributions	\$ 1,230,495
■ Court-Awarded Attorney Fees	\$ 810,678
■ In-Kind Legal Contributions	\$ 2,192,026
■ Other Income	\$ 201,125
■ Investment Income	\$ 1,404,095
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$ 24,830,242</b>

#### Expenses

■ Program Services	\$ 17,641,693
■ Fundraising	\$ 2,019,251
■ Management and General	\$ 2,347,533
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$ 22,008,477</b>

The Foundation and Union surpluses of Revenue over Expenses were transferred to each organization's reserves to strengthen long-term financial sustainability.

### ACLU OF NORTHERN CALIFORNIA



#### Support and Revenue

■ Memberships	\$ 5,658,845
■ Annual and Special Contributions	\$ 785,251
■ Grant from ACLU Foundation of Northern California	\$ 725,000
■ Grant from National ACLU	\$ 468,862
■ Bequests/Planned Gift Contributions	\$ 1,713,776
■ Investment Income and Other	\$ 293,701
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$ 9,645,435</b>

#### Expenses

■ Program Services	\$ 5,332,158
■ Fundraising	\$ 254,809
■ Management and General	\$ 561,870
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$ 6,148,837</b>

The costs of membership acquisition and renewals, while shared between the National ACLU and affiliates, are reflected in National ACLU financial statements.

The ACLU Foundation of Northern California, a 501(c)(3), and the ACLU of Northern California, a 501(c)(4), are separate nonprofit organizations. The Foundation focuses on litigation and public education, and donations to it are tax deductible. The Union focuses on organizing and lobbying; it is supported by membership dues and donations that are not tax deductible.

Source: Audited financial statements and underlying accounting data provided to the auditor, Leaf & Cole, LLP, for the fiscal year ending March 31, 2025. A complete copy of the audited financial statements is available at [aclunorcal.org/about/financial-info-reports](https://aclunorcal.org/about/financial-info-reports), or by writing: ACLU NorCal, 39 Drumm Street, San Francisco, CA 94111.

# THANK YOU

## THANK YOU TO THESE PRO BONO LAW FIRMS

The following law firms donated their time in 2025. The ACLU community deeply appreciates your partnership and your commitment to our shared principles.

BraunHagey & Borden LLP	Morgan Lewis & Bockius LLP
Clarence Dyer & Cohen LLP	Munger, Tolles & Olson LLP
Coblentz Patch Duffy & Bass LLP	O'Melveny & Myers LLP
Cooley LLP	Paul Hastings LLP
Covington & Burling LLP	Robert D. Bacon
Fenwick & West LLP	Rukin Hyland & Riggin LLP
Freshfields Bruckhaus Deringer LLP	Sidley Austin LLP
Goodwin Procter LLP	Law Office of Shakeer Rahman
Greenberg Glusker LLP	Sullivan & Cromwell LLP
Jenner & Block LLP	Swanson & McNamara LLP
Keker, Van Nest & Peters LLP	Tobener Ravenscroft LLP
Lieff Cabraser Heimann & Bernstein LLP	Van der Hout LLP
	WilmerHale LLP



## THANK YOU TO OUR CIVIL LIBERTIES INTAKE COUNSELORS

Our volunteer Civil Liberties Intake Counselors respond to thousands of hotline calls, online submissions, and letters from community members seeking legal support. When we can't provide assistance, we refer people to direct service organizations, attorney referral services, and legal information resources.

