Fighting Forward

FY 2021 Annual Report
“Our work is just getting started. But I know that we can tackle whatever comes our way next.”

—Mini Timmaraju, President
Reproductive Freedom For All.

WWW.PROCHOICEAMERICA.ORG
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Our Missions

NARAL Pro-Choice America Foundation
To support and protect, as a fundamental right and value, everybody’s freedom to make personal decisions regarding the full range of reproductive choices through education, training, organizing, legal action, and public policy.

NARAL Pro-Choice America
To develop and sustain a constituency that uses the political process to guarantee everybody the right to make personal decisions regarding the full range of reproductive choices, including preventing unintended pregnancy, bearing healthy children, and choosing legal abortion.
A Message From Our President

Dear Friends,

Taking the helm of a powerful legacy organization such as NARAL Pro-Choice America—especially at the most critical moment in the fight for reproductive freedom in nearly 50 years—is a challenge. But this is a challenge I’ve been preparing for all my life. I’ve spent my whole career at the intersection of race and gender. And, at every turn, I’ve fought for social change and for communities, like my own, that are too often neglected and overlooked.

Now, as the first woman of color to lead NARAL, I am excited to fight alongside our 2.5 million members to protect and advance reproductive freedom for every body.

NARAL and our allies are combating a well-funded, long-established anti-choice movement that has spent years honing its strategy to churn out disinformation. They know that their efforts to undermine reproductive freedom are out of touch with the vast majority of people in this country. That’s why they spread disinformation about abortion in an attempt to muddy the waters.

And their disinformation goes all the way to the top. During oral arguments in Dobbs v. Jackson Women’s Health Organization—the case directly challenging Roe v. Wade—several of the Supreme Court’s justices parroted inaccurate and intentionally inflammatory talking points about abortion that were taken straight from the anti-choice movement.

As I write this in spring 2022, there is no doubt that Roe is on the line. The Supreme Court is expected to rule this summer on this direct challenge to the landmark case, and if Roe falls, 28 states likely would take action to ban abortion outright. This would disproportionately affect people who already face discriminatory barriers to the care they need: Black, Indigenous, and other people of color, LGBTQ+ people, immigrants, young people, people with disabilities, and those working to make ends meet.

But NARAL has the members and the momentum to make a difference in this moment and this fight. And we have critical opportunities ahead of us—opportunities we must seize, such as mobilizing to protect and expand abortion access in states across the country, and fighting for our democracy and the freedom to vote.

With the 2022 midterm elections ahead of us and the anti-choice movement working harder than ever to block access to the ballot box, it is clear that it isn’t just the right to abortion that is on the line—it is our democracy itself. In this pivotal moment for our future, we need to use every tool in our arsenal. We cannot allow any barriers or roadblocks—including the filibuster—to stand in the way of safeguarding our fundamental freedoms, including the freedom to vote and the freedom to decide if, when, and how to raise a family.

As NARAL’s president, my vision for the future of this organization is rooted in a deep desire to build on our past successes while making our organization more equitable from the inside out. We have huge challenges ahead of us, and if we’re going to meet them, we have to do the heavy lifting internally, rethinking how to build an inclusive culture, cultivate staff engagement, and ensure transparency, as well as how we show up in the movement (more about our work around equity and inclusion on page 6).

With the confirmation of Judge Ketanji Brown Jackson to the Supreme Court, we have an incredible opportunity to shape the future of the Court. But that is a long-term opportunity—it will not affect the outcome of Jackson Women’s Health. That is why we must keep our foot on the gas pedal and push for progress and protections in the states and at the federal level.

There is a lot of uncertainty ahead. But there’s one thing I know for sure: We can’t do any of this work without you.

Thank you for supporting NARAL.

Mini Timmaraju
President, NARAL Pro-Choice America
Centering Equity and Inclusion

In June 2021, NARAL’s board of directors passed our new five-year Strategic Plan, including our Road Map to Equity, which cements our commitments and lays out our steps forward as we continue to build an inclusive culture, cultivate staff engagement, and ensure transparency. NARAL plays a critical role in the broader reproductive rights, health, and justice movements, and a part of rising to meet this moment is being authentic and transparent about how we live out our values.

