



WHY ADF?

Across every square inch of culture ... advancing the God-given right to live and speak the truth.

WHY now?

To keep the door open **for the Gospel** ... so that all might be free **to know Him**.

FROM OUR CEO

page 4

DISMANTLING *Global Censorship* page 5

SECURING *Religious Freedom* page 11

UPROOTING *Gender Ideology* page 19

PROTECTING *Parental Rights* page 25

SAFEGUARDING *Life* page 33

ADVOCATING *for You in the Boardroom* page 39

EQUIPPING *Churches and Ministries* page 42

TRANSFORMING *the Future* page 45

STEWARDING *Your Investment* page 49

IN MEMORIAM Dr. James C. Dobson and Charlie Kirk page 51

CONTEND for Truth page 54

FROM OUR CEO

When I was 12 years old, the Lord impressed His calling for my life so deeply on my heart that I wrote it down: *Become a lawyer to defend religious freedom and raise the next generation of Christian leaders*.

In this moment of deep testing for Western civilization, I'm honored to be leading Alliance Defending Freedom and living out that calling — partnering *with you* to contend for truth and advance *every person's* Godgiven right to live and speak the truth.

The law should recognize and uphold our God-given rights. But too often, it has become a tool that does the opposite, suppressing the truth and hindering people from encountering Christ. That's why your partnership is so, so critical.

To contend for the *truth*, to contend for the *faith* — that's what your partnership does, ultimately. And over the last year, that has meant the following:

- Historic U.S. Supreme Court Engagement. Six out of seven cases
 we asked the Court to hear, it agreed to hear. With God's blessing,
 more generation-shaping rulings are to come that protect free speech,
 religious freedom, life, and that uproot the scourge of gender ideology.
- **Legislation Protecting Your Rights.** It's not just about what happens in courtrooms. This year, 55 bills ADF helped prepare were enacted into law cementing protections for your rights.
- **Major Pushes to Defeat Censorship.** From Capitol Hill to courtrooms worldwide, one issue rises to the top: defeating censorship and protecting your right to speak the truth. And this year, that even meant working with the White House on an executive order to stop banks from debanking their customers for their beliefs.

As you read through this report, please remember: Every victory ... every success ... is evidence of God's faithfulness and your courageous partnership in this great mission.

There is much ground to reclaim. As we live out God's call on this ministry and remember that we can do nothing apart from Him (John 15:5), <u>let's</u> boldly contend for truth to keep the door open for the Gospel — together.

In Christ,

Kristen Waggoner CEO, President & Chief Counsel



TABLE

of Contents

DISMANTLING Global Censorship

Contending for Everyone's Right to Speak Freely Jesus calls us to speak the truth in love and commissioned His followers to share the Good News with everyone, to the ends of the earth. Protecting the right to speak freely is not only necessary for society's flourishing — it's essential to proclaiming the Gospel. And it's the God-given right of every human being.



PROTECTING THE RIGHT TO SPEAK THE TRUTH AT THE U.S. SUPREME COURT

For more than a decade, through the faithful partnership of our Ministry Friends, ADF has stood before the U.S. Supreme Court to defend the freedom to speak the truth.

In recent years, ADF has helped secure landmark victories that protect every American's right to free speech — from *NIFLA v. Becerra* (2018), which struck down a law compelling the speech of pro-life pregnancy centers, to *303 Creative v. Elenis* (2023), which affirmed that no artist should be forced to promote messages they don't believe.

And, on October 7, 2025, the Court heard another potential landmark free speech case: *Chiles v. Salazar*. This case carries dire implications for children and their parents.

We represented Kaley Chiles, a Christian and a licensed counselor in Colorado who helps young people navigate questions about identity, anxiety, and depression. But a state censorship law bans counselors like Kaley from helping children regain peace with their God-given bodies if they experience gender dysphoria. What does it allow, however? It allows counselors to push "gender transitions" — through harmful drugs and surgeries — on children.

Simply put, Colorado's law, and similar laws in 22 other states, prohibit what's best for children.

Most importantly, Kaley's case shows the human cost of censorship. It reveals that gender ideology thrives when the government stamps out dissent.



The outcome of Kaley's case will shape whether counselors are free to speak truthfully, whether parents in these 23 states can get their children the help they need, and whether government officials may dictate what is and is not allowed in conversations between counselors and their clients about some of the most sensitive areas of life.

Without free speech, every other freedom crumbles.

The stakes could not be higher for our freedom to contend for truth — both now and for the next generation.

DEFEATING CENSORSHIP WORLDWIDE

Across Europe and beyond, laws and regulations increasingly silence those who dare to speak the truth about life, faith, and family. The ability to share the Gospel is in peril across the West.

Because of you, we're on the front lines, challenging these threats to freedom wherever they arise so that speech remains free and the Gospel can be shared.

- Helsinki, Finland

For a Bible verse tweet, Päivi Räsänen has been prosecuted for "hate speech" under a provision



in Finland's criminal code on "War Crimes and Crimes against Humanity." Päivi is a longstanding Finnish parliamentarian and grandmother of 12 who previously served as Finland's minister of the interior. She stands criminally charged for sharing her faith-based

views on marriage and sexual ethics in a 2019 tweet and a 2004 pamphlet she wrote for her church. Despite being unanimously acquitted by two lower courts, prosecutors continue to drag the case forward. Now in its seventh year, the case went before the Finnish Supreme Court in October.

The United Kingdom

During his speech at the Munich Security
Conference in February, Vice President J.D. Vance
highlighted Adam Smith-Connor's case as one
of the worst examples of European censorship
happening today. Adam, a British citizen, was tried
and convicted for praying silently across the road
from an abortion facility. Vice President Vance
said, "The British government charged Adam ... a
51-year-old physiotherapist and an Army veteran,
with the heinous crime of standing 50 meters from
an abortion clinic and silently praying for three
minutes — not obstructing anyone, not interacting
with anyone, just silently praying on his own."



U.S. Congress

As Vice President Vance said in Munich, what is happening in Europe is a retreat from the fundamental value of free speech. And Lorcán Price, legal counsel with ADF International, testified before the U.S. House Judiciary Committee on Europe's Threat to American Speech and Innovation that what is happening is "a sign that [the] European political elite has lost control of the narrative, and [that] the Digital Services Act is part of a system of censorship in an increasing, desperate attempt to control narratives and suppress growing public discontent."

Testimonies like Lorcán's not only shine a worldwide spotlight on critical issues for your rights — they also give your values a voice in the world's most important governing bodies.

WATCH: How Europe Is Censoring the World



European Union

Europe is exporting censorship worldwide through laws like the EU's Digital Services Act (DSA). Led by the European Commission in Brussels, Belgium, the DSA is marketed as a way to create "a safe online environment." But the DSA is among the most dangerous censorship regimes of the digital age. It gives unprecedented power to bureaucrats by forcing online platforms all over the world to police, censor, and suppress lawful speech. And right now, the DSA is pressuring American-owned platforms to censor American citizens.

