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16 UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
17 CENTRAL DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA

18 Jeffrey I. Barke, Ed Sachs, Laura
Ferguson, Jim Reardon, Leighton
19 Anderson, Phillip Yarbrough, and
Rodger Dohm,
20

Plaintiffs,
21

v.
22

Eric Banks, Erich Shiners, Arthur A.
23 Krantz, and Lou Paulson, in their
official capacities as members of the
24 California Public Employment
Relations Board (“PERB”); and J. Felix
25 De La Torre, in his official capacity as
General Counsel of PERB,
26

Defendants.
27
28

Case No. 8:20-cv-00358-JLS-ADS

**PLAINTIFFS’ REPLY IN SUPPORT
OF MOTION FOR PRELIMINARY
INJUNCTION**

Date: July 10, 2020
Time: 10:30 a.m.
Location: Courtroom 10A

The Honorable Josephine L. Staton

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I. INTRODUCTION

Neither the PERB Defendants nor the Union-Intervenors (collectively, “Defendants”) dispute (1) that Section 3550 prohibits speech which may “deter or discourage” unionization, but does not prohibit speech that encourages unionization; (2) that such viewpoint discrimination violates the First Amendment to the extent it interferes with speech by Plaintiffs made in their “personal” or “individual” capacities; and (3) that the First Amendment protects the speech of elected officials, whether they are campaigning for reelection or expressing their opinions in public hearings or in communications with constituents.

Instead, Defendants argue that “a government employee has no First Amendment right to say whatever she wishes while speaking for the government.” (Union Opp. at 19.) Because the government is free to craft the content of its own speech, Defendants contend that the state may regulate what Plaintiffs may or may not say “to the extent that Plaintiffs intend to speak in their official capacities on behalf of the government.” *Id.* And, because Section 3550 enjoins speech only by “public employers,” as opposed to the members of the governing bodies who decide collectively what that entity will say, Plaintiffs lack standing to bring suit. There are three fundamental flaws with this argument.

First, Defendants claim that while Section 3550 “does not regulate Plaintiffs’ right to speak as individuals,” it does control their speech “when they are acting as ‘agents’ under the authority of a public employer,” and therefore “does not implicate the First Amendment at all.” (Union Opp. at 14.) Defendants do not cite a single decision which applies the government speech doctrine to elected officials (as opposed to public employees), and for good reason: Courts consistently hold that *Garcetti* does not apply to elected officials’ speech, at least to the extent it concerns official duties. To do so would conflict with *Bond v. Floyd, Republican Party of Minnesota v. White*, and other precedent holding that speech pursuant to a legislator’s official duties is of paramount importance under the First Amendment.

1 *Second*, while the Free Speech Clause does not prevent the government from
2 managing its own affairs by “determining the content of what it says,” *Walker v.*
3 *Tex. Div., Sons of Confederate Veterans, Inc.*, 576 U.S. 200, 207 (2015), the
4 government may not use purportedly neutral policy judgments as a pretext to engage
5 in viewpoint discrimination. The state may manage its own affairs in ways that draw
6 reasonable subject-matter lines affecting speech. It may, for example, prefer to sell
7 space on its buses for advertising soap but not politicians. *See Lehman v. Shaker*
8 *Heights*, 418 U.S. 298 (1974). “But a government is not free to draw those lines as
9 a way to discourage or suppress the expression of viewpoints it disagrees with.”
10 *Ysursa v. Pocatello Educ. Ass’n*, 555 U.S. 353, 376 (2009) (Souter, J., dissenting).

11 *Third*, Defendants proceed on the basis that Plaintiffs’ speech in their
12 “individual capacity” is never implicated under Section 3550, whereas speech
13 imputed to the public employer is never protected by the First Amendment. But this
14 is a tautology rather than a principled distinction between protected individual
15 speech and prohibited “government speech.” Without explanation, Defendants
16 suggest that Plaintiffs can police which side of Section 3550 their speech would fall,
17 since “it will be easy for Plaintiffs – like other public employers or officials – to
18 determine (and control), pursuant to established agency principles, whether they are
19 acting in a personal capacity rather than for the public entities which they are
20 affiliated.” (Union Opp. at 22-23.)