Actions we’ve taken to continue our equity and inclusion work include:

- **Intentionality:** Addressing and dismantling inequities, white supremacy, and racism through ensuring accountability, making amends, and taking new actions.
- **Resources:** Investing in organizations, campaigns, and other efforts to dismantle racist structures and systems.
- **Access:** Actively seeking out opportunities to create new relationships between those in power and groups representing intentionally excluded communities.
- **Deliberative Actions:** Engaging with partners to decide where and how NARAL is leading and where and how we’re following and supporting the leadership of other organizations.

Building out our anti-racism training by making available an equity and inclusion training series for all NARAL staff, as well as continuing regular trainings for the NARAL board, our leadership council, and our members. These trainings include tangible skills and practices such as challenging the status quo, addressing bias in hiring, and demanding voice and visibility for marginalized communities.

Improving communication flow between staff, the executive team, and other organization stakeholders about matters related to diversity, equity, and inclusion, staff experience, and overall workplace culture. NARAL has created the Inclusive Improvement Diversity Equity and Accessibility Committee (IIDEA) and also provides regular opportunities for all staff to engage directly with executive team members.

Ensuring staff engagement. Our staff has been unionized since 1985, ensuring that our team members have the power and voice to improve our workplace.

Implementing an annual workplace culture survey to identify areas for improvement and factors that can ensure we have a safe, welcoming, and equitable workplace.

Hiring (in 2022) a chief diversity officer, who will help connect the dots between diversity and inclusion efforts across NARAL and will report directly to the president.
NARAL is committed to transparency, to **hold ourselves accountable to living our values in a way that brings diverse perspectives to the table**. In the interest of that transparency, below is a breakdown of NARAL’s staff, leadership team, and board of directors.
Advancing Reproductive Freedom at the Federal Level

President Joe Biden and Vice President Kamala Harris took crucial steps in 2021 to undo Trump-era policies and protect and advance reproductive freedom. NARAL worked with coalition allies to develop the Blueprint for Sexual and Reproductive Health, Rights, and Justice, which included key recommendations, such as urging the administration to rescind the anti-choice global gag rule, which prevented non-governmental organizations that receive U.S. global health assistance from using private funds for abortion referrals or care, and to end the anti-choice domestic gag rule, which forced clinics that also provide abortion care to leave the Title X family planning program.

Demanding the Federal Budget Advance Reproductive Freedom

Following the lead of our allies in the reproductive justice movement, NARAL advocated for legislation without discriminatory abortion coverage bans such as the Hyde Amendment and denial of care policies such as the Weldon Amendment, and supported increases in funding for domestic and global family planning. NARAL:

- Educated 3,000 NARAL members on how to fight back against abortion coverage bans at events including “Expand Abortion Access: End Hyde” featuring All* Above All.
- Sent over 2,000 postcards from members to President Biden as part of All* Above All’s week of action.
- Educated our members about denial of care policies, and NARAL members sent over 9,000 emails to the White House to keep Weldon out of government spending bills.

Expanding Access to Medication Abortion Care

Medication abortion care is a safe, effective, and Food and Drug Administration (FDA)-approved option for ending an early pregnancy. In December, the FDA announced it would lift the in-person dispensing requirement. It’s a critical step, and now NARAL is fighting to expand access in the states. NARAL:

- Sent 26 informational pieces to reporters driving the narrative about medication abortion care.
- Mobilized members to take more than 6,000 actions in support of Representative Carolyn Maloney’s (D-NY) resolution on medication abortion care.
- Hosted “Medication Abortion 101” with allies EMMAA Project and URGE: Unite for Reproductive and Gender Equity, educating 183 members about medication abortion care.

Leveraging Our Power in Coalition

NARAL’s members advocated in support of:

- PAID LEAVE
  The Build Back Better Act
- IMMIGRATION RIGHTS
  The HEAL for Immigrant Families Act
- LGBTQ+ RIGHTS
  The Equality Act
Combating Attacks on Reproductive Freedom

Stacked with an anti-choice supermajority, the U.S. Supreme Court heard multiple cases in 2021 that threaten reproductive freedom. In one of these cases, Roe v. Wade itself is on the line—and if it is overturned, 28 states are likely to take action to ban abortion outright.*

On Dec. 1, the Court heard oral arguments in Dobbs v. Jackson Women’s Health Organization—a case about Mississippi’s 15-week abortion ban that directly challenges Roe v. Wade. There is no middle ground: If the Court upholds the ban, it will end the constitutional protection enshrined in Roe. A decision is expected in this case in summer 2022.

