



MISSOURI HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WITNESS APPEARANCE FORM

BILL NUMBER: HB 2511		DATE: 1/27/2026
COMMITTEE: Commerce		
TESTIFYING: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> IN SUPPORT OF <input type="checkbox"/> IN OPPOSITION TO <input type="checkbox"/> FOR INFORMATIONAL PURPOSES		
WITNESS NAME		
INDIVIDUAL:		
WITNESS NAME: ANTHONY BONO		PHONE NUMBER:
BUSINESS/ORGANIZATION NAME:		TITLE:
ADDRESS:		
CITY:		STATE: ZIP:
EMAIL:	ATTENDANCE: Written	SUBMIT DATE: 1/27/2026 8:48 AM
THE INFORMATION ON THIS FORM IS PUBLIC RECORD UNDER CHAPTER 610, RSMo.		

I support this bill because it reinforces accountability, fairness, and the rule of law in the workplace. By holding general contractors and subcontractors responsible when they knowingly—or should have known—about the employment of unauthorized workers, the bill closes a loophole that has allowed willful ignorance to undermine lawful businesses. It protects employers who follow the law from being undercut by those who gain an unfair advantage through illegal labor practices, while also ensuring workers are properly classified and protected. Granting the Attorney General clear enforcement and investigative authority strengthens compliance, deters abuse, and promotes integrity in public and private projects alike. Ultimately, this bill supports a level playing field, responsible contracting, and respect for existing employment and immigration laws.



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WITNESS NAME			
INDIVIDUAL:			
WITNESS NAME: ARNIE C. AC "HONEST-ABE" DIENOFF-STATE PUBLIC ADVO		PHONE NUMBER:	
BUSINESS/ORGANIZATION NAME:		TITLE:	
ADDRESS:			
CITY:		STATE:	ZIP:
EMAIL:	ATTENDANCE: In-Person		SUBMIT DATE: 1/27/2026 11:53 PM
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WITNESS NAME			
BUSINESS/ORGANIZATION:			
WITNESS NAME: BYRON KEELIN		PHONE NUMBER: 314-402-0655	
BUSINESS/ORGANIZATION NAME: FREEDOM PRINCIPLE		TITLE: PRESIDENT	
ADDRESS: PO BOX 2			
CITY: BALLWIN		STATE: MO	ZIP: 63022
EMAIL: freedomprinciplemo@protonmail.com	ATTENDANCE: Written	SUBMIT DATE: 1/27/2026 5:34 AM	

THE INFORMATION ON THIS FORM IS PUBLIC RECORD UNDER CHAPTER 610, RSMo.

We support this bill and urge this committee to advance HB 2511 and similar measures, which are essential to upholding the integrity of Missouri’s workforce and the responsible stewardship of public resources. These bills effectively address the ongoing issue of unauthorized employment—an area of concern not only for state law enforcement and regulatory agencies, but also for taxpayers and law-abiding businesses across our state.

By requiring employers who benefit from state contracts, grants, or tax incentives to verify the employment eligibility of their workers through federal programs like E-Verify, Missouri will help ensure that public funds and opportunities are not indirectly enabling unlawful or unfair business practices. This, in turn, protects legitimate Missouri companies that comply with the law and employ qualified workers, placing them on an even playing field in the competition for state contracts and economic benefits.

The bills’ provisions for strong enforcement, meaningful penalties, and robust investigative authority for the Attorney General will send a clear message that Missouri will not tolerate the circumvention of federal immigration or employment laws. At the same time, HB 2511 and its counterparts recognize the necessity of due process, providing fair defenses for employers who follow proper procedures in good faith while incorporating safeguards to prevent baseless or frivolous complaints.

In sum, this legislation demonstrates Missouri’s commitment to the rule of law, the protection of honest businesses, and the proper use of taxpayer funds. It builds confidence in the public contracting process and promotes a fair, lawful, and competitive labor market for all Missourians. I strongly encourage your consideration and passage of these important reforms.



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WITNESS NAME			
BUSINESS/ORGANIZATION:			
WITNESS NAME: DAVID		PHONE NUMBER: 314-574-8100	
BUSINESS/ORGANIZATION NAME: MCA ST. LOUIS		TITLE: EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR	
ADDRESS: 5328 ZAMORA DRIVE			
CITY: ST. LOUIS		STATE: MO	ZIP: 63128
EMAIL: dave.mca@masonrystlouis.com	ATTENDANCE: Written	SUBMIT DATE: 1/27/2026 11:01 AM	

THE INFORMATION ON THIS FORM IS PUBLIC RECORD UNDER CHAPTER 610, RSMo.