21 This trivializes the serious threat posed by Section 3550 and misstates the
22 law. Under PERB precedent, agency determinations have nothing to do with
23 Plaintiffs’ intent to speak on behalf of the government. In fact, the Unions have it
24 backwards: Actual authority is that which a *principal intentionally confers upon the*
25 *agent*; apparent authority is that which a *principal allows a third party to believe the*
26 *agent possesses*. Plaintiffs are in no position to determine or control PERB’s
27 hindsight judgment to impute their statements to that principal/public employer,
28 particularly where “[t]he line between official action and private activities

1 undertaken by public officials may be less clear in other circumstances,” and is
2 almost invariably “a question of fact on which PERB’s conclusion is entitled to
3 deference.” *Boling v. Public Employment Relations Bd.*, 5 Cal. 5th 898, 919 (2018).
4 This puts Plaintiffs to a choice between risking an after-the-fact characterization of
5 their statements as “government speech,” or saying nothing at all.

6 The fact that PERB cannot prosecute or hold Plaintiffs “personally liable”
7 under Section 3550 does not alter the fact that PERB’s findings depend on the
8 conduct of individuals, including members of the governing bodies of public
9 entities. It is chilling in every sense of that term for the Unions to say that Plaintiffs
10 may “easily” control whether their statements will be imputed when Plaintiffs run
11 that risk every time they speak at a public meeting. The risk of reputational damage
12 based on a censure by PERB for crossing the line clearly constitutes cognizable
13 injury under the First Amendment.

14 Defendants fail to acknowledge that “the First Amendment’s protection of
15 elected officials’ speech is full, robust, and analogous to that afforded citizens in
16 general.” *Rangra v. Brown*, 566 F.3d 515, 518 (5th Cir. 2009). In other words,
17 *elected officials are to be treated, for free speech purposes, no differently than a*
18 *private citizen who engages in private speech.* At no point do Defendants attempt to
19 reconcile their position with caselaw holding that “when a state seeks to restrict the
20 speech of an elected official on the basis of its content, a federal court must apply
21 strict scrutiny and declare that limitation invalid unless the state carries its burden to
22 prove both that the regulation furthers a compelling state interest and that it is
23 narrowly tailored to serve that interest.” *Id.*

24 These are the standards of review this Court must apply in evaluating
25 Plaintiffs’ likelihood of success on the merits and the probability of irreparable harm
26 in the absence of preliminary injunctive relief.

27
28

II. ARGUMENT

A. Plaintiffs Have Article III Standing And Satisfy Prudential Concerns

Defendants' standing arguments may be summarized as follows: Section 3550 proscribes the speech of "public employers;" it does not expressly include elected officials within the definition of a "public employer"; Plaintiffs do not face risk of prosecution or personal liability; and so Plaintiffs cannot identify any credible threat of injury sufficient to confer standing. These arguments repeat those made by PERB in its motion to dismiss (Dkt. No. 41), and should be rejected for the reasons explained in Plaintiffs' opposition to PERB's motion (Dkt. No. 60).

It's worth restating what Defendants apparently fail to acknowledge: "When there is a danger of chilling free speech, the concern that constitutional adjudication be avoided whenever possible may be outweighed by society's interest in having the statute challenged." *Secretary of State of Md. v. Joseph H. Munson Co., Inc.*, 467 U.S. 947, 956 (1984). Because First Amendment challenges "raise unique standing considerations that tilt dramatically toward a finding of standing," *Lopez v. Candaele*, 630 F.3d 775, 781 (9th Cir. 2010), plaintiffs "may establish an injury in fact without first suffering a direct injury from the challenged restriction," *id.* at 785. "In such pre-enforcement cases, the plaintiff may meet constitutional standing requirements by demonstrating a realistic danger of sustaining a direct injury as a result of the statute's operation or enforcement." *Id.* (internal citations and quotations omitted).