NARAL worked in partnership with our allies to shape the national conversation, making it clear that this unprecedented moment is not here by accident. We communicated with reporters to drive home the significance of Jackson Women’s Health, as well as what is at stake from the barrage of state-level attacks, sparking widespread media coverage.

As part of our work with the Liberate Abortion Campaign, NARAL helped plan rallies and actions across the country during oral arguments in Jackson Women’s Health, including in Mississippi and Washington, DC, and an Abortion Justice Speakout in Georgia. NARAL also contributed $50,000 in support of these rallies.

On Nov. 1, the Court heard oral arguments in Whole Woman’s Health v. Jackson and United States v. Texas—two cases regarding Texas’ SB 8, the extreme vigilante-enforced ban on abortion as early as six weeks. By refusing to block this law and dismissing the most significant challenges to it, the Court has allowed SB 8 to remain in effect, rendering Roe meaningless in Texas.

*NARAL supported groups from Texas who advocated against SB 8 and took action during oral arguments at the Supreme Court in Whole Woman’s Health v. Jackson and United States v. Texas on Nov. 1.

*As of April 2022
Thank you, Representative Judy Chu (D-CA) and Senator Richard Blumenthal (D-CT), for sponsoring the Women’s Health Protection Act. Your leadership made House passage of WHPA possible!
Supporting the Women’s Health Protection Act

With threats to reproductive freedom coming from all sides, including a Supreme Court case directly challenging Roe, we need to enact a federal legislative solution. The Women's Health Protection Act (WHPA) would safeguard the federal right to abortion throughout the United States, even if Roe is overturned. And in September, after months of organizing and advocacy from NARAL members and allies, the reproductive freedom majority in the U.S. House of Representatives passed WHPA in a historic 218-211 vote—though Senate Republicans later blocked WHPA in February 2022.

NARAL and our members:

- Delivered over 20,200 messages to the Senate in support of WHPA.
- Sent 78,409 texts and made 82,014 calls to members and lawmakers in support of WHPA.
- Educated our members about the vital need for this policy at events, including five regional and two national WHPA-themed events.
- Worked with reporters, influencers, and lawmakers to drive the narrative about the connection between the need for WHPA and attacks on reproductive freedom across the country.

Though Senate Republicans blocked WHPA, we are grateful to our champions in the Senate and House who voted in support of advancing this critical bill. NARAL will continue to hold anti-choice lawmakers accountable for jeopardizing our fundamental rights and fight for a future where reproductive freedom is truly for everybody.
Reproductive Freedom For All.
Mobilizing Our Members

NARAL harnesses the power of our 2.5 million members in creative, strategic ways to drive change and advance our mission, together. To do that, we provide our members with tools, trainings, and opportunities to engage in the ways that work best for them, to help them amplify their impact within their own communities, and to advance reproductive freedom on the national stage.

Empowering Our Action Councils

With the legal right to abortion on the line like never before, we need to be ready to seize every opportunity to organize, build power, and fight for policies that ensure our families and communities have everything they need to thrive. That’s why we form leader-driven Action Councils across the country, building long-term collective power. These Action Councils mobilize support for reproductive freedom by hosting events and mobilizing in their communities.

In 2021, NARAL’s nine Action Councils planned and led 29 events, including phone banks and lobby visits.

Elizabeth Tripp, leader with the Michigan Action Council, running a WHPA phone-bank training

Amplifying Member Power in the States

NARAL’s distributed organizing model supports a network of volunteer-leaders across the country, training them in core skills that level up to support NARAL’s campaign and organizing goals. This network of volunteer-leaders spreads our impact, enabling people across the country to be part of state and national efforts to advance reproductive freedom.

Traditional Organizing Model:
1 organizer + 3 volunteers x 65 doors = 260 doors knocked

NARAL’s Distributed Organizing Model:
1 organizer + 3 volunteer-leaders + 9 volunteers x 65 doors = 845 doors knocked!