Good afternoon,
 My name is Dave Gillick. I am the director of the Mason Contractors Association of St. Louis (chartered in MO, 1896)(MCA)

The MCA expresses its support of HB 2511.

We support the added tools for the Attorney General's office to pursue companies using unauthorized aliens to perform work in Missouri.

Many MCA member businesses are considered Federal Contractors and ,as such, are subject to severe penalties if they employ unauthorized aliens.

There are companies in Missouri that employ unauthorized aliens. These companies do so by circumventing the law and circumventing the tax code. These companies directly compete against MCA employers and have little risk in doing so.

We support HB-2511 so that our Missouri businesses have fair competition employing Missouri employees.

Thank you for your consideration,
 David A. Gillick



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WITNESS NAME			
BUSINESS/ORGANIZATION:			
WITNESS NAME: JACOB HUMMEL		PHONE NUMBER: 573-634-2115	
BUSINESS/ORGANIZATION NAME: MISSOURI AFL-CIO		TITLE: PRESIDENT	
ADDRESS: 131 E. HIGH STREET STE 100			
CITY: JEFFERSON CITY		STATE: MO	ZIP: 65101
EMAIL: mattroesser@moaflcio.org	ATTENDANCE: Written	SUBMIT DATE: 1/27/2026 11:07 AM	

THE INFORMATION ON THIS FORM IS PUBLIC RECORD UNDER CHAPTER 610, RSMo.

Honorable Representatives of the Committee,

The Missouri AFL-CIO is in support of HB 2511 and HB 2366. These bills strengthen enforcement against employers who knowingly exploit unauthorized labor, which can improve wage fairness and job standards. Employee misclassification and wage theft in Missouri's construction industry allow unscrupulous law-breaking contractors to have an unfair advantage over law-abiding contractors who see their market share materially diminished or reduced from such illegal actions. University of Missouri-Kansas City economist Michael P. Kelsay has documented that payroll fraud, particularly worker misclassification in the construction industry, results in significant financial losses to states. His research indicates that Missouri loses tens of millions in tax revenue annually, alongside millions in unemployment and workers' compensation funds, driven by companies misclassifying employees. For the protection of workers and the State of Missouri we support HB 2511 and HB 2366.



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WITNESS NAME			
REGISTERED LOBBYIST:			
WITNESS NAME: JEFFREY P ABOUSSIE		PHONE NUMBER: 314-566-9933	
REPRESENTING: INTERNATIONAL UNION OF OPERATING ENGINEERS LOCAL 101&513,148		TITLE: PRINCIPAL OFFICER OF REGIONAL STRATEGIES	
ADDRESS: 330 SHETLAND VALLEY CT			
CITY: CHESTERFIELD		STATE: MO	ZIP: 63005
EMAIL: jeff@regionalstrategiesmo.com	ATTENDANCE: Written	SUBMIT DATE: 1/27/2026 6:12 AM	

THE INFORMATION ON THIS FORM IS PUBLIC RECORD UNDER CHAPTER 610, RSMo.

The International Union of Operating Engineers Local 513 &101 support this bill hb2511. The construction industry is plagued with illegals on jobsites creating unfair advantages due to sub par wages, unsafe working conditions. In addition the loss of revenue for the state grows year by year. Hopefully this bill will be amended to provide penalties, such as debarment from any publicly funded projects in municipalities, counties and state level projects.

Respectfully,
Jeffrey Aboussie



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WITNESS NAME			
REGISTERED LOBBYIST:			
WITNESS NAME: MARK DALTON		PHONE NUMBER: 314-644-4800	
REPRESENTING: MID AMERICA CARPENTERS REGIONAL COUNCIL		TITLE:	
ADDRESS: 1401 HAMPTON AVE.			
CITY: ST. LOUIS		STATE: MO	ZIP: 63139
EMAIL:	ATTENDANCE:	SUBMIT DATE: 1/27/2026 12:00 AM	
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WITNESS NAME		
BUSINESS/ORGANIZATION:		
WITNESS NAME: MIKE TALBOY		PHONE NUMBER: 816-536-0082
BUSINESS/ORGANIZATION NAME: GREATER KANSAS CITY BUILDING & TRADES COUNCIL		TITLE: POLITICAL DIRECTOR
ADDRESS: 6601 WINCHESTER, SUITE 155		
CITY: KANSAS CITY		STATE: MO
		ZIP: 64133
EMAIL: mike@buildkc.org	ATTENDANCE: Written	SUBMIT DATE: 1/27/2026 12:14 PM

THE INFORMATION ON THIS FORM IS PUBLIC RECORD UNDER CHAPTER 610, RSMo.

