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**Cover Illustrator Nimah Gobir’s Artist Statement**

I created this piece to show that even as we have our own individual histories, we can still unite in solidarity to work towards a common goal. I captured the energy and vibrancy that comes with collective action. Ultimately, my hope is that this illustration inspires others to join together and take action in pursuit of a more just and equitable future.

**PROJECT MANAGER:** Cori Stell  
**WRITER:** Stan Yogi  
**ILLUSTRATIONS:** Nimah Gobir  
**DESIGN:** Gigi Harney & Ison Design  
**PRINTER:** Sequoyah Graphics
For the first time, our print Annual Report is complemented by an online report featuring video stories and deeper dives into our work. **Explore more at** [www.aclunc.org/AnnualReport2022](http://www.aclunc.org/AnnualReport2022).
When our nation’s founders wrote the Constitution, “We the People” excluded enslaved people, Native people, and all women.

Throughout our history, countless laws restricted who was considered “We the People.” But our history also includes significant struggles to expand the meaning of “We the People.”

Today, ACLU NorCal continues to ask: Who is included in “We the People”? Who deserves the full protection of our Constitution and its ideals?

In this annual report and our first, accompanying online report, you’ll find examples of how we work to answer those questions.

We know that “We the People” includes:

**DEZ MARTINEZ**—a formerly unhoused woman who translated love and knowledge of her “street family” into fierce advocacy for the rights of unhoused people. Dez successfully challenged Fresno’s ordinance barring her from filming and offering assistance during the city’s encampment sweeps.

**JAY HOCKLEY, SR.**—a formerly incarcerated person who channeled his experience and knowledge of prison life to advocate for the rights of currently and formerly incarcerated people. Jay was a key leader in a campaign to secure the voting rights of people on parole.

**ROMAN C. RAIN TREE**—an Indigenous leader who led the campaign to rename Sq**w Valley in Fresno County, in honor of his mother and Yokuts ancestors from what we today call the Central Valley and surrounding foothills. Roman built powerful support to pass state legislation banning “Sq**w Valley” from all place names, and to secure federal action removing a slur from his ancestral lands and renaming it “Yokuts Valley.”

WE THE PEOPLE ALSO INCLUDES YOU. As someone who lives in this country, as an ACLU member and donor, as a person who supports other organizations and causes financially and politically, you embrace and embody an inclusive, expansive, and bold vision of “We the People.”

Roman says, “Yokuts means ‘the people.’” We raise up the work that our supporters and partners like Dez, Jay, and Roman do every day to ensure our values of equality, freedom, and justice encompass everyone.

With gratitude for all you do,

**Abdi Soltani**
Executive Director

**Adam Bailey**
Chair of the Boards
ACLU NorCal believes in the power of partnership to drive meaningful, lasting change—and we’re deeply grateful for our partnership with you, our ACLU supporters. We know you share our goal to make “We the People” truly inclusive of everyone—and we believe that a community-centered approach to fundraising is necessary to get us there. Community-Centric Fundraising is a movement led by fundraisers of color who have outlined ten core principles:

1. Fundraising must be grounded in race, equity, and social justice.
2. Individual organizational missions are not as important as the collective community.
3. Nonprofits are generous with and mutually supportive of one another.
4. All who engage in strengthening the community are equally valued, whether volunteer, staff, donor, or board member.
5. Time is valued equally as money.
6. We treat donors as partners, and this means that we are transparent, and occasionally have difficult conversations.
7. We foster a sense of belonging, not othering.
8. We promote the understanding that everyone (donors, staff, funders, board members, volunteers) personally benefits from engaging in the work of social justice—it’s not just charity and compassion.
9. We see the work of social justice as holistic and transformative, not transactional.
10. We recognize that healing and liberation requires a commitment to economic justice.

At ACLU NorCal, being community-centered begins with recognizing that much of the wealth in our country is built on stolen resources and exploitation. We work to dismantle white supremacy and provide opportunities to redistribute money towards repair, healing, and systemic change. We mobilize resources for the ACLU while also using our relationships, power, and privilege to build stronger movements overall.

We look forward to offering you more opportunities to partner with us by learning about the roots of systemic injustice, how it manifests today, and ways you can put your learning, power, and resources into action.