** Australia



Despite all this, there are signs of hope. In Australia, Chris Elston, known as "Billboard Chris," a Canadian street campaigner who advocates for the protection of children from gender ideology, was targeted by Australian authorities for speaking on a U.S. digital platform (X, formerly Twitter) about the harms of this ideology. With ADF International's support of his case,

an Australian tribunal ruled that authorities could not censor his speech. As with Britain, the U.S. government has called out Australia for blocking Billboard Chris's speech.

This is a win to celebrate — but there are more challenges to come.

Today, America is the last nation in the West that still holds firmly to a robust defense of free speech. In the face of the global assault on the freedom of speech, our resolve must strengthen. Our first freedom, religious freedom, depends on our freedom to speak truth.

Through your partnership, ADF is meeting this global challenge head-on by defending courageous men and women speaking truth, by confronting government overreach, and by defeating legal obstacles to sharing the Gospel.

7 | 2025 Annual Report

Alliance Defending Freedom | 8

ADF LAUNCHES

Center for Free Speech

TO COUNTERACT GLOBAL CENSORSHIP

"Censorship is the clearest threat to freedom today. But the freedom to speak is instrumental to sharing our faith — and pursuing truth. That's why we created the Center for Free Speech. And our mission is simple: Stop censorship and protect everyone's right to free speech. Now is the time to take advantage of the winds at our back and disable global censorship. Your partnership is absolutely critical to the center's success and growth in defending your right to speak the truth."

— **Phil Sechler**, ADF Senior Counsel and Director of the Center for Free Speech







THE CENTER FOR FREE SPEECH is already bearing fruit, notching victories against tech behemoths OpenAl, Meta (Facebook and Instagram), and Asana for discriminating against Christian ministries and shutting down the speech of pro-life advocates.



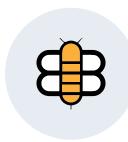
Securing Professionals' Right to Speak Freely



Dr. Allan Josephson helped turn around the University of Louisville's struggling Division of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry and Psychology. But when Dr. Josephson boldly spoke the truth about the dangerous harms of "transitioning" children struggling with their bodies, university officials demoted, harassed, and ultimately fired him. Dr. Josephson recognized what was at stake

— not just for children but for open debate — so he continued to speak out. After a nearly eight-year legal battle, the university finally settled, agreeing to pay Dr. Josephson almost \$1.6 million.

Free to Meme: Babylon Bee Beats Censorship



In August, a federal court blocked California's blatant censorship by ruling two of the state's laws that censor online political speech unconstitutional. ADF attorneys represented The Babylon Bee in the case. The two laws that were challenged targeted and punished speakers for engaging in certain political commentary, including posting satirical memes and parodies of politicians, and required

large online platforms to act as the government's censor and remove certain political commentary from their sites. "We're pleased the court recognized [that] the First Amendment secures our right to tell jokes, even ones the government doesn't like," said Babylon Bee CEO Seth Dillon.

States Sign ADF Model Bills to Stop Debanking



In March, Idaho became the second state — joining Tennessee — to adopt language crafted by ADF to protect people like you against debanking at large financial institutions. Idaho's law prohibits financial institutions with more than \$100 billion in assets from canceling accounts for constitutionally protected political or religious views, speech, or affiliations. Big Banks, which

control services vital to our economy, are just as threatening to freedom as Big Brother is. Everyone needs access to basic financial services, regardless of their political or religious beliefs.

SECURING Religious Freedom

Contending for
Every Person's
Right to Live
Their Faith

America's Founders understood that religious liberty does not come from government but from God. It is anchored securely in our dignity as humans. The Constitution guards this Godgiven right and requires our government to do the same. Many other nations promise this and other freedoms in their laws, but their courts have stripped those promises of any meaning.



CONTENDING FOR YOUR RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

Vermont

One Christian school is back in the game. Mid Vermont Christian School scored a big victory at the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 2nd Circuit: The court reinstated the school to the state's athletic association after Vermont officials banned the school from its league for its girls' basketball team forfeiting a game against a team with a male player. This ruling ended a two-year exile over Mid Vermont's beliefs that boys cannot become girls.

In the decision, the court cited Colorado cake artist Jack Phillips's 2018 U.S. Supreme Court victory for religious freedom, saying that Vermont state officials likely showed impermissible hostility toward the school's beliefs. Jack's landmark victory you made possible is still having ripple effects today. Religious discrimination violates religious freedom, plain and simple. Mid Vermont must be free to live its beliefs.

Colorado

When the time to stand up came, Camp IdRaHaJe was ready. Colorado state regulators changed licensing regulations to require Camp IdRaHaJe — which gets its name from the hymn "I'd Rather Have Jesus" — to let boys use girls' showers and sleeping quarters (and vice versa), but the camp refused to compromise. They called ADF instead, and within weeks, the state backed down.



Thanks to its membership in the ADF Church & Ministry Alliance (see page 44), Camp IdRaHaJe had an established relationship with our attorneys. Just like 4,000+ other churches, camps, and ministries, it had already submitted documents for review and consulted legal counsel on key ministry questions. But this time, IdRaHaJe needed more than guidance. It needed help standing up against injustice.

ADF sued Colorado, challenging the policy as a violation of the camp's religious freedom. The state quickly agreed not to enforce the gender identity rules against the camp.

This is a great victory for Camp IdRaHaJe. Every Christian ministry has the right to live their faith and serve others in the love of Christ.

Washington

In March, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 9th Circuit issued a shocking ruling forcing Cedar Park Assembly of God to fund abortions in its employee health plan. The court went so far as to say that the church didn't even have standing to sue. Your partnership made it possible for ADF to defend Cedar Park and stand for life by asking the full U.S. Court of Appeals for the 9th Circuit to hear the case. In an extremely unusual move, the court withdrew the egregious ruling. Now, the case will be heard again.

Washington has no business forcing churches to fund abortion.

This is vet another example of the clear and present attacks on religious organizations by states around the country.





MUST-WATCH REDEMPTION STORY:

Former Atheist Ayaan Hirsi Ali Talks with ADF CEO Kristen Waggoner About Why We Must Contend for Truth.



CONTENDING FOR THE **PERSECUTED**

Christians are the most persecuted religious group in the world today. Through ADF, you're tackling the root causes of legalized persecution worldwide so that all might be free to live their faith.



Nicaragua

Through your support, ADF International worked to secure the release of 11 Christian pastors and ministry leaders in Nicaragua. All 11 were targeted for their work with Puerta de la Montaña, the Nicaraguan branch of a U.S.-based Christian ministry. They were sentenced to jail for anywhere from 12 to 15 years, fined more than \$80 million after a sham trial, and barred from contacting their families or legal counsel.

We petitioned the Inter-American Commission and Court on Human Rights on their behalf. Thankfully, after this advocacy, they were released in September 2024. Sadly, the situation in Nicaragua remains dire. People of faith are being openly and systematically persecuted and harassed by their government.



And, of course, this is happening not only in the Americas. One estimate puts the number of Christians targeted and killed in Northern Nigeria at more than 7,000 so far in 2025 alone.

Yet in the midst of this terrible darkness, there are bright spots of hope. A Nigerian high court has overturned the wrongful conviction of a Christian man, who we are calling David (his name has been changed for his safety).

David was tortured, imprisoned, and fined after helping two women escape violence because of their Christian faith. David had been falsely accused of kidnapping and other crimes in early 2024 and was convicted following a rushed threeday trial without legal representation. Lawyers supported by ADF International intervened, securing his release.