NARAL’s Second Annual Activist Summit

In summer 2021, NARAL brought together activists, experts, legislators, and members from 29 states for our second annual Activist Summit. Members learned about reproductive freedom, gained new skills, and found new ways to join the fight.

Speakers included:

- **Representative Barbara Lee (D-CA)**
  Legal Advocacy and Judicial Strategy Manager, National Asian Pacific American Women’s Forum (NAPAWF)

- **DA HAE KIM**
  Activist Valedictorian of Lake Highlands High School, Dallas

- **Paxton Smith**

  “Talk to my US representative, thank my state reps for their support of abortion/reproductive health, and tell my story—my action items here in MN.”

  —Jeanne, NARAL member
Organizing on the Ground in the States

With the future of Roe v. Wade hanging in the balance, anti-choice lawmakers unleashed a deluge of attacks in 2021, with over 330 anti-choice bills proposed or advanced in state legislatures across the country.

That’s why NARAL is mobilizing and organizing our staff, Action Councils, and dedicated volunteer-leaders on the ground in states and regions across the country. We work every day to empower our members to protect and advance reproductive freedom in their own communities.

In Nevada, our members sent over 44,000 texts in support of two bills advancing reproductive freedom—to ensure survivors of sexual assault can access time-sensitive emergency contraception, and to expand access to birth control by allowing pharmacists to dispense contraception.

In California, we worked in coalition to cosponsor the California Momnibus Act, a bill that reimagines perinatal care in order to eliminate racial disparities in maternal and infant mortality and morbidity.

Members in Arizona participated in a week of action against SB 1457—an extreme anti-choice bill that threatens to send doctors to prison for providing abortion care. We also mobilized our members to fight more than a dozen anti-choice bills introduced in the 2021 legislative session.

In Maine, NARAL supported our allies in coalition to fight anti-choice bills introduced in the state legislature.

In Michigan, NARAL worked alongside partners and allies to educate over 360 people, including members and legislators, to identify and respond to anti-choice disinformation when it appears in their own communities.

In California, along with several members of the California Coalition for Reproductive Freedom, announced the creation of the California Future of Abortion Council (CA FAB Council), which released a report highlighting 45 key policy recommendations to increase access to safe, equitable, and affordable abortion care in the state.
Supporting Reproductive Freedom Champions

In September, California Governor Gavin Newsom, a champion for reproductive freedom, faced an anti-choice recall election. This Republican-led recall was an attack on California values and a distraction from the critical work needed to address the healthcare disparities and societal inequities across the state.

Voters overwhelmingly rejected the right-wing recall attempt, confirming that the majority continue to support Gov. Newsom’s leadership over anti-choice candidates. NARAL Pro-Choice California successfully mobilized tens of thousands of voters in the state—by phone, text, email, and social media—to vote “no” on unseating a reproductive freedom champion.

We hosted 12 Virtual Power Hour shifts, resulting in thousands of calls made to stop the recall and support the Women’s Health Protection Act.

We co-hosted a phone bank with Planned Parenthood Affiliates of California and Black Women for Wellness, resulting in 5,232 calls.

We supported volunteer-leaders, who hosted four events, including a #StopTheRecall text bank and an education station at the San Diego Women’s March.

We created a social media toolkit and shared it with our partners and members to raise awareness of Gov. Newsom’s staunch support for reproductive freedom.

Looking Forward to 2022

NARAL is already mobilizing our 2.5 million members for the 2022 midterm elections. Our comprehensive and cutting-edge messaging and opposition research—alongside our dedicated members—uniquely position us as key players in the fight to elect champions for reproductive freedom. NARAL is:

1. Deploying our innovative message research—including through ads and digital media—to persuade key voter groups that anti-choice politicians are putting their out-of-touch ideology before the health and well-being of everyday Americans.

2. Inoculating key voters against the anti-choice movement’s disinformation machine.

3. Training legislators and candidates to avoid right-wing traps and win trust from conflicted voters on reproductive freedom.