Angelica Aban	Beverly Belisle	Richard Idriss	Santiago Lopez	Anja Ulfeldt
Anika Aggarwal	Colette Cross	Carlie Jones	Amina Malik	Natalie Valle
Gabby Bates	Lynn Halcomb	Patti Kouba	Hannah Meng	

## THANK YOU TO OUR INTERNS

Ashley Ayala Mendoza	Mica Jordan	Jessica Lynn	Niyati Narang	Tianyi Xu
Isabel Gallegos	Matt Lee	Kendall Matsumoto	Anastasia Reisinger	Alessandra Yoldas
Reneé Hernández Rodríguez	Jackson Lone	Ethan Morales	Eleanor Savas	

## THANK YOU TO VOLUNTEERS AT OUR CHAPTERS

Alameda County	Monterey County	San Mateo County	Santa Cruz County	Sonoma County
Merced County	Sacramento County	Santa Clara County	Shasta, Tehama, and Trinity Counties	Stanislaus County

## THANK YOU TO OUR BOARD MEMBERS WHO SERVED IN 2025

### ACLU of Northern California Board of Directors

Allen Asch	Veronica Diaz	Sukaina Hussain	Chowning Poppler	Beverly Tucker
Adam Bailey	Graham Drake	Melys Jeres	Zainab Ramahi	Cici Vu
Katelynn Bishop	Dan Geiger	Theresa Lofty Juelch	Magan Ray	Anthony Wan
Adrienne Bousian	Autumn Gonzalez	Kobi Martinez-Moore	Niki Solis	Natalie Wormeli
Anita Brady	Maria Hekker	Meredith Marzuoli	Nancy Stuart	
Kori Cordero	Steven Hensley		Emmie Tran	

### ACLU Foundation of Northern California Board of Directors

Betsy Buchalter Adler	Jallé Dafa	Zamora	Marina Hsieh	Beverly Tucker
Christopher Argyos	Veronica Diaz	Daniel Galindo	Sukaina Hussain	Beth von Emster
Adam Bailey	Graham Drake	Dan Geiger	Ajay Krishnan	Anthony Wan
Katelynn Bishop	Meg Durbin	Al Hammond†	Jim Lawrence	Robert White
China Brotsky	Erica Fernandez	Maria Hekker	Kasson Stone	

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## THANK YOU TO COMMUNITY MEMBERS ON ADVISORY COMMITTEES OF OUR BOARDS

David Fry	Maria Hekker	Steven Mayer	Zachary Nightingale	Jessica Reed Saouaf
Dan Geiger	Amelia Johnson	Dennis McNally	Chowning Poppler	Shalini Swaroop
Peter Gelblum	Laura Juran	Mary McNamara	Louise Rothman-Riemer	Mickey Welsh

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## THANK YOU TO OUR STAFF

We are deeply grateful to our dedicated staff, whose talent, passion, and tireless efforts make our work to advance justice and equity across Northern California possible. In times of great challenge, their commitment doesn't dim; it shines even brighter.

† Allen Hammond, who served two six-year cycles on the ACLU NorCal board, passed away in early 2026. We are deeply grateful for his service.

## ARTIST STATEMENT

It was an honor to illustrate a portrait of Cecilia González Herrera for this report. The weight of her standing in federal court on behalf of more than 600,000 people, challenging ICE, Kristi Noem, and DHS, stays with me. Her name is listed so hundreds of thousands of others don't have to carry that risk. I hope this work makes her — and this bravery — visible.

## ABOUT THE ARTIST


Jeni Jenkins (she/her) is a visual activist, multidisciplinary artist, and designer based in Cincinnati, Ohio. She is the founder of Renegade Babe Creative Studio, a community-driven practice dedicated to movement building, and visual storytelling.

[jenijenkins.com](http://jenijenkins.com) | [@jenijenkins](https://www.instagram.com/jenijenkins) | [@renegadebabe](https://www.instagram.com/renegadebabe)

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 [@aclu-norcal.bsky.social](https://bsky.app/aclu-norcal.bsky.social)

 [ACLU of Northern California](https://www.linkedin.com/company/ACLU-of-Northern-California)

## 2025 ANNUAL REPORT ONLINE

At [aclunorcal.org/AnnualReport](https://aclunorcal.org/AnnualReport) you'll find a link to this report, as well as a short video with messages from ACLU NorCal staff.



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## FOR MORE INFORMATION

Visit us online at [aclunorcal.org](https://aclunorcal.org), email us at [giving@aclunc.org](mailto:giving@aclunc.org), or call us at (415) 621-2493.