"Growing up in Florida, I was raised a Christian. But I lost my faith after moving to Los Angeles for college. I became an atheist and a leftist. But God drew me back to Himself nine years later during law school. Now, I have the incredible honor of working to protect amazing people of faith across the Middle East. Africa, and Asia who are facing some of the worst persecution imaginable. They are heroes — true saints. They show the power of the Gospel. Keeping the door open for that Gospel — that's what ADF is all about."

- Sean Nelson Legal Counsel for Global Religious Freedom

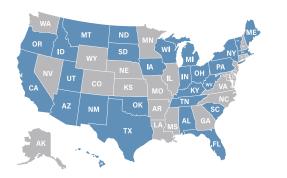
WATCH:

One of the Most Dangerous Places to Be a Christian



13 | 2025 Annual Report Alliance Defending Freedom | 14

IMPACTING POLICY FOR RELIGIOUS FREEDOM



Twenty-eight states have passed laws widening opportunities for children in public schools to attend religious classes during school.

Multiplying Released Time for Religious Education

Six states passed a law that ADF helped craft to widen opportunities for children in public schools to attend religious classes during public school hours. Laws like these, which now exist in 28 states, allow public school children to be briefly excused from school to receive free, off-campus religious instruction taught by private charitable organizations. This is yet another way to ensure that parents, not the government, are in the driver's seat when it comes to their children's education.



The MED Act, now law in nine states, protects the conscience rights of nurses, doctors, pharmacists, students, and other health care professionals.

Expanding Conscience Rights for Medical Professionals

Despite fierce opposition from the hospital lobby, three states passed the MED Act, which ADF helped write. The MED Act, now law in nine states, protects the conscience rights of nurses, doctors, pharmacists, students, and other health care professionals. These laws ensure that medical professionals don't need to sacrifice their faith to continue in their callings.





UPROOTING Gender Ideology

Contending for the Truth That Every Person Is Created in God's Image In Genesis 1, we read that God created humanity in His image — equal yet different in essential ways. But today, we face an unprecedented effort to redefine what it means to be human, to erase the biological and spiritual truth of being created male and female. Ensuring that government policy reflects the truth about God's created order promotes human flourishing.

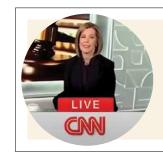


RECLAIMING TRUTH IN LAW, MEDICINE, AND CULTURE

For more than a decade, through your partnership, ADF has led the charge to overcome gender ideology, which has infiltrated society and created countless victims, especially children and women. This has included everything from amplifying the voices of medical and scientific experts exposing this ideology to challenging it and its harms in court.

In June, the U.S. Supreme Court provided a watershed moment in this fight, undermining gender ideology and one of the greatest medical scandals of our time.

In a landmark victory for children's health and science-based medicine in *United States v. Skrmetti*, the Court upheld Tennessee's law protecting minors from harmful and life-altering "gender transition" drugs and surgeries. ADF supported Tennessee and its Attorney General Jonathan Skrmetti throughout the case, and the ruling supports 26 similar state laws — many of which ADF helped craft — returning common sense to America's medical system.



WATCH: ADF CEO Breaks Down Skrmetti



Tennessee passed the law in 2023, prohibiting health care providers from administering puberty blockers or cross-sex hormones or performing surgeries on children who are uncomfortable with their sex. The ACLU and the Biden administration challenged the law in court, leading to the Supreme Court taking up the case.

"Young people struggling with their mental health, [as] I was, deserve better. They need compassionate support. They do not deserve to be lied to and misled into lifealtering medical procedures that only cause harm."

— Prisha Mosley
Detransitioner



Alliance Defending Freedom | 20



STOPPING 'GENDER TRANSITION' PROCEDURES

Twenty-seven states protect kids from "gender transition" drugs and surgeries. With your help, we will keep fighting in court, legislatures, and the public square until every clinic in the country stops performing these procedures on children.

This is about more than closing gender clinics. It's about restoring the law to reflect the truth of God's design for every image bearer. A society that rejects basic truth about the created order cannot endure.

And while the "experts" had for years pushed this medical experimentation on children, the Cass Review in England found "no good evidence" to support "gender transition" procedures on children. In 2025, the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services issued its own report, finding the evidence for this experimentation "very low."

Partnering with States to Protect Children and God's Good Design

Before the Supreme Court issued its decision in *Skrmetti*, the ACLU and other activist groups dismissed their lawsuit challenging Alabama's law protecting children from harmful drugs and surgeries. ADF helped craft the state's law and then supported Alabama as it defended its law.



"Three years ago ... the ACLU, SPLC, and some of the nation's largest law firms filed suit against Alabama to challenge our law protecting vulnerable kids from life-altering sex-change procedures. We fought back. We defeated a preliminary injunction and conducted court-ordered discovery into the so-called 'standards of care' that these groups claimed were evidence-based. What we found was devastating to [the activist groups]:

a medical, legal, and political scandal that will be studied for decades. Given the evidence we uncovered, it is no surprise [they] abandoned their challenge. We uncovered the truth. We exposed the scandal. We won."
— Steve Marshall, Alabama Attorney General

Because of you and the courage of allies and officials like Attorneys General Skrmetti and Marshall, fewer children across the country will be exposed to the dangers of "transition" procedures.

RECLAIMING TRUTH ON THE FIELD



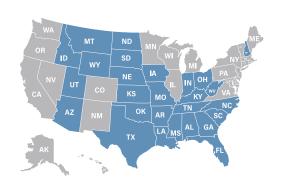
This term, the Supreme Court will hear arguments in two women's sports cases for the very first time.

The cases — *Little v. Hecox* and *West Virginia v. B.P.J.* — center on Idaho's and West Virginia's laws that protect women's sports. The ACLU challenged both laws, which ADF helped write, after they were passed in 2020 and 2021. Now, ADF is cocounsel with the states before the nation's highest Court.

These cases are nearly eight years in the making. ADF began exploring ways to protect women's sports in 2018. Then we filed the first case in the nation to protect women's sports in 2020 on behalf of

four track athletes in Connecticut. This is the long-game strategy in action that you funded years ago — when no one else would join us in speaking truth. Thank you for trusting us.

Fast-forward to 2025. Now, your support has helped land two cases before our nation's highest Court for brave female athletes like Adaleia Cross. She was forced to compete on the same team as a male athlete, who also made sexually vulgar comments toward her, despite West Virginia's Save Women's Sports Act. The ACLU is challenging West Virginia's law on behalf of this male athlete. Brave Adaleia chose to speak up and contend for truth.



SAVING WOMEN'S SPORTS

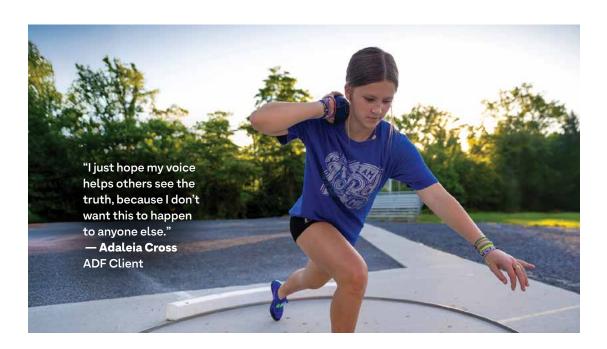
Twenty-seven states protect fairness in women's sports. Your support has made meaningful progress possible toward upholding biological reality and protecting women and girls over the last year - including the alliance-wide effort to defeat the Biden administration's Title IX rewrite and the first nationwide injunction against it.