4. Monitoring anti-choice bad actors through our state-of-the-art opposition research program—providing an early warning system so we can block the spread of disinformation before it takes root.
Combating the Radical Right’s Strategy

Public support for the legal right to abortion in the United States is at a record high—8 in 10 Americans don’t want to see abortion criminalized. We’re the majority, yet we’re in the midst of an all-out assault on reproductive freedom thanks to a vocal, well-funded anti-choice movement that spends millions of dollars spreading disinformation and working to restrict our rights.

NARAL’s comprehensive communications and research program is designed to not only track, debunk, and counteract the anti-choice movement’s disinformation, but to drive an aspirational vision about reproductive freedom so we can understand where and how people interact with disinformation and what we can do to combat it. It grounds everything we do—whether educating lawmakers, shaping the narrative around reproductive freedom in the media, holding allies and opponents accountable, or training our members to combat disinformation.

**Research**

NARAL’s cutting-edge message research is replacing disinformation with positive, aspirational messaging. For example, we are redefining the narrative around faith and reproductive freedom, working with partners such as SisterReach, to make it clear that for many, support for reproductive freedom is deeply rooted in their faith.

State Representative Liz Miranda (D-MA) in a video from NARAL and SisterReach, talking about faith and reproductive freedom

Check out the full video at NARAL.us/AllFaiths or NARAL.us/TodosLasFes

**Media**

Through our Tell the Whole Story media education program, NARAL works with journalists to urge outlets to avoid repeating anti-choice disinformation and to shape the narrative in key moments. On Jan. 6, 2021, when extremists attacked our country, we exposed the deep ties between white supremacist insurrectionists and anti-choice extremists by releasing press memos and running a digital ad campaign highlighting this disturbing connection.

**Action**

NARAL monitors anti-choice sites and the disinformation they spread. We work with Media Matters for America, GLAAD, and Human Rights Campaign to urge tech platforms to take action on sites such as LifeSiteNews—an anti-choice, anti-freedom website masquerading as a news outlet to spread COVID-19 disinformation and promote white supremacy. After years of work—including directly urging Facebook to ban this extremist site—Facebook and YouTube permanently deplatformed LifeSiteNews in 2021.

**Training**

The people most influential in shaping our worldview are those we know and trust—so NARAL hosts trainings to equip lawmakers, our partners, influencers, and our members with the tools they need to spot disinformation and combat it in their own lives and communities.

Working with our partners in states such as Michigan, Georgia, and Iowa, NARAL trained over 1,100 people to identify and combat disinformation in 2021.
## Financial Overview

**NARAL Pro-Choice America Foundation 501(c)(3)**

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## Statement of Financial Position

Fiscal Year Ending September 30, 2021

### Assets

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Amount</th>
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<td><strong>Current Assets</strong></td>
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### Liabilities and Net Assets

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<td><strong>TOTAL LIABILITIES AND NET ASSETS</strong></td>
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Statement of Activities
Fiscal Year Ending September 30, 2021

Total Revenue: $18,186,386
- Contributions: 12,947,480 (71%)
- Grants: 1,734,650 (9%)
- Signature events: 1,669,157 (9%)
- Other revenue: 835,483 (5%)
- Investment return: 665,612 (4%)
- In-kind contributions: 334,004 (2%)

Total Expenses: $10,887,246
- Program services: 8,647,162 (79%)
  - Advocacy and organizing: 6,347,589
  - Government relations: 1,332,522
  - Communications: 967,051
- Supporting services: 2,240,084
  - Fundraising: 1,520,256
  - Management and general: 719,828

Change in unrestricted net assets: 7,299,140

Revenue

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<tr>
<th>Revenue and Support</th>
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<td>Contributions</td>
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<td>Grants</td>
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<td>Signature events</td>
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<td>Other revenue</td>
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<td>Investment return</td>
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<td>In-kind contributions</td>
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<td><strong>TOTAL REVENUE AND SUPPORT</strong></td>
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Expenses

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<th>Supporting Services</th>
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<td>Fundraising</td>
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<td><strong>TOTAL SUPPORTING SERVICES</strong></td>
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<td><strong>TOTAL EXPENSES</strong></td>
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Change in unrestricted net assets: 7,299,140
## Financial Overview