In solidarity,
ACLU NorCal Development Department

To learn more about Community-Centric Fundraising, please visit communitycentricfundraising.org
Filed 48 new legal actions adding to 54 active cases from 2021

Submitted 156 Public Records Act requests to support civil rights litigation, publish reports, and work with the media

Sent 59 advocacy letters to local and state elected officials and agencies

Volunteer intake counselors responded to more than 2,400 requests for legal assistance through our Civil Liberties Intake program

Over 100,000 ACLU members active in Northern California
1,789 people participated in ACLU NorCal community organizing events, lobby visits, and activist trainings

19 chapters active in communities throughout NorCal working on issues ranging from sheriff oversight to surveillance to housing

Reached 545,649 voters through text and phone banks

Over 80 Know Your Rights guides on the website covering a range of issues in both English and Spanish

Over 14,000 downloads of the Gold Chains podcast series exposing the hidden history of slavery in California

Our posts were viewed 4,800,000 times across Instagram, Facebook, and Twitter

Monitored 602 bills (see page 8 for details)
“We the People” includes all of us, not just those who have economic means and easy access to power. ACLU NorCal engages in litigation, advocacy, organizing, and public education on a variety of critical civil liberties and civil rights issues on behalf of people throughout our region. Our work relies on relationships—with community partners, with clients, and with you.

In 2022, we fought to ensure that “We the People” includes:

**San Franciscans Awaiting Trial**

With our partners, we filed a class-action lawsuit to prohibit the San Francisco sheriff from subjecting individuals released pretrial on electronic monitoring to unauthorized surveillance, including warrantless "four-way" searches (of their person, residence, vehicle, and property). Contrary to U.S. and California constitutional law, the sheriff is violating the privacy rights of all pre-trial electronic monitoring participants by requiring them to agree to these searches at any time, without a warrant or probable cause, despite a judge ordering release without these conditions. We’re also objecting to the sheriff indefinitely retaining and sharing with other law enforcement agencies GPS location data from electronic monitoring participants.

**Hmong American Residents in Siskiyou County**

Prior to 2022, we began working with our partner Advancing Justice–Asian Law Caucus to stop discriminatory Siskiyou County ordinances that threaten to dangerously limit the local Hmong community’s access to water. This work continues, and led us to an investigation that uncovered a years-long, systematic campaign of unrelenting racial hostility and persecution against the Asian American community. This includes targeted traffic stops (they are 17 times more likely to be stopped than white motorists), discriminatory search and seizure practices, and illegal property liens. We and our partners filed a new class-action lawsuit, led by four Asian American community members, drawing attention to how county officials, including those at the sheriff’s department, have targeted and threatened Asian Americans to drive them out of the area. Our complaint demands that county officials immediately cease their racially-motivated harassment campaign and take responsibility for the harm they have caused Asian Americans in the area.

**People Petitioning the Government**

California law requires that public meetings be open and accessible. Transparent government depends on the public’s ability to attend meetings virtually and in person. Virtual meetings are an important tool to lowering barriers to access...
and broadening participation. But they don’t replace being able to petition leaders face to face. Officials who are in the same room as their constituents can’t just turn off their cameras or turn down the volume on criticism. Last year, we defeated legislation that would have permanently allowed public meetings to be held only virtually. Similar bills are being considered again this legislative cycle. So, our work continues. Politicians’ convenience should never outweigh democratic values.

Trans and Cisgender Women of Color

ACLU NorCal has assisted in building organizational structures, supported leaders, provided policy expertise, and given financial support to the DecrimSexWorkCA Coalition—a group led by current and former sex workers who are Black, Indigenous, and other women of color. The Coalition scored its first legislative victory when Governor Newsom signed SB 357, the “Safer Streets for All Act,” which repeals a law that resulted in unjust profiling, harassment, and arrests of transgender and cisgender women of color. The Safer Streets for All Act eliminates law enforcement’s ability to target these women based on a belief or assumption that they engage in sex work. It also enables persons convicted under the old law to clear their records, thereby eliminating barriers to employment and safe housing.

Black Students in Oakland

After we filed a complaint on behalf of “Justice for Oakland Students Coalition,” a multi-racial group of students, parents, and educators working to increase equity for low-income students of color, Attorney General Rob Bonta investigated the Oakland Unified School District’s school closure plan, which disproportionately impacted Black students. Despite strong opposition, and without consulting those impacted, in violation of its own policy the school board voted to close seven schools, merge another two, and eliminate middle school grades at two others. The district has a long history of discriminating against Black students who have suffered from previous school closures. Nearly a year after we filed the complaint, a newly constituted Oakland School Board voted to largely rescind the school closure plan.