"No girl should have to endure sexual harassment or feel uncomfortable and anxious at school. No girl should have to compete in an unsafe and unfair system in school," Adaleia said.

You are ensuring that Adaleia's voice, and the voices of so many other girls, are heard.

Though the fight against gender ideology is far from over, ADF is committed to seeing it through to the end. We need permanent change, including action on the issue from Congress and a decisive word from the Supreme Court to ensure future administrations do not reverse the gains we have made.

Simply put, we must ensure that our laws and culture reflect fundamental truth about biological reality.



Praise be to God, in 2025 alone, nine states passed 23 ADF-crafted bills protecting women's privacy in schools, colleges, prisons, shelters, and government buildings!

RECLAIMING TRUTH WORLDWIDE

United Nations

In testimony at the U.N. headquarters in New York City, ADF CEO Kristen Waggoner and others called on international leaders to preserve and protect fairness and safety in sports for women and girls. "Our plea to the world is to learn from the mistakes that have been made — and that are now being corrected — so that your daughters can walk into a future of fair and safe sports," Waggoner said. According to a groundbreaking report from Reem Alsalem, the U.N. special rapporteur on violence against women and girls, no fewer than 600 female athletes in 29 different sports have lost nearly 900 medals to male competitors worldwide. The U.N. event and the report, in the wake of the 2024 Olympics, are part of the turn of the cultural tide against gender ideology and how it harms women and girls.

L Chile

In a landmark move in May, Chile's Congress called for the immediate suspension of "gender transition" programs for children. ADF International urged Chilean authorities to implement the findings of a Special Investigatory Commission, whose report detailed systemic medical, legal, and ethical failings in the country's handling of children and adolescents who experienced gender-related distress.

This is a turning point — not only for Chile but for the entire region — in the disavowal of the lie of gender ideology. Lawmakers have listened to the evidence, the science, and the voices of parents. The so-called gender-affirming model is collapsing globally, and Chile is now leading Latin America toward a more responsible and ethical approach to gender dysphoria in youth."

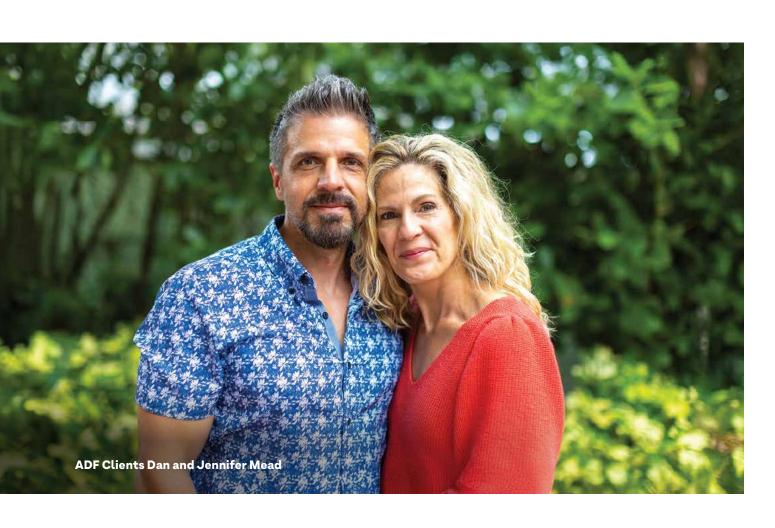
— Tomás Henríquez **ADF International Director** of Advocacy for Latin America



PROTECTING

Parental Rights

Contending for Family, the First Institution Ordained by God The events of the last five years have sent shock waves through our culture, and in no place is this more evident than within families. Too often, sadly, parents have been discovering that school officials are pushing radical ideologies on their children. But parents across the country have become more engaged, showing up to protect their children's well-being. And, partnering with ADF, they've worked diligently to preserve their fundamental right — and responsibility — to guide their children's upbringing, education, and health care.



TWO MASSIVE WINS FOR PARENTS' RIGHTS

Michigan

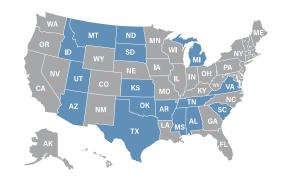
Dan and Jennifer Mead sued a Michigan public school district that "socially transitioned" their 12-year-old daughter by referring to her using male pronouns and a masculine name — and deliberately hiding it from them. In a huge move in September, a federal court denied the school district's motion to dismiss the lawsuit and ruled that the Meads' case may move forward.

Through your partnership, we will keep working to ensure that Dan and Jennifer's fundamental rights — and those of all parents — are vindicated and upheld.

Nearly 6,000 Public Schools Have Secret 'Social Transition' Policies

Oregon

ADF has filed numerous lawsuits to stop discrimination against people of faith in the foster and adoption care systems. The first victory on this front came in July. Thanks be to God and your support, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 9th Circuit rejected Oregon's gender ideology mandate and freed mother and widow Jessica Bates (pictured on the next page) to begin the process of adopting children from foster care without violating her religious beliefs. Similar ADF cases are ongoing in Massachusetts, Vermont, and Washington.



Our legislative team helped craft the Keep Kids First Act to prevent this discrimination against families seeking to foster or adopt. This year, Arkansas and Montana passed the bill, bringing the total to 16 states that outlaw this discrimination.

25 | 2025 Annual Report
Alliance Defending Freedom | 26

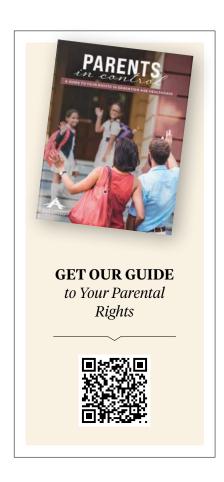


MONUMENTAL SUPREME COURT VICTORY FOR RELIGIOUS FREEDOM BENEFITS PARENTS

In a June decision in *Mahmoud v. Taylor* that will have an impact on parents' rights in public schools for years to come, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that religious parents can opt their children out of classroom activities that violate their religious beliefs about gender and sexuality.

This is a massive win for you and your loved ones. Schools cannot require parents to forsake their religious beliefs and allow their children to be indoctrinated in gender ideology. Our Constitution protects parents' fundamental right to direct their children's moral and religious upbringing, including in public schools.

ADF filed a friend-of-the-court brief in support of the Maryland parents in the case. And, through your partnership, we aim to leverage this decision to protect *all* parents — not just religious ones.



YOUR NATIONWIDE IMPACT

Oklahoma

In April, the U.S. Supreme Court reviewed a dispute over the nation's first religious charter school. Our client, the Oklahoma Statewide Charter School Board, approved St. Isidore of Seville Catholic Virtual School to participate in its charter program.

The state attorney general challenged the board's decision, and the Oklahoma Supreme Court overrode the board's approval. Through your partnership, we took the case to the Supreme Court.