Chairman Casteel and members of the Committee,

The Greater Kansas City Building & Trades Council is supportive of HB 2511. The goals and objectives of HB 2511 directly align with our organization's sentiment on bad actors in the contracting space.

At the Building Trades, we will never fault someone for trying to work and build a better life, but we do fault employers for knowingly taking advantage of workers from unfortunate situations. Sadly, these employers make those individuals' lives even harder while simultaneously undercutting the bids of responsible contractors. This bill is pro-worker and pro-business and merits your support.

Thank you for your consideration,

Mike Talboy
Greater Kansas City Building & Trades Council



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WITNESS NAME			
REGISTERED LOBBYIST:			
WITNESS NAME: RYAN MCKENNA		PHONE NUMBER: 314-799-2329	
REPRESENTING: MISSOURI AFL-CIO		TITLE:	
ADDRESS: 131 E. HIGH ST., STE 100			
CITY: JEFFERSON CITY		STATE: MO	ZIP: 65101
EMAIL:	ATTENDANCE:	SUBMIT DATE: 1/27/2026 12:00 AM	
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WITNESS NAME			
REGISTERED LOBBYIST:			
WITNESS NAME: SCOTT RAMSHAW		PHONE NUMBER: 314-267-4992	
REPRESENTING: UA 562 PLUMBERS & PIPEFITTERS		TITLE: GOVERNMENT RELATIONS & BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT	
ADDRESS: 3640 CORPORATE TRAIL DRIVE			
CITY: ST. LOUIS		STATE: MO	ZIP: 63045
EMAIL: sramshaw@local562.org	ATTENDANCE: Written	SUBMIT DATE: 1/27/2026 11:53 AM	
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I would like to see more Enforcement and bigger Penalty when the Contractor is found guilty.

Every Senator & Representative constituents & family members loose when a project has Unauthorized Alien Transient Workforce on a project in Missouri.

Economic Development, Workforce Development and US Federally Approved Apprenticeship Programs are a WIN-WIN for all Missourians.

Lets move Missouri Forward in the right direction.



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WITNESS NAME		
INDIVIDUAL:		
WITNESS NAME: TIMOTHY ALLEN KAIKKONEN		PHONE NUMBER:
BUSINESS/ORGANIZATION NAME:		TITLE:
ADDRESS:		
CITY:		STATE: ZIP:
EMAIL:	ATTENDANCE: Written	SUBMIT DATE: 1/27/2026 8:52 AM
THE INFORMATION ON THIS FORM IS PUBLIC RECORD UNDER CHAPTER 610, RSMo.		

Dear Representative,

My name is Tim Kaikkonen, and I am a resident of Jefferson County, Missouri. I am writing to express my support for HB 2511 regarding the employment of unauthorized aliens.

I believe this bill is an important step toward ensuring fairness, accountability, and the rule of law in Missouri's workforce—especially in the construction industry and on public works projects. Employers who knowingly hire unauthorized workers gain an unfair competitive advantage by undercutting wages, skirting labor standards, and shifting risk onto law-abiding contractors and workers.

HB 2511 appropriately closes a loophole by holding general contractors and subcontractors accountable when they know—or should know—that unauthorized labor is being used on their projects. This helps protect Missouri workers, responsible contractors, and taxpayers who expect public projects to be completed legally and ethically.

I also support the enforcement provisions that allow the Attorney General to investigate and pursue violations. Meaningful enforcement is necessary if our labor and employment laws are to have real effect rather than exist only on paper.

Missouri workers deserve a level playing field, and employers who follow the law should not be punished for doing the right thing. HB 2511 helps move us in that direction, and I respectfully urge you to support this legislation.

Thank you for your time and for your service to our district. I appreciate your consideration of this important issue.

Sincerely,

Tim Kaikkonen,

Jefferson County, Missouri



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WITNESS NAME			
BUSINESS/ORGANIZATION:			
WITNESS NAME: WADE KIEFER		PHONE NUMBER: 816-489-6706	
BUSINESS/ORGANIZATION NAME: IBEW 124		TITLE: BUSINESS REPRESENTATIVE	
ADDRESS: 301 E 103RD TERRACE			
CITY: KANSAS CITY		STATE: MO	ZIP: 64114
EMAIL: wkiefer@ibewlocal124.org	ATTENDANCE: Written	SUBMIT DATE: 1/26/2026 5:00 PM	

THE INFORMATION ON THIS FORM IS PUBLIC RECORD UNDER CHAPTER 610, RSMo.