Plaintiffs can demonstrate "a realistic danger of sustaining a direct injury as a result of the statute's operation or enforcement." *Lopez*, 630 F.3d at 785. First, while elected officials may not be named personally in a PERB complaint alleging violations of Section 3550, PERB has not hesitated to impute liability based on statements by elected officials in public meetings where, in every other legislative proceeding, such speech and debate would be absolutely privileged. *See County of Riverside* (2010) PERB Decision No. 2119-M, 34 PERC 108 (holding that three

1 members of a county’s governing board of supervisors were agents based on
2 statements made during public hearings without conducting a detailed agency
3 analysis); *San Diego Unified School District* (1980) PERB Decision No. 137
4 (concluding that two board members’ comments could be attributed to the district at
5 large because the comments were written on district stationery, the board members
6 identified themselves by their official district titles, and other district managers
7 included the comments in employee personnel files). Plaintiffs cannot control a *post*
8 *hoc* judgment by PERB that the public employer conferred actual authority (whether
9 intentionally or by negligence) based on what an elected official might have said in
10 the course of representing her constituents, or that the employer “reasonably allows
11 employees to perceive that it has authorized [that elected official] to engage in the
12 conduct in question,” whether or not the other members of the governing board
13 subsequently ratified that conduct. *Chula Vista Elementary School District* (2004)
14 PERB Decision No. 1647 (citing *Inglewood Teachers Assn. v. PERB*, 227
15 Cal.App.3d 767 (1991)).¹

16 *Second*, in both *Riverside County* and *San Diego Teachers’ Association*,
17 PERB’s cease-and-desist orders specifically enjoined elected board members from
18 engaging in further violations of the law. In *San Diego*, PERB issued a mandatory
19 injunction requiring rescinding, nullifying, and removing letters of commendation
20 written by two members of the board from the personnel files of all teachers who
21

22
23 ¹ The quixotic nature of PERB’s fact-finding is on full display in *Santa Maria-*
24 *Bonita Sch. Dist.*, 37 Pub. Emp. Rep. for Cal. ¶ 207 (Apr. 18, 2013). In that case,
25 the ALJ held that a school district trustee acted as an “actual agent” of the public
26 entity “at least in some capacity,” based on nothing more than a finding that an
27 elected official “is one of the public faces of the District, [and that] [h]e and his
28 fellow Trustees preside over Board of Trustees meetings where they make decisions
on issues such as budget, personnel, District policy, and negotiated agreements.” 37
PERC ¶ 207. The ALJ imputed that board member’s actions to the school district,
notwithstanding that the Board of Trustees publicly censured him for that same
conduct.

1 received them. *See* PERB Decision No. 137, at 29. In *Riverside County*, PERB’s
 2 cease-and-desist order expressly applied not only to the County, but its governing
 3 board and its representatives.

4 *Third*, a reputational injury stemming from a statute’s censure of elected
 5 officials by an official order restraining their future conduct is an injury-in-fact
 6 sufficient to bring a First Amendment challenge. *Meese v. Keene*, 481 U.S. 465,
 7 472-73 (1987); *Wilson v. Hous. Cmty. Coll. Sys.*, 955 F.3d 490, 496 (5th Cir. 2020)
 8 (a public rebuke by a public agency suffices to establish injury in fact); *Babbitt v.*
 9 *Farm Workers*, 442 U.S. 289, 302 n.13 (1979) (“the prospect of issuance of an
 10 administrative cease-and-desist order . . . against such prohibited conduct provides
 11 substantial additional support for the conclusion that appellees’ challenge to the
 12 publicity provision is justiciable”). The threat of injury to Plaintiffs is, if anything,
 13 more compelling than in *Wilson* or *Meese*.² Like *Wilson* and *Meese*, however,
 14 Plaintiffs adequately allege that their speech be imputed to the public employer and
 15 should charges be filed based on what they said (or didn’t say), there is a reasonable
 16 danger that Plaintiffs will suffer direct injury, including injury to their personal
 17 reputations (*see* Ferguson Decl. ¶ 14 (noting formal threats she received about
 18 statements)), their ability to serve as effective elected officials (*see* Sachs Decl. ¶¶
 19 10, 11, 14, 17 (noting that Section 3550 prohibits him from “speak[ing] candidly” at
 20 meetings on unions issues and from “responding to constituent questions”); Barke
 21 Decl. ¶¶ 7, 8, 17 (same, and further noting that is hampers his “ability and need to
 22 communicate with my constituents”); Reardon Decl. ¶¶ 5, 6, 12, 18 (same);
 23 Ferguson Decl. ¶¶ 7, 14, 15, 17 (same); Anderson Decl. ¶¶ 8, 9, 30, 31, 32 (same);
 24