Though the Court issued a disappointing 4-4 decision, leaving in place the state supreme court's bad ruling, it did not set precedent. With your support, we'll keep fighting for this vital option to expand religious educational options for parents and students...

Virginia

After we sued, two school districts agreed to stop requiring teachers to use pronouns inconsistent with

students' sex. Teachers shouldn't be forced to promote ideologies that are harmful to their students.

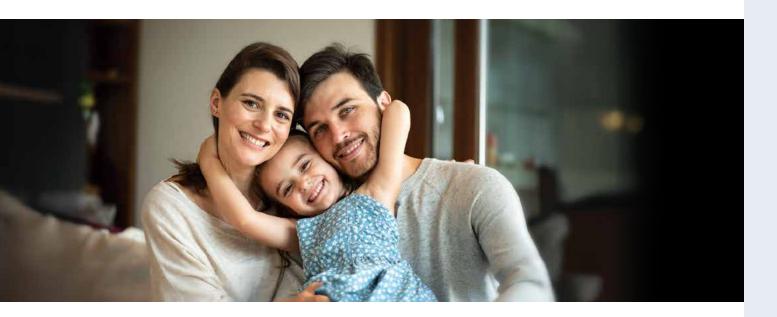
New York

We have appealed Jennifer Vitsaxaki's case to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 2nd Circuit. She discovered that school employees, acting under Skaneateles Central School District official policy, had been treating her daughter as a boy behind her back for months.

Massachusetts

In July, we joined with our allies at the Child & Parental Rights
Campaign to ask the U.S. Supreme
Court to hear the case of Stephen
Foote and Marissa Silvestri, which would be the first time the Court hears a case on public schools' secret "social transition" policies.
School officials treated Stephen and Marissa's 11-year-old daughter as "genderqueer" — with a male name and nonbinary pronouns
— behind their backs and against their wishes.





Changing Public Policy for Parents

Two years ago, ADF created a scorecard showing which states lacked robust protections for parental rights. That helped lead to a renewed push among state lawmakers to shore up laws and protect parents' rights in various areas, including education and medicine.



This year, Indiana, Ohio, Texas, and West Virginia passed parental rights legislation that ADF helped craft. Twenty-two states now protect parents' rights in their laws.

O U.S. Congress

The Families' Rights and Responsibilities Act was introduced in Congress for the second time, which would provide parents with the means to hold federal officials accountable if they violate parental rights. If the federal government threatens parents' rights, the law should provide those parents with clear legal protections.

WORLDWIDE

Through ADF, you're not only impacting the future of parents' rights in the United States. You're also making it possible to support the legal defense of Brazilian Regiane Cichelero, a Christian mother who has been prosecuted for homeschooling her son.

We're challenging the government's attempt to punish parents for directing their children's education, which is protected under international law. No parent should have to fear state punishment for choosing to homeschool their child.





SAFEGUARDING

Life

Contending for the Inherent Dignity of Every Person We all have the right to life, from conception to natural death. Yet, the culture of death tries to convince us that human life is disposable. We see this in abortion, euthanasia, and numerous ethical questions arising from new technologies. Every life is precious, every life has a purpose, and every life is worth defending. Life is a human right, and it must be safeguarded.



STATES FREED TO DEFUND PLANNED PARENTHOOD

In June, the U.S. Supreme Court issued a decision that shows why it's so important to play the long game.

In Medina v. Planned Parenthood South Atlantic, the Court freed states to defund Big Abortion — including Planned Parenthood. Through the strength and support of your partnership and the pro-life alliance, all states, like South Carolina, are now free to direct taxpayer dollars to real health care providers, not the abortion industry.

Medina is our 16th Supreme Court win since 2011 and the first time we have represented a state (South Carolina) in a victory at the highest court in the land. What you may not know is that this victory was 10 years in the making.

Exposing the Profit-over- People Business Model

Planned Parenthood has ended millions of unborn lives since its inception. That is a harrowing fact on its own, but in 2015, another part of the story came to light.

That's when videos released by The Center for Medical Progress exposed the abortion giant for negotiating the sale of body parts from babies it had aborted.

And yet, somehow, Planned Parenthood continues to receive billions in public funding. **Between 2018 and 2023, Planned Parenthood received \$3.2 billion in direct public funding.** Each year, it receives hundreds of millions more from private donors. And it has experienced a "fundraising boom" since 2022 when the Supreme Court overturned *Roe v. Wade*, amassing more than \$2.5 billion in net assets.



Planned Parenthood:

Received \$3.2 BILLION

in public funding between 2018 and 2023?

Has amassed \$2.5 BILLION+ in net assets?

Is the secondlargest provider of DANGEROUS "GENDER TRANSITION" DRUGS

in the United States, even giving these drugs to minors across the country?



But those funds aren't primarily being used to care for the patients Planned Parenthood claims to serve.

The New York Times uncovered how the organization's focus on abortion has resulted in filthy clinics, untrained staff, and poor care that has left women physically injured and emotionally scarred.



South Carolina Steps Up to Defend Life

In July 2018, South Carolina had seen enough.

Governor Henry McMaster issued an executive order that cut off Planned Parenthood's Medicaid funding in South Carolina.

Of course, Planned Parenthood and one of its clients sued to restore that funding.

Winning the Long Game for Life

For seven years, Governor McMaster courageously defended his state's decision to stop Medicaid dollars from flowing to abortion providers.

After multiple rulings against the state, South Carolina, undaunted and unwavering in its efforts to protect the unborn and their mothers, appealed to the Supreme Court, which agreed to hear the case. In June, the Court ruled 6-3 in South Carolina's favor.

Now, thanks to Governor McMaster's courage and your partnership, ALL states are free to defund Planned Parenthood. This important decision moves the United States one major step closer to restoring a culture that respects and protects unborn lives and the women who carry them.

YOU'RE SAVING LIVES AND ADVANCING FREEDOM

Colorado

While taking lives is Planned Parenthood's business, pro-life medical professionals want to save them. Yet some states are trying to stop these professionals from doing so. In Colorado, a state law prevented doctors and nurses from providing women the option of abortion pill reversal — wrongly denying women the freedom to save their children's lives. We sued the state on behalf of certified nurse midwife Chelsea Mynyk, who was being investigated by Colorado officials for providing abortion pill reversal. Thanks to the lawsuit and your support, the unconstitutional, anti-life law has been permanently blocked as applied to our client. Now, more women will be able to save their children's lives.

Vermont

After *Dobbs v. Jackson Women's Health Organization*, more than 20 states have targeted pro-life pregnancy centers through harassment and unconstitutional legislation. One of those states is Vermont, where we challenged a state law that discriminated against pregnancy

centers like Branches Pregnancy
Resource Center, led by Jean Marie
Davis. Jean Marie survived sex
trafficking, became pregnant, and
chose life for her own son. She now
leads this pro-life ministry that reaches
women with the Gospel while saving
their babies. But Vermont passed a
law censoring her and others doing
this work. Thankfully, after our
lawsuit, the state amended its law to
end its targeting of pro-life pregnancy
centers, ensuring their critical work
can continue unabated.