Chairman Casteel and members of the Committee,

The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local Union 124 (IBEW 124) is pleased to support HB 2511. The intentions of HB 2511 directly align with our organization's sentiment on unscrupulous contractors.

At the IBEW, we never fault someone for trying to work and build a better life, but we do fault employers for knowingly taking advantage of workers from unfortunate situations. Sadly, these employers make those individuals' lives even harder while simultaneously undercutting the bids of responsible contractors. This bill is pro-worker and pro-business and merits your support.

Thank you for your consideration,

Wade Kiefer
IBEW 124



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WITNESS NAME			
BUSINESS/ORGANIZATION:			
WITNESS NAME: EDWARD J. TWEHOUS		PHONE NUMBER: 573-690-0484	
BUSINESS/ORGANIZATION NAME: ASSOCIATED GENERAL CONTRACTORS OF MISSOURI & TWEHOUS EXCAVATING COMPANY INC.		TITLE: LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE CHAIR/VICE PRESIDENT	
ADDRESS: 8514 LIBERTY ROAD			
CITY: JEFFERSON CITY		STATE: MO	ZIP: 65101
EMAIL:	ATTENDANCE:	SUBMIT DATE: 1/27/2026 12:00 AM	
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WITNESS NAME			
REGISTERED LOBBYIST:			
WITNESS NAME: FRED DREILING		PHONE NUMBER: 816-806-6335	
REPRESENTING: BUILDERS' ASSOCIATION A CHAPTER OF THE AGC		TITLE: LOBBYIST	
ADDRESS: 1025 W 64TH TERR			
CITY: KANSAS CITY		STATE: MO	ZIP: 64113
EMAIL: freddreilingllc@gmail.com	ATTENDANCE: In-Person	SUBMIT DATE: 1/26/2026 4:21 PM	
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WITNESS NAME			
INDIVIDUAL:			
WITNESS NAME: GABRIELA RAMIREZ-ARELLANO		PHONE NUMBER:	
BUSINESS/ORGANIZATION NAME:		TITLE:	
ADDRESS:			
CITY:		STATE:	ZIP:
EMAIL:	ATTENDANCE: Written	SUBMIT DATE: 1/26/2026 3:38 PM	
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I respectfully urge the committee to vote NO on HB2511 and HB2366.

If the goal is stronger compliance, Missouri can pursue more targeted options that don't punish good-faith businesses, such as:

- strengthening clear, objective documentation standards tied to existing E-Verify participation requirements for public contracting,
- focusing enforcement on the employer of record rather than expanding chain liability through an ambiguous "should have known" standard.

These bills would change Missouri law so that a general contractor or subcontractor can be held liable for the conduct of a direct subcontractor if the contractor "knows or should have known" the subcontractor employed an unauthorized worker. While compliance with employment law is essential, this approach is bad economic policy for Missouri because it injects vague, litigation-driven liability into one of the state's most important growth engines: construction and development.

Missouri can't afford policies that worsen construction constraints.

Construction is a major driver of Missouri's economy. Industry fact sheets estimate construction contributes roughly \$22 billion to Missouri GDP.

At the same time, workforce shortages are already severe: the AGC/NCCER 2025 workforce survey reports 92% of firms have difficulty hiring. Missouri-specific reporting and analysis also highlight workforce shortages as a leading contributor to delays and rising costs.

Adding vague downstream-liability risk will not create new workers or improve compliance outcomes. It will make projects more expensive and harder to deliver, undermining housing supply, infrastructure upgrades, and site-ready development.