25 ² Neither one of these cases involved a sanction in the form of a cease-and-desist
 26 order. Here, a finding of liability and cease-and-desist order is more than a public
 27 rebuke; it is a pronouncement by a state enforcement agency after a quasi-judicial
 28 proceeding that the conduct by an elected official may not only be attributed to the
 governing board, but could lead to serious consequences, including contempt,
 should that elected official violate the injunction imposed by PERB.

1 Yarbrough Decl. ¶¶ 5, 6, 9, 13 (same); Dohm Decl. ¶¶ 7, 11, 13, 14, 15, 17), and
2 their ability to get re-elected (*see* Reardon Decl. ¶¶ 5, 6, 12, 17-19 (describing prior
3 campaign speech leading to his election and noting that he no longer makes such
4 speech or espouses such opinions); Ferguson Decl. ¶¶ 11, 17 (refraining from
5 taking positions with her constituencies on issues she deems important about her
6 job, which makes it difficult to campaign)).

7 *Leonard v. Clark*, 12 F.3d 885 (9th Cir. 1993) has nothing to do with public
8 elected officers or any enforcement instrumentalities of the state. The issue
9 concerned a term in a collective bargaining agreement between a fire fighters union
10 and a city, which stipulated that, should *the union* “endorse or sponsor” legislation
11 that resulted in “any new economic or benefit improvement causing increased
12 payroll costs to the City” beyond those required under the CBA, “such costs shall
13 be charged against applicable salary agreement[s].” *Id.* at 886. Individual fire
14 fighters brought suit, claiming that the provision infringed their First Amendment
15 rights to endorse or sponsor legislation on their own. Some of the plaintiffs were
16 representatives of the union, but they did not base their claimed infringement in their
17 “official capacity” as union leaders. They argued that they opted not to endorse or
18 sponsor legislation themselves, individually, for fear that any new legislation would
19 count against union members.

20 The Ninth Circuit held that the speech of the individual fire fighters was not
21 chilled: “Plaintiffs are free to endorse legislation as long as they do not (1) have
22 authority to represent the Union, *and* (2) claim that they are speaking for it.” *Id.* at
23 889. “The individual plaintiffs’ speech could be affected only if, as individual union
24 members, *they wished to claim authority to speak for the Union when they did not*
25 *possess it.*” *Id.* In *Leonard*, the leaders of the union could still speak freely because
26 there was no chance that their speech would be imputed to the union unless they
27 expressly claimed to be speaking on the union’s behalf. Here, the opposite is the
28 case. Plaintiffs face a realistic threat that their speech will be imputed even when

1 they expressly disclaim any authority to speak on behalf of the school district or
2 city, or their statements are based on their own, personal opinions (as was the case
3 in the Riverside County case). At a minimum, whether Plaintiffs' speech could be
4 imputed to their public employers is, to a large extent, out of the elected officials'
5 control, and in the hands of the union (which would file the charge) and PERB
6 (which will decide whether to impute Plaintiffs' statements to the entities that they
7 serve). The outcome depends on the vagaries of the adversarial process; unlike In
8 *Leonard*, Plaintiffs are not afforded a bright-line test, and therefore the option to
9 decide whether to step over that line. This uncertainty gives rise to the reasonable
10 fear that what they say may redound to the harm of their governing boards, whether
11 intended or not, and therefore result in direct injury.³