Montana

In response to the growing attacks on pregnancy centers, ADF crafted the CARE Act, which protects the vital work of these pro-life ministries from discrimination and censorship. In May, Montana became the first state to enact the CARE Act. This will stop state and local officials from discriminating against pregnancy centers simply because they do not provide, counsel in favor of, or refer for abortion. It will also ensure that pregnancy centers can continue to provide meaningful, life-affirming care to women, families, and the communities they serve.



"I have moms coming to me, in tears, desperate to reverse what they've done. I can't imagine not being able to offer [abortion pill reversal]."

- Chelsea Mynyk, ADF Client

West Virginia

As states like Colorado have tried to crack down on abortion pill reversal, chemical abortion manufacturers have tried to take abortion drugs nationwide. But in July, Big Abortion suffered a major setback when a federal court rejected a bid by GenBioPro — the generic manufacturer of the abortion drug to federalize the legality of the drug and strike down West Virginia's pro-life law. GenBioPro wanted to circumvent the Supreme Court's ruling in *Dobbs*, which left the issue of abortion, including abortion drugs, to the states. Your partnership enabled ADF to work alongside the state to protect human life and women's health.

U.S. Congress

In December, ADF Senior Counsel and Vice President of the Center for Life and Regulatory Practice Erin Hawley testified before the House Judiciary Subcommittee on the Constitution and Limited Government on how the Biden administration had weaponized the FACE Act to target pro-life activity. At the same time, the act had left pro-

life pregnancy centers, churches, and other houses of worship unprotected from violence, vandalism, and intimidation. The testimony exposed how the administration was misapplying the law and has helped lead to repeated calls to repeal the FACE Act. We will keep advocating for this act to be repealed so that prolife Americans won't be punished for peacefully fighting for the unborn.

United Kingdom

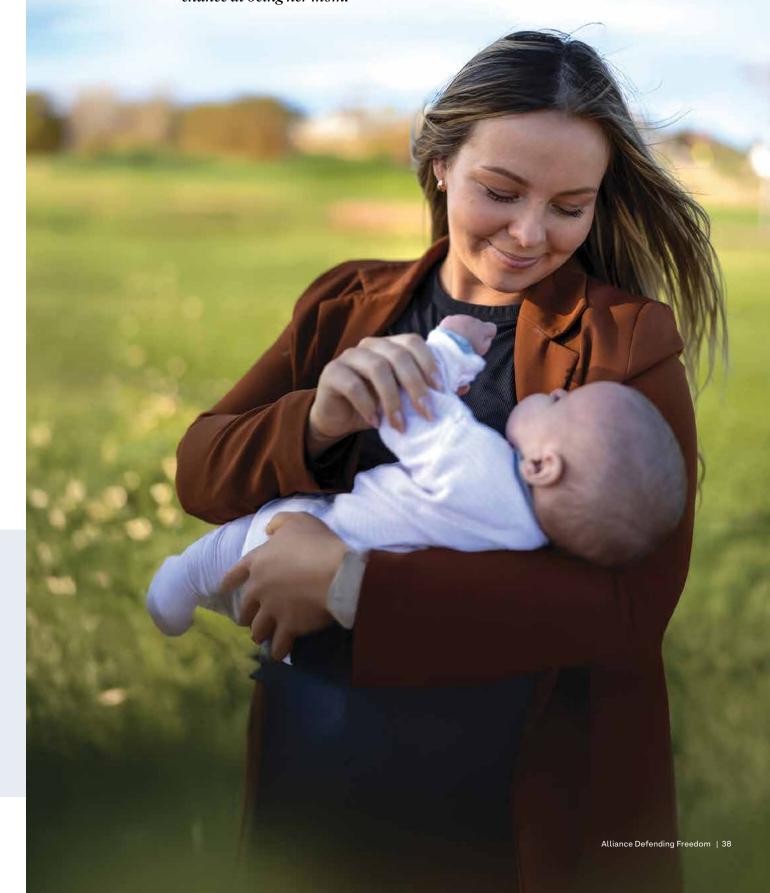
One of the most urgent fronts in the fight for life is the effort to stop Orwellian censorship around abortion facilities in the U.K. Our team in the U.K. is supporting the legal defense of Dr. Livia Tossici-Bolt, a retired medical scientist who simply held a sign offering to talk in a "buffer zone" around an abortion facility. She was convicted of violating the law and was ordered to pay £20,000, which is more than \$27,000, in costs. "There's nothing wrong with offering to speak to people in need. There's nothing wrong with two adults engaging in a consensual conversation on the street." Livia said. "I shouldn't be treated like a criminal just for this."

I was honored to be part of the legal team that overturned Roe v. Wade. This is a new era for the pro-life movement in America. We're seeing the harms of abortion and abortion drugs being exposed. And while states are now free to defund Planned Parenthood, Big Abortion is as radical as ever, bankrolled by activists. And we must protect the life-saving work of pro-life pregnancy centers. We can't do any of that without your partnership."

— **Erin Hawley,** ADF Senior Counsel, Vice President of the Center for Life and Regulatory Practice



Mackenna Greene is one of the mothers who Chelsea helped. She saved the life of her baby, Sayla. "She was God's gift to me. [God] gave me the second chance at being her mom."



ADVOCATING for You in the Boardroom

So That Freedom Flourishes in the Marketplace Today, the assault on your fundamental freedoms has entered a dangerous new phase. No longer limited to government overreach, the threat now includes activist-captured corporations that silence dissent and suppress speech while evading constitutional limits and democratic accountability.



FREEDOM IN THE MARKETPLACE

Through your partnership, we leverage policy, litigation, and shareholder advocacy to hold corporations accountable for censorship and religious discrimination — so all can speak and live their faith in the marketplace.

Over the last year, our tremendous coalition of allies has secured major changes at some of the world's largest and most influential companies. You helped achieve what was once unthinkable. We're not just making noise.

We're changing policy.

JPMorganChase Dumps Debanking



In a MAJOR victory for free speech and religious freedom in the marketplace, the nation's largest bank adopted language that will protect against future instances of political and religious debanking in its Code of Conduct, after sustained engagement with ADF attorneys.

Chase's new policy will set the standard for the rest of the financial industry. In fact, Bank of America joined Chase in taking steps to eliminate debanking.

On the heels of similar wins from ADF's shareholder engagement with Chase and other major banks, like Citibank and Charles Schwab, President Trump signed an executive order called "Guaranteeing Fair Banking for All Americans," prepared with the help of ADF, in an effort to prevent any bank from discriminating against customers for their religious beliefs.

Walmart, Costco, Kroger Say 'No' to Abortion Drugs



After advocacy from ADF, shareholders, and dozens of financial officers, Walmart, Costco, and Kroger confirmed they would not become abortion dispensaries for the pill mifepristone, which aborts babies and puts women's health at risk. This is a huge win for life as we work to prevent the sale of these drugs in big box stores and protect the conscience rights of pharmacists.

Rejecting Censorship in Ad Buying

Our shareholder engagement resulted in IBM, PepsiCo, Mastercard, Johnson & Johnson, and Comcast (NBCUniversal and Peacock) adopting ADF-drafted policies to stop engaging third parties to censor and silence the views of everyday Americans in ads.