NARAL Pro-Choice America 501(c)(4) and Political Action Committees

## Consolidated Statement of Financial Position

Fiscal Year Ending September 30, 2021

### Assets

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### Liabilities and Net Assets

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<td><strong>TOTAL LIABILITIES AND NET ASSETS</strong></td>
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## Consolidated Statement of Activities

Fiscal Year Ending September 30, 2021

### Revenue

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<th>Revenue and Support</th>
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<td>Membership and contributions</td>
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### Expenses

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<th>Program Services</th>
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<table>
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<th>Supporting Services</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL EXPENSES</strong></td>
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| Change in unrestricted net assets       | (3,287,158)     |
Dear Friends,

The past year has been the worst on record for reproductive freedom since Roe v. Wade was decided in 1973. Our right to abortion is undeniably under attack—from the anti-choice supermajority on the Supreme Court deliberating on a direct challenge to Roe, to state lawmakers across the country working to restrict access, to private citizens acting as vigilante bounty hunters in Texas.

The anti-choice movement has a long history of attempting to maintain white, patriarchal power and control, and they have been working toward this moment for years.

We are at a pivotal point in the fight for reproductive freedom. That makes it all the more important to have a leader who can serve as an incredible advocate and reshape NARAL from the inside out as we take on the most important fights we’ve faced in decades.

And that’s why NARAL’s board of directors chose Mini Timmaraju as our new president. Mini has seen NARAL’s work up close and personal, joining our members to knock on doors in 2016 while serving as National Women’s Vote Director on Hillary Clinton’s presidential campaign. She’s worked on electoral and advocacy campaigns in her home state of Texas and across the United States. And she advised the Biden-Harris administration on diversity, equity, inclusion, and accessibility. Now, as we face the fight of our lives, Mini is the leader we need to chart our course forward.

With our rights hanging in the balance, NARAL is deploying years of research and organizing to push back against attacks on reproductive freedom, by:

- Building on our state-based organizing strategy to grow power for both local and national fights for reproductive freedom.
- Investing in tools, trainings, and resources to mobilize our members for change in their own communities.
- Leveraging our disinformation and messaging research to activate our members and inoculate people against anti-choice disinformation.
- Holding anti-choice bad actors accountable for attempting to roll back access to abortion.

We are now facing legislative sessions in nearly every state in the country, midterm elections for the U.S. House and Senate that could reshape the future of our country, and a federal judiciary, including the Supreme Court, that remains extremely hostile to reproductive freedom. We absolutely cannot afford to stall our work—not when the stakes are this high.

NARAL and our members present a powerful defense against attacks that further restrict abortion access or that could completely overturn our constitutional right to abortion. We know that the only way to create a future where reproductive freedom truly is for everybody is by showing up and fighting for it—and we need your support to make that happen.

Thank you for fighting alongside us. At this critical juncture, NARAL is ready to take on whatever challenges come our way.

Best,

A Message From Our Board Chairs

Melinda Bieber
Chair, NARAL
Pro-Choice America Foundation

Anna Burger
Chair, NARAL
Pro-Choice America
**NARAL Pro-Choice America Foundation**

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- Dawn Koenigsknecht, Vice Chair
- Margalynne Armstrong, Secretary
- Sara Imershein, M.D., M.P.H., Treasurer
- Kimberly Peeler-Allen, At Large

**MEMBERS**
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- Priscilla Geeslin
- Sunita Leeds
- René Redwood
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**NARAL Pro-Choice America**

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- Shannon Hunt-Scott
- Susan Hyatt
- Brina Milikowsky
- Kristin Nierengarten
- Rev. Katherine Ragsdale
- Joanna Spilker

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**Executive Staff**

- Mini Timmaraju, President (as of November 2021)
- Ilyse G. Hogue, President (until May 2021)
- Adrienne Kimmell, Chief Research and Communications Officer
  - Acting President (May-November 2021)
- Christian LoBue, Chief Campaigns and Advocacy Officer
- Kristin Ford, Acting Vice President of Communications and Research
- Steven Kravitz, Chief Financial Officer
- Kimberley Robinson, Chief Human Resources Officer
- Elizabeth Schoetz, Senior Advisor
- Melissa Schwartz, Chief Development Officer
  - Interim Managing Director (since May 2021)