12 Defendants also argue that Plaintiffs fail to establish (a) a reasonable
13 likelihood of enforcement of Section 3550 as to the speech that Plaintiffs intend to
14 make; or (b) that Plaintiffs have "concrete plans" to violate Section 3550. But
15 PERB's own actions demonstrate a reasonable likelihood of enforcement. As PERB
16 points out, there have been investigations allowed and charges brought under
17 Section 3550, and those charges have either been ruled upon or are under
18 consideration by PERB itself. (Dkt. No. 41 at 13-15.) Of those four pending
19 complaints, two explicitly allege unfair practices based on purely factual statements
20 about the *Janus* decision and, in one of those cases, the ALJ found that a *factual*

21 _____
22 ³ The Unions cite *Johnson v. Stuart*, 702 F.2d 193 (9th Cir. 2013) for the proposition
23 that a party does not have standing unless they could face an action against them
24 individually. (Union Opp. at 7:24-27.) In *Johnson*, the statute did not apply to the
25 plaintiff teachers, no enforcement had ever been brought against teachers, and "the
26 Attorney General of Oregon ha[d] repeatedly disavowed any interpretation of
27 section 337.260 that would make it applicable in any way to teachers." *Id.* at 195.
28 It was also not a case restricting speech. Here, by contrast, neither PERB nor any
other authority has disavowed Section 3550's application to Plaintiffs' speech; to
the contrary, PERB and the Unions argue in opposition to the preliminary injunction
motion that Section 3550 does apply to Plaintiffs' speech, at least in some,
undefinable instances.

1 communication to employees about *Janus* had the “natural and probable
2 consequence of deterring and discouraging employees” from unionization efforts.
3 In other words, a description of the Supreme Court’s holding that compulsory
4 agency fees violate the First Amendment’s prohibition of compelled speech *was*
5 *itself the basis for a finding of liability*. (*Id.*) It is even more Orwellian for PERB to
6 maintain that it may suppress Plaintiffs’ speech in order to suppress information
7 about the First Amendment rights of public employees. In another case, the ALJ
8 found that factually accurate statements were “subtly coercive,” and violated
9 Section 3550. The fact that Section 3550 is an instrumentality to punish speech
10 demonstrates a reasonable likelihood that this law may be used to muffle dissent.
11 *See, e.g., Virginia v. American Booksellers Ass’n, Inc.*, 484 U.S. 383, 392-393
12 (1988) (injury-in-fact requirement was met, in part, because “plaintiffs have alleged
13 an actual and well-founded fear that the law will be enforced against
14 them”). Plaintiffs do not “have to await the consummation of a threatened injury to
15 obtain preventive relief.” *Arizona Right to Life Political Action Comm. v. Bayless*,
16 320 F.3d 1002, 1006 (9th Cir. 2003).

17 It is nonsensical to suggest that Plaintiffs have failed to demonstrate “that
18 they have concrete plans to violate Section 3550.” (Union Opp. at 8.) Plaintiffs
19 have concrete plans to show up and discharge their duties as elected representatives.
20 What they fear is that by doing their jobs they will expose their school district to a
21 Section 3550 charge. Plaintiffs’ Complaint and declarations are replete with details
22 about what they would say, when they would say it, to whom they would say it, and
23 in what context they would say it. They have concrete plans to engage in speech
24 that they fear would violate Section 3550.⁴ Some Plaintiffs even identify prior

25
26
27 ⁴ *See, e.g.,* Complaint ¶¶ 3-4, 30-36; Sachs Decl. ¶¶ 11-14, 17; Barke Decl. ¶¶ 8, 11,
28 13, 14, 16, 17; Reardon Decl. ¶¶ 5, 6, 9, 12, 14, 16, 18, 20; Ferguson Decl. ¶¶ 7, 8,
11, 12, 14; Anderson Decl. ¶¶ 9, 12, 30, 31, 34, 38; Yarbrough Decl. ¶¶ 6, 8, 9, 11,
12, 13; Dohm Decl. ¶¶ 8, 11, 12, 15, 17.

1 statements that they now would not make for fear of being accused of deterring
2 unionization. *See, e.g.*, Reardon Decl. ¶¶ 8-9, 17-18; Anderson Decl. ¶¶ 29-30;
3 Dohm Decl. ¶¶ 13-14.