23
Policy and Behavioral Changes at the World's Largest Companies

74

Shareholder Proposals

14
Securities and Exchange
Commission Victories

ADF is really the only firm set up with the talent, the strategy, the expertise, and the capability to effectively move the needle to represent the cause of Christ to the benefit of all people.

If I'm going to invest in something, I'm going to invest in something that's aligned with my values and something that's playing a long-term game, and, frankly, is going to win. ADF is that group."

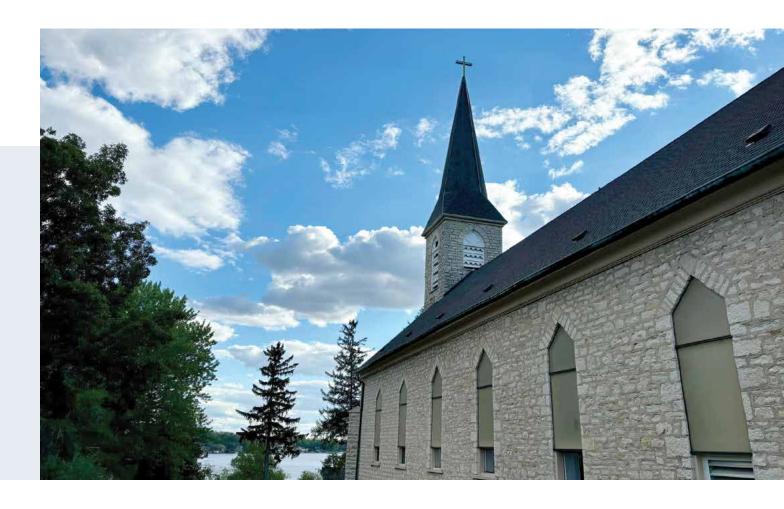
— **Mike Sharrow** CEO and President, C12 Business Forums



EQUIPPING Churches and Ministries

As They
Faithfully Live
and Share the
Gospel of Jesus

Since 2017, the ADF Church & Ministry Alliance has helped its members navigate increasing hostility from the government and the culture. ADF has successfully supported thousands of churches and ministries, advocating for their rights and bolstering them with the confidence to continue living their missions and transforming culture with the truth.



PRO-LIFE PREGNANCY CENTER TAKES GOVERNMENT HARASSMENT TO THE U.S. SUPREME COURT

This winter, for the first time ever, a member of the ADF Church & Ministry Alliance will make its way to the U.S. Supreme Court.

First Choice Women's Resource Centers, a faith-based pregnancy center with five locations in New Jersey, is challenging an unconstitutional investigation by state Attorney General Matthew Platkin.

Platkin demanded that First Choice disclose the names, phone numbers, addresses, and place of employment of many of its donors, plus up to 10 years of its internal confidential documents. Let that sink in for a moment.



The government is targeting First Choice, a ministry that provides parenting classes, free ultrasounds, baby clothes, and more to its community, simply because of its pro-life views. The attorney general is willing to bend the law to stop the important work that First Choice does — work that has saved countless lives and made a tangible difference for tens of thousands of New Jersey women and children.

Sadly, what's happened to First Choice is part of a growing trend since the Supreme Court's decision in *Dobbs v. Jackson Women's Health Organization*, which overturned *Roe v. Wade*. Pregnancy centers in 20+ states remain threatened by government overreach.

Thankfully, because of your generous support and partnership with ADF's Church & Ministry Alliance, First Choice has been able to respond swiftly to the state's actions. Please be in prayer for the outcome of the case, which will be decided by June.

A win for First Choice will help show pro-abortion government officials across the country that they cannot harass and target prolife pregnancy centers.

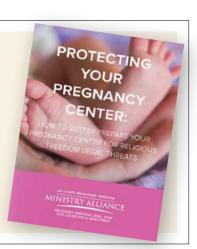
This is an example of exactly why ADF exists. Without your partnership, ministries like First Choice would not be able to provide the transformational work that God has called them to.

We are partnering together to advance every person's God-given right to live and speak the truth. Thank you!

PREPARE YOUR PREGNANCY CENTER

for Legal Challenges to Religious Freedom





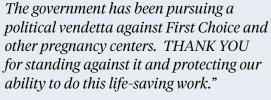
Church & Ministry Alliance:

- 381 New Members This Year
- **4,300**+ Total Members, Including:
 - 126 Pro-Life Pregnancy Centers
 - 453 Christian Schools
 - **69** Christian Camps
 - **3,034** Churches



Want to see where your ministry stands?

Scan the QR code to start your religious liberty assessment.





Aimee is the daughter of a pastor. When she was 12 years old, her dad preached a sermon about the importance of the sanctity of life. In that moment, Aimee knew she had found her calling to help women facing unplanned pregnancies.



43 | 2025 Annual Report

Alliance Defending Freedom | 44

TRANSFORMING the Future

So That Generations to Come Might Be Free to Know Him The law is not just a profession; it's a calling. Every year, ADF gathers hundreds of Christian law students and legal professionals and invites them into something deeper than education: formation.



THE BLACKSTONE LEGAL FELLOWSHIP

Through deep formation, mentorship, and community, Blackstone equips future leaders with the character, courage, and excellence needed to serve God and neighbor in the public square. They go on to lead in law firms and corporate boardrooms, to shape public policy, and to serve in courts and classrooms — all with quiet resolve and deep integrity.

This is not just a program. It's a generational investment.

- Class of 2025: **200** Blackstone Interns from **29** States and **10** Countries
- 3,206 Total Fellows
- 233 Fellows Serve in State and Local Government
- 305 Fellows Serve in the Federal Government
 - **More than 100** Fellows and allies have joined the Trump administration since January 2025.

FELLOW SPOTLIGHT:

JIM CAMPBELL — ADF CHIEF LEGAL COUNSEL



Jim, a
Blackstone
Fellow from
the class of
2004, leads
our U.S. Legal
Advocacy
team. He

first joined ADF in 2007, defending the religious freedom and free speech of clients like Colorado cake artist Jack Phillips.

After 13 years at ADF, he then served as the solicitor general of Nebraska from 2020 to 2023. He argued and won cases before state and federal

courts — including *Biden v. Nebraska*, in which the U.S. Supreme Court struck down the Biden administration's unlawful attempt to forgive more than \$400 billion in federal student loans for more than 40 million people.

In March 2023, Jim rejoined ADF as chief legal counsel. Since rejoining ADF, Jim has argued multiple Supreme Court cases, including *Chiles v. Salazar* in October 2025.

Today, more than 20 years after Jim went through Blackstone, he can still point to its impact on his life:

"The program introduced me to greater diversity of thought and opinion within the Christian community. And perhaps best of all, the fellowship connected me to my wife, Kendra, who is also a Blackstone Fellow."

"Blackstone helped me develop a lens for thinking biblically about all things, from legal issues to matters of government, life, and family," Jim said.



ARETÉ ACADEMY

A reté is ADF International's flagship training program, designed to equip, connect, and engage the next generation of leaders to take up positions of public impact in pursuit of God's unique calling on their lives.

Through Areté Academies in Latin America, Europe, and the Commonwealth of Nations, our team prepares exceptional young professionals and university students across the globe to live lives of servant leadership in the public square, connecting them with a community of like-minded peers and mentors doing the same.