Immigrants in the Central Valley

We published “Collusion in California’s Central Valley: The Case for Ending Sheriff Entanglement with ICE.” This report reveals how sheriffs have evaded California laws through chilling tactics, like detaining immigrants longer to allow ICE agents to arrest them, transferring people directly to ICE custody without legal justification, and “releasing” people into non-public areas of jails, where ICE agents arrest them. We estimate that Central Valley sheriffs have turned over more than 1,000 people to ICE since enactment of California’s sanctuary law, which allows law enforcement officers to transfer immigrants to ICE only if convicted of certain crimes. The number of transfers we discovered is nearly three times higher than the figure that sheriffs have officially reported. Our report will be the basis for further local and state advocacy—and continued litigation—to separate local law enforcement from immigration enforcement.

Community Members Threatened by Surveillance

ACLU NorCal has long advocated that privacy is an essential right, especially for people facing discrimination and government violations of rights. Yet privacy policy discussions rarely include those communities. To broaden and diversify a long-standing technology and privacy coalition, we coordinated Intersections, a day-long convening for leaders from across social movements (racial equity, economic justice, and immigrants’ rights) to discuss emerging issues and strategies to fight for justice and equality on the new digital terrain. The convening generated opportunities for local and state collaboration. Behind lawsuits and legislation, developing these relationships lays the groundwork for building collective power to tackle deeper intersectional work and creating a world where technology is supporting a just and equitable society.
Of the **2,355** bills introduced in the California Legislature

- **Bills we monitored:** 602
- **Bills we supported:** 95
- **Bills we opposed:** 83

We sponsored **11** bills

- **7 went to the governor**
- **7 were signed into law**
  
  plus 1 bill passed in 2021 that was signed in 2022
ACLU-SPONSORED BILLS SIGNED INTO LAW

1. **STOP PREGNANCY CRIMINALIZATION (AB 2223):** Despite existing law stating that losing or ending a pregnancy is not a crime, prosecutors were still charging people with homicide for pregnancy losses, disproportionately affecting Black, Indigenous, and other people of color. This bill clarifies that pregnant people and those who assist them shall not be held liable for their pregnancy outcomes.

2. **BAN RACIST PLACE NAMES (AB 2022):** For decades, Native American leaders and organizations have advocated for the removal of the word “sq**w,” a racist and misogynistic slur that was used by early California settlers. This bill creates a process for eliminating racially offensive place names, prohibiting the s-word for geographic features and place names in California.

3. **SAFER STREETS FOR ALL ACT (SB 357):** Passed in 2021 and signed in 2022, this bill repeals laws that criminalized loitering for the intent to engage in sex work and enabled discriminatory policing of communities of color, especially Black women and trans women of color.

4. **RACIAL JUSTICE ACT FOR ALL (AB 256):** The existing Racial Justice Act prohibits the state from seeking or obtaining a criminal conviction or imposing a sentence based on race, ethnicity, or national origin. With this bill, the Racial Justice Act now applies retroactively and prior racist convictions and sentences are to be overturned.

5. **PREVENT INACCURATE VOTER REGISTRATION CANCELLATIONS (AB 2841):** Protects voting rights of disabled and other voters already underrepresented in our electorate (BIPOC, low income, and young voters) by requiring county election officials to allow affected voters to stop erroneous cancellations before they occur.

6. **ENHANCE PROSECUTORIAL TRANSPARENCY (AB 2418):** Ensures that the public and policymakers have information about the presence and sources of racial disparities in our criminal legal system and can hold district attorneys accountable.

7. **PREVENT BARRIERS TO RE-ENTRY (SB 1106):** Prevents courts from denying record cleanup or other relief for people on probation or parole, solely on the grounds that they still owe restitution.

8. **REDUCE BARRIERS TO DIVERSION PROGRAMS (SB 1223):** Reduces barriers to participation in programs that offer diversion from incarceration into community-based mental health treatment programs, ensuring that more people get the mental health supports they need.
Continued to litigate family separation and helped reunite 550 families.

Sued to protect same-day voter registration statewide and organized ballot collection on rural reservations.

Filed lawsuits on behalf of journalists and protesters injured by Portland law enforcement while documenting protests against police brutality.