4 Defendants argue that prudential considerations require that the Court decline
5 to exercise jurisdiction. In fact, these same prudential considerations decisively tilt
6 in favor of deciding this challenge, particularly where the issue largely turns on
7 questions of law based on the threat of injury should they no longer opt to self-
8 censor. *Canatella v. California*, 304 F.3d 843, 854 (9th Cir. 2002) (when the
9 plaintiff alleges “concrete and particularized harms to his First Amendment rights
10 and demonstrates a sufficient likelihood that he and others may have similar harm in
11 the future,” he “satisf[ies] the prudential requirements of standing for a First
12 Amendment overbreadth claim”); *Martinez v. City of Rio Rancho*, 197 F. Supp. 3d
13 1294, 1305 (D.N.M. 2016) (finding prudential ripeness when party had Article III
14 standing to pursue claim that her speech was chilled).

15 **B. Section 3550’s Application To “Public Employers” Does Not Save It**
16 **From Constitutional Challenge Or Exempt It From Strict Scrutiny**

17 On the merits, Defendants make essentially the same argument that they make
18 as to standing – Section 3550 does not unconstitutionally infringe Plaintiffs’ First
19 Amendment rights because it restricts the speech of “public employers,” and
20 therefore restricts Plaintiffs’ speech only when Plaintiffs’ are speaking in their
21 official capacities on behalf of the public employers. Two related arguments are
22 advanced.

23 *First*, Defendants argue that when the government speaks, it is entitled to
24 “promote a program, to espouse a policy or take a position” and “it is not barred by
25 the Free Speech Clause from determining the context of what it says.” (Union Opp.
26 at 17 (quoting *Walker v. Texas Div., Sons of Confederate Veterans, Inc.*, 576 U.S.
27 200 (2015))). Thus, Defendants maintain that the state is free to determine as a matter
28 of government policy not only that it will disassociate itself from any speech that

1 may “deter” or “discourage” union membership, but also that it may prohibit school
2 boards, community college districts, city councils from engaging in speech which
3 does not favor unions or unionization. This neatly encapsulates why the government
4 speech doctrine is susceptible to dangerous abuse. “[I]f private speech could be
5 passed off as government speech by simply affixing a government seal of approval,
6 government could silence or muffle the expression of disfavored viewpoints.”

7 *Matal v. Tam*, 137 S. Ct. 1744, 1758 (2017).

8 *Second*, Defendants also claim (citing *Garcetti v. Ceballos*, 547 U.S. 410
9 (2006)), that the state may regulate the speech of government employees when they
10 speak in their official capacities. (See PERB Opp. at 29:3-32:11; Union Opp. 17:1-
11 21:22.) This argument fails because the government speech doctrine does not apply
12 to elected officials like Plaintiffs.

13 ***1. Section 3550 does not constitute “government speech”***

14 It should go without saying that the First Amendment contains no general
15 exception for speech the government finds objectionable. The First Amendment
16 likewise contains no general exception that applies whenever the government wants
17 to disassociate itself from offensive communications. The government has never
18 been able to defend viewpoint discrimination simply on the ground that the public
19 might associate a controversial viewpoint with the government. *See, e.g., Good*
20 *News Club v. Milford Central School*, 533 U.S. 98, 113-114 (2001); *Rosenberger v.*
21 *Rector & Visitors of University of Virginia*, 515 U.S. 819, 829 (1995). To the
22 contrary, the entire public-forum doctrine rests on the notion that the government,
23 *even in a forum it controls*, has limited discretion to decide “which issues are worth
24 discussing” and which “views” may be “express[ed].” *Police Department of*
25 *Chicago v. Mosley*, 408 U.S. 92, 96 (1972).

26 The Supreme Court has exempted viewpoint discrimination from strict
27 scrutiny *only when the government itself is speaking*. *Walker*, 576 U.S. at 207. In
28 *Walker*, Texas could refuse to approve a license plate design that displayed the

1 Confederate flag because messages on license plates that it controls constituted
2 government speech. *See id.* at 207-209. As long as it is speaking, the state may
3 refuse to espouse viewpoints with which it does not wish to be associated. *Accord*
4 *Rust v. Sullivan*, 500 U.S. 173, 180 (1991) (government speech to the public, albeit
5 indirectly through grant recipients, permits state to disassociate itself from contrary
6 views).