- 138 Alumni Trained from 45 Countries in 2025
- 746 Alumni in Law and Policy, Government, and Academia



"Areté Academy helped me to discern my own mission. Now I work to prevent euthanasia and encourage hope across Canada and around the world through my own organization called 'Dying to Meet You.' The tremendous investment made in us was palpable at every moment and instilled in me a deep awareness of my own dignity and responsibility. Having benefited from such

ennobling expectations, this is now something I seek to cultivate in others."

— **Amanda Achtman,** Canada, Founder of Dying to Meet You, Areté Delegate 2022

Areté is the joy of watching God at work. Young, talented people with promising careers ahead of them come to Areté because they want to serve with excellence ... because they know they can't do it alone ... because they want to choose faithfulness over worldly ambition."

— Sophia Kuby

Director of Strategic Relations and Training, ADF International



STEWARDING Your Investment

Your Impact in Fiscal Year 2025

54
Victories in U.S. Courts

Victories in Courts Worldwide

164
Grants Funded

6 out of 7

Petitions Filed with the U.S.

Supreme Court Granted
(86% Success Rate vs. 1% National Average)

333

New Network Attorneys

4,096

Legal Matters Handled Worldwide

4,287

Requests for Legal Help

55

Bills Crafted by ADF Enacted

Your All-Time Impact

163
Bills Crafted by ADF
Enacted

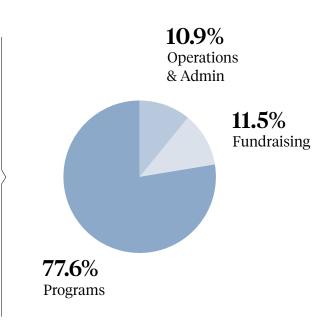
2,711Christians Freed from Prison

1,168
Churches and
Ministries Reopened

16
U.S. Supreme Court Victories

STEWARDING YOUR GENEROSITY





Program Percentages



IN MEMORIAM: TWO CHAMPIONS OF FAITH, **FAMILY, AND FREEDOM**

"I am the vine; you are the branches. If you remain in me and I in you, you will bear much fruit; apart *from me you can do nothing."* — John 15:5

Dr. James C. Dobson

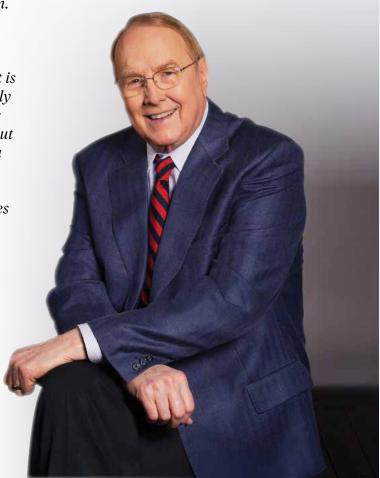
The world lost a mighty voice for truth and an incredibly influential **L** servant of Christ when Dr. James Dobson died in August.

Dr. Dobson founded Focus on the Family in 1977 before forming other ministries and organizations like the Family Research Council, Family Policy Alliance, and Dr. James Dobson Family Institute. We know that countless Ministry Friends began partnering with ADF as a result of Dr. Dobson's radio program and his support of ADF as a founder of the ministry.

Dr. Dobson's bold leadership and commitment to the Gospel shaped the lives of so many and will continue to do so for many years after his passing. Death is not the end, and we are confident that he walked victoriously into the arms of his Savior, hearing the words "Well done, good and faithful servant."

"[Dr. Dobson] gave us the greatest gift any person can give: his name and reputation. It was an incredible trust and turned out to be a gift that changed the world. Without Dobson in those early years, it's unlikely ADF would have become what it is today. It was through Focus on the Family that the ADF theme verse, John 15:5, was adopted, which acknowledges that without Christ, we can do nothing. This has been the cornerstone of everything ADF has accomplished, and Dobson's legacy will continue on through the many ministries he envisioned and led."

- Alan Sears ADF's First CEO and Founder



Charlie Kirk

To event of 2025 shocked our nation like the assassination of Turning Point USA (TPUSA) founder and longtime ADF ally Charlie Kirk.

There are no words to describe this heinous murder. To this day, we find ourselves stunned and grieving for Charlie's wife, Erika, and their two precious children, for our TPUSA allies, and for America.

In many ways, Charlie epitomized the best of America. He relentlessly pursued truth. He embraced peaceful debate. He engaged his ideological opponents with civility.

ADF has been honored to represent TPUSA and its campus chapters in more than 25 matters: from pushing back on speech zones on a Michigan campus that stopped chapter members from talking to other students about the First Amendment, to ensuring two State University of New York Cortland students could start a TPUSA chapter, to requiring The University of Memphis to redo a TPUSA event that was shut down by a student mob. Charlie's legacy



WATCH:

will live on. We will continue to stand with TPUSA

going forward, ready to help as its mission continues.

Charlie knew Jesus. He acted on his convictions. And he sought to anchor those convictions in the truth of the Gospel.

It falls to our generation to rise to this moment. As Charlie so beautifully modeled, now is the time to be bold in speaking the truth of the Gospel and showing the love of Christ.



"Beloved, although I was very eager to write to you about our common salvation, I found it necessary to write appealing to you to contend for the faith that was once for all delivered to the saints."

— Jude 1:3 (ESV)

53 | 2025 Annual Report

As you've read through this annual report, I hope you have been deeply encouraged by what *you made possible* over the last year.

This is a record of *your* partnership and impact — of God's faithfulness through *you*. For that, we are extremely grateful. And that gratitude must spur us all on to further action and faithful endurance as we impact every square inch of the legal system and culture for His glory.

As the sexual revolution exhausts itself, and as its refugees flee in search of meaning, purpose, and a sound basis for truth, the building blocks of a new consensus are emerging.

God is writing this story — the same

beginning. Today, we have an opportunity, but it won't last forever.

What will our story be? We can't know, but we do know that God calls you and me to be faithful, with hearts surrendered to His purpose, declaring, "Here am I, Lord. Send me."

Our God raises the dead. With Him, the story is never over. That's why we commit ourselves to being His instruments wherever He calls us to go — whether to legislatures, the courtroom, the boardroom, the pulpit, church pews, or our children's schools.

Ultimately, everything your partnership enables is about removing obstacles that prevent people from knowing Him.

CONTEND for Truth

God who defeated death 2,000 years ago. What an amazing thing that we each have a role to play in His unfolding story.

Contending for the *truth* — this mission belongs to each of us. Not for a season but for a lifetime. The stakes aren't just earthly. They're eternal.

As this report shows, ordinary men, women, and even children are victims of the destructive lies our culture has accepted as truth. But we've also seen unbelievable courage from heroes who are turning the tide.

Only God knows the future. He declares the end from the It fuels a God-inspired mission; a bold, God-sized strategy; and the God-given perseverance to advance the right to live and speak the truth so that the door is kept open for the Gospel.

You were chosen for this moment, and the Lord will keep you.

So contend for your faith. Contend for the truth.

Do it for your kids. For your family. For your church. For your neighbors and colleagues. For the next generation.

In Christ,