Secured court victory for medical and mental health care in Arizona’s 10 state prisons.

Defended against the full-scale assault on civil liberties, including voting, abortion, and trans rights.

U.S.-Mexico Border

HIGHLIGHTS NATIONWIDE
Led and funded state ballot measure to enshrine abortion rights in state constitution.

Successfully sued state for partisan gerrymandering.

U.S. Supreme Court
Filed amicus brief to keep Native families together in Indian Child Welfare Act case.

Filed lawsuit against sweeping voter suppression legislation.

Blocked provisions of the Stop Woke Act that restricted teaching on race in higher education.

Blocked state’s ban on gender-affirming care for trans youth.

Visit aclu.org for more on work happening across the country.
A Voting Rights Story

The United States Constitution guarantees that citizens cannot be barred from voting on account of race. However, since the state’s founding, California’s Constitution has excluded citizens from voting based on criminal convictions, in particular to suppress the political power of Black, Indigenous, Latinx, and Chinese American voters.

ACLU NorCal has been challenging those exclusions since 2006, when we won a case restoring voting rights to 145,000 Californians in jail, followed by years of additional advocacy.

Nevertheless, tens of thousands of Californians in prison and on parole were still denied the right to vote. Jay Hockley, Sr. was one of them.

Jay was arrested at age 20. His underfunded public defender faced a well-resourced district attorney who used overcharging to coerce a plea bargain. Facing a life sentence, Jay felt he had to accept the deal.

While in prison, he earned a welding certificate and three community college associate degrees. He also got involved with Initiate Justice (IJ), an organization mobilizing people impacted by incarceration to advance progressive policies. With support from the ACLU, IJ conducted a survey—of people in prison and on parole—about voting rights in 2018. While in prison, Jay was one of 1,085 people who responded to the survey.

IJ published the survey results in a report titled “Democracy Needs Everyone” and led a coalition with the ACLU and others to pass a successful constitutional amendment (ACA 6/Proposition 17) to allow people on parole to vote. The 1,085 survey responses turned into millions of votes: Proposition 17 passed by the largest margin of any proposal on the ballot in 2020.

In that time, Jay was released from prison on parole. Due to Proposition 17, Jay was able to vote in 2022. “To vote on parole was like having citizenship restored. Even though it’s not full citizenship, it was meaningful to exercise that right and have my voice heard,” says Jay.

Jay now works on the staff of IJ and collaborates with the ACLU on our next shared goal: to secure the right to vote for people in prison through another ballot proposal (ACA 4, Bryan). We’re also working with the secretary of state to designate the Division of Adult Parole Operations, jails, and probation departments as voter registration agencies.

We’re committed to partnering with organizations led by people like Jay to ensure that system-impacted Californians have fair and equal access to our democratic process—however long it takes.

Photo: Michael B. Woolsey
Each year, hundreds of people volunteer their time with the ACLU of Northern California. Here we recognize some of the most dedicated volunteers who spent the most time with us in 2022.

**CIVIL LIBERTIES COUNSELORS**

Grace Allen  
Daniel Chagnon  
Mari Chandy  
Alyssa Eng  
Lynn Halcomb  
Richard Idriss  
Kerin Khan  
Patti Kouba  
Brittney Kumar  
Joshua Marin  
Lorena "Loren" Marino-Almanza  
Andrea Ponce Mata  
Lucy Miller  
Allyza Quintanilla  
Elena Roth  
Anika Sanyal  
Melissa Vinding

**CHAPTERS**

Alameda County  
Paul Robeson  
Berkeley North East Bay  
Chico  
Fresno County  
Kings County  
Mid-Peninsula  
Merced County  
Monterey County  
North Peninsula  
Sacramento Area  
San Francisco  
San Joaquin County  
Santa Clara Valley  
Santa Cruz County  
Shasta-Tehama-Trinity  
Solano County  
Sonoma County  
Stanislaus County  
Tulare County  
Yolo County

**LEGAL-POLICY INTERNS**

Felicia Asbury  
Oona Cahill  
Anais Carell  
Maura Carey  
Guneeta Chadha  
Briana Cravanas  
Amrutha Dorai  
Adrianna Garcia  
Angela Garcia  
Giselle Garcia  
Deepali Gill  
Felicia Hipps  
Louisa Kwan  
Colette Lowry  
Emma Lurie  
Jenny Ballesteros  
Magdaleno  
Shayna Rose Naranjo  
Mide Odunsi  
Michael O’Key  
Abby Popenoe  
Celina Reyes  
Dylan Reynolds  
Stephanie Roque-Hurtado  
Catherine Seita  
Emily Shah  
Emily Shaul  
Kacie Snyder  
Ariella Stafanson  
Pierce Stanley  
Carly Tomaine  
Robert Watson

**COOPERATING LAW FIRMS**

We thank the following law firms who donated services in 2022. The ACLU community deeply appreciates your hard work and commitment.