7 The Supreme Court has identified three factors for determining whether the
8 government-speech doctrine applies. First, has the government traditionally used
9 the relevant medium to “speak to the public”? *Pleasant Grove City v. Sumnum*, 555
10 U.S. 460, 470 (2009). Second, would the public “routinely—and reasonably—
11 interpret [the medium] as conveying some message on the [government]’s behalf”?
12 *Id.* at 471. Third, does the government “maintain[] direct control over the messages
13 conveyed” in the medium? *Walker*, 135 S. Ct. at 213. When those factors are
14 applied here, it is clear that the government is not engaging in government speech,
15 but censorship in the form of blatant viewpoint discrimination favoring the private
16 speech of unions, who no longer have to compete in the marketplace of ideas by
17 discussing apparently problematic issues, such as the holding in *Janus*.

18 To begin, California did not enact the Meyers-Milias-Brown Act or the
19 Educational Employment Relations Act to communicate any broad “programmatic
20 message” prescribing the content of employer speech as part of PERB’s oversight of
21 the public employer collective-bargaining process. Section 3550 contradicts
22 longstanding statutory law and PERB precedent, which holds that “[a]n employer
23 may freely express or disseminate its views, arguments, or opinions on employment
24 matters, unless such expression contains a threat of reprisal or force or promise of
25 benefit.” *See* Dkt. No 60, Opp. to PERB Mot. to Dismiss at 10, n.7 (collecting
26 cases); *Rio Hondo Community College District*, PERB Decision No. 128E, at p. 18-
27 19 (1980) (“While the protection afforded the employer’s speech is not without
28 limits, it must necessarily include both favorable and critical speech regarding a

1 union’s position provided the communication is not used as a means of violating the
2 Act.”).

3 Nor is the public likely to “routinely—and reasonably—interpret” statements
4 made by elected officials of a school board “as conveying some message on the
5 [government]’s behalf.” The public expects its representatives to reflect the views
6 and opinions of those who elect them; the public does not expect a sanitized or self-
7 censored answer to a question concerning a matter of public policy – especially a
8 controversial one – because the state adopts a “policy” that the public may hear only
9 one side of the debate over public employee unions. Most importantly, the
10 government does not “maintain[] direct control over the message conveyed” through
11 local public employer governance. This is not a situation where the state “retains
12 absolute veto power over the [relevant] content, right down to the wording.”
13 *Johanns v. Livestock Marketing Ass’n*, 544 U.S. 550, 563 (2005). Defendants
14 concede as much when they claim that elected officials may “easily” determine (and
15 control) whether they are speaking “in a personal capacity rather than for the public
16 entities with which they are affiliated.” (Union Opp. at 22-23.)

17 Not surprisingly, the Supreme Court’s cases applying the government-speech
18 doctrine do not support Defendants’ breathtaking vision of government speech. In
19 each of those cases where such speech was upheld, the government had consciously
20 used a certain medium to advance to the public “its own message” or viewpoint on a
21 particular matter. *Rosenberger*, 515 U.S. at 833. *Walker* involved license plates,
22 which the State used “to urge action, to promote tourism, and to tout local
23 industries.” 576 U.S. at 211. *Sumnum* involved monuments on public land, which a
24 local government used to “present[] the image of the City that it wishe[d] to
25 project.” 555 U.S. at 473. *Rust* involved the use of a grant program conveying the
26 government’s viewpoint that abortion is not “an appropriate method of family
27 planning.” 500 U.S. at 180.

28 Here, the government claims to “speak” not in the communication of its

1 viewpoint to the public, but rather in the exercise of its regulatory powers. The
2 government, moreover, is not speaking; it is telling public officials what they cannot
3 say without actually explaining what, specifically, would offend its “policy” of
4 enjoining certain – but not all – speech concerning unions and unionization. In
5 short, the government seeks not to control its own speech; rather, it seeks to regulate
6 and punish speech through the exercise of its “sovereign” power.