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WITNESS NAME			
REGISTERED LOBBYIST:			
WITNESS NAME: JARED HANKINSON		PHONE NUMBER:	
REPRESENTING: MO CHAMBER OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY		TITLE:	
ADDRESS: 428 EAST CAPITOL AVE			
CITY: JEFFERSON CITY		STATE: MO	ZIP: 65101
EMAIL:	ATTENDANCE:	SUBMIT DATE: 1/27/2026 12:00 AM	
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WITNESS NAME			
REGISTERED LOBBYIST:			
WITNESS NAME: JOHN BARDGETT		PHONE NUMBER: 314-409-2855	
REPRESENTING: ST. LOUIS HOMEBUILDERS ASSN.		TITLE:	
ADDRESS: 16141 SWINGLEY RIDGE RD.			
CITY: CHESTERFIELD		STATE: MO	ZIP: 63017
EMAIL:	ATTENDANCE:	SUBMIT DATE: 1/27/2026 12:00 AM	
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WITNESS NAME		
REGISTERED LOBBYIST:		
WITNESS NAME: SAGE CORAM		PHONE NUMBER:
REPRESENTING: AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION OF MISSOURI		TITLE:
ADDRESS:		
CITY: ST. LOUIS	STATE: MO	ZIP: 63101
EMAIL: scoram@aclu-mo.org	ATTENDANCE: Written	SUBMIT DATE: 1/27/2026 8:15 PM
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WITNESS NAME			
INDIVIDUAL:			
WITNESS NAME: SARAH BERRY		PHONE NUMBER:	
BUSINESS/ORGANIZATION NAME:		TITLE:	
ADDRESS:			
CITY:		STATE:	ZIP:
EMAIL:	ATTENDANCE: Written	SUBMIT DATE: 1/25/2026 5:10 PM	

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HB 2511 dramatically expands state power over private employers while weakening due process protections, centralizing enforcement authority, and creating a system that is easily weaponized against small businesses, contractors, and political targets — all while pretending to be about “lawful employment.”

**1. Missouri does not get to replace federal immigration law with state punishment regimes
 Immigration enforcement is a federal power, not a state police power.**

Under Article I, Section 8 of the U.S. Constitution, Congress — not states — regulates immigration and naturalization.

HB 2511 attempts to backdoor state immigration enforcement by:

Imposing severe civil penalties

Suspending business licenses

Debarring employers from public contracts

Allowing the Attorney General to act as investigator, prosecutor, and enforcer

This invites federal preemption challenges and exposes Missouri taxpayers to costly litigation.

2. “Knows or should have known” destroys due process

HB 2511 replaces clear standards with vague, subjective enforcement.

The phrase “knows or should have known”:

Eliminates objective proof requirements

Shifts the burden onto employers to prove innocence

Encourages retroactive punishment based on interpretation, not fact

This violates due process protections under the Fourteenth Amendment and Article I, Section 10 of the Missouri Constitution, which require laws to be clear, predictable, and fairly applied.

3. The Attorney General is granted unchecked, centralized power

HB 2511 strips out prior safeguards and gives the Attorney General sweeping authority to:

Investigate without complaint standards

Subpoena records

Seek injunctions

Suspend licenses

Impose financial penalties

Pressure settlements through consent judgments

This consolidation of power removes judicial guardrails and undermines separation of powers guaranteed by Article II of the Missouri Constitution.

No agency should be investigator, judge, and executioner — especially when livelihoods are on the line.

4. Small businesses and contractors will take the hit — not corporations

Large corporations already have compliance departments and legal teams.

HB 2511 will fall hardest on:

Small contractors

Family businesses

Seasonal employers

Emergency-response industries

Agricultural and construction workers

The penalties are existential, not corrective:

License suspensions

Contract termination

Permanent debarment

Wage clawbacks

Double-damages penalties

That's not regulation. That's economic destruction.

5. Emergency exemptions are narrow and unrealistic

The bill pretends to account for emergencies — but only briefly and inadequately.

Fifteen working days is meaningless during:

Tornado recovery

Flood cleanup

Utility restoration

Agricultural harvest emergencies

Missouri businesses shouldn't be punished for showing up when disaster hits.

6. This bill invites selective enforcement and political abuse

When laws are vague and penalties are extreme, enforcement becomes selective.

HB 2511 creates a system where:

Complaints can be politically motivated

Enforcement priorities are discretionary

Businesses can be pressured, silenced, or targeted

That undermines equal protection under the law, guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment and Article I, Section 2 of the Missouri Constitution.

7. Missouri should not criminalize paperwork errors as moral failures

This bill conflates administrative compliance with criminal intent.

Employers already rely on federal verification systems that:

Are not perfect

Generate false negatives

Delay status confirmations

Punishing employers for federal system errors is unjust, irrational, and unconstitutional.

HB 2511 is not about protecting workers or enforcing the law fairly.

It is about:

Expanding government power

Centralizing enforcement authority

Punishing employers through fear

Outsourcing federal immigration enforcement to state bureaucrats

Missouri does not need more heavy-handed laws that sound tough but harm the people who keep this state running.

For these reasons, I urge the Committee to oppose House Bill 2511.