BraunHagey & Borden LLP  
Coblenz Patch Duffy & Boris LLP  
Cooley LLP  
Conrad, Meltzky, Kane LLP  
Covington & Burling LLP  
Fenwick & West LLP  
Goodwin Procter LLP  
Greenberg Glusker Fields Claman & Machtinger LLP  
King & Spalding LLP  
Morgan, Lewis & Bockius LLP  
Morrison & Foerster LLP  
Munger, Tolles & Olson LLP  
O’Melveny & Myers LLP  
Orrick, Herrington & Sutcliffe LLP  
Paul Hastings LLP  
Pillsbury Winthrop Shaw Pittman LLP  
Riley Safer Holmes & Cancilla LLP  
Rukin & Hyland LLP  
Sidley Austin LLP  
Steptoe & Johnson LLP  
Sullivan & Cromwell LLP  
Swanson & McNamara LLP  
WilmerHale LLP  
Wilson Sonsini Goodrich & Rosati
For a list of ACLU NorCal staff, including photos and biographies, please visit aclunc.org/about/staff.
Ways of Giving

There are many ways to help advance the work of the ACLU, and we welcome your continued financial support for the ACLU Foundation of Northern California (Foundation) and ACLU of Northern California (Union).

You will find information on many ways to give now to ACLU NorCal, such as gifts of cash and by credit card, workplace giving, and gifts of stocks and securities, at www.aclunc.org/donate.

For 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, including sample bequest language, visit www.aclunc.org/donate/planned-giving.

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

About Sources of Income and How We Advance Work in California and Nationwide

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.

The majority of 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 Union accept government grants, except the Foundation may receive court-awarded attorneys’ fees from successful cases. The Foundation never charges clients for legal representation.

The ACLU is a federated organization, comprising the national ACLU and affiliates in every state. 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 would otherwise be unable to address the serious threats to civil liberties in their states.

In recent years, the boards of the ACLU of Northern California have gone above and beyond the ACLU’s gift sharing rules and made additional allocations from our region to support the work in other parts of the country.

Following the generous support at the end of last fiscal year (see adjoining page), ACLU of Northern California allocated $3 million to the national ACLU to make grants to ACLU affiliates to protect voting rights in battleground states.
OPERATING INCOME AND EXPENSES, 2021–2022
APRIL 1, 2021 THROUGH MARCH 31, 2022

ACLU FOUNDATION OF NORTHERN CALIFORNIA

SUPPORT AND REVENUE

- Annual and Special Contributions $11,969,308
- Foundation Grants $153,269
- Bequests/Planned Gift Contributions $4,661,471
- Court Awarded Attorney Fees $2,755,377
- In-Kind Legal Contributions $6,843,418
- Other Income $263,166
- Investment Income $662,910

Total $27,308,919

EXPENSES

- Program Services $17,985,790
- Fundraising $1,559,983
- Management and General $2,530,963

Total $22,076,736

The costs of membership acquisition and renewals are reflected on the National ACLU financial statements.

ACLU OF NORTHERN CALIFORNIA

SUPPORT AND REVENUE

- Memberships $6,188,793
- Annual and Special Contributions $834,533
- Grant from ACLU Foundation of Northern California $600,000
- Bequests/Planned Gift Contributions $731,670
- Investment Income and Other $54,253

Total $8,409,249

EXPENSES

- Program Services $5,448,667
- Fundraising $298,707
- Management and General $1,037,602

Total $6,785,976

Source: The charts on this page are based on audited financial statements and underlying accounting data provided to the auditor, Leaf & Cole, LLP, for the fiscal year ending March 31, 2022. A complete copy of the Fiscal Year 2021–22 audited financial statements is available at [www.aclunc.org/about/financial-info-reports](http://www.aclunc.org/about/financial-info-reports) or by writing: ACLU NorCal, 39 Drumm Street, San Francisco, CA 94111.