7 Section 3550’s viewpoint discrimination effectively subsidizes private speech
8 unions by suppressing competing voices. This form of censorship is no different
9 from the “discriminatory denial of a tax exemption” “frankly aimed at the
10 suppression of dangerous ideas” as a “limitation on free speech.” *Speiser v. Randall*,
11 357 U.S. 513, 518-519 (1958). The Supreme Court has reiterated that warning in the
12 context of government subsidies. See, e.g., *National Endowment for the Arts v.*
13 *Finley*, 524 U.S. 569, 587 (1998) (stating that, “[i]f the [NEA] were to leverage its
14 power to award subsidies on the basis of subjective criteria into a penalty on
15 disfavored viewpoints, then we would confront a different case”); *Regan v. Taxation*
16 *With Representation*, 461 U.S. 540, 548 (1983) (noting that “[t]he case would be
17 different if Congress were to discriminate invidiously in its subsidies in such a way
18 as to ‘ai[m] at the suppression of dangerous ideas’”); *cf. Leathers v. Medlock*, 499
19 U.S. 439, 447 (1991) (“differential taxation of First Amendment speakers is
20 constitutionally suspect when it threatens to suppress the expression of particular
21 ideas or viewpoints”). The First Amendment does not countenance such blatant
22 forms of censorship, whether based on the power of the purse or the exercise of the
23 state’s powers as “sovereign.”

24 **2. *The State cannot regulate elected officials’ speech under the***
25 ***government speech doctrine***

26 Defendants barely acknowledge the most compelling fact in this case – this is
27 a free speech challenge brought by elected officials who wish to speak on matters of
28 public concern without fear of censure or threat of civil contempt. The central

1 importance of protecting political speech by our elected representatives cannot be
2 overstated, given the role elected officials play in a representative democracy. *See,*
3 *e.g., Republican Party of Minnesota v. White*, 536 U.S. 765, 781-82 (2002) (law
4 prohibiting judicial candidates from announcing their views on disputed legal and
5 political issues violated First Amendment); *Bond*, 385 U.S. at 135; *Rangra*, 566
6 F.3d at 524 *dismissed as moot en banc*, 584 F.3d 206 (5th Cir. 2009). “If the State
7 chooses to tap the energy and the legitimizing power of the democratic process [in
8 the election of public officials], it must accord the participants in that process . . . the
9 First Amendment rights that attach to their roles.” *Jenevein v. Willing*, 493 F.3d 551,
10 558 (5th Cir. 2007).

11 Courts thus afford the speech rights of elected representatives the highest
12 degree of First Amendment protection. *See Wood v. Georgia*, 370 U.S. 375, 394-95
13 (1962) (“The role that elected officials play in our society makes it all the more
14 imperative that they be allowed freely to express themselves on matters of current
15 public importance.”). Doing so comports with our form of representative
16 government. *Bond*, 385 U.S. at 135-46. Indeed, “[l]egislators have an obligation to
17 take positions on controversial political questions so that their constituents can be
18 fully informed by them, and be better able to assess their qualifications for office;
19 also so they may be represented in governmental debates by the person they have
20 elected to represent them.” *Id.* at 136-37. Any restriction on the speech of elected
21 officials is subject to strict scrutiny. *See, e.g., Tschida v. Motl*, 924 F.3d 1297, 1303
22 (9th Cir. 2019) (applying strict scrutiny to regulation proscribing speech of elected
23 official). *See also City of El Cenizo v. Texas*, 890 F.3d 164 (5th Cir. 2018) (“The
24 state cannot regulate the substance of elected officials’ speech under the First
25 Amendment without passing the strict scrutiny test.”).

26 Defendants argue that strict scrutiny does not apply whenever the state
27 regulates government employee speech. (Union Opp. at 19 (citing *Garcetti v.*
28 *Ceballos*, 547 U.S. 410 (2006))). Under the *Pickering-Garcetti* line of cases, the

1 First Amendment protects the employee’s speech *only when* they speak “as citizens
2 about matters of public concern,” in which case “they must face only those speech
3 restrictions that are necessary for their employers to operate efficiently and
4 effectively.” *Garcetti*, 547 U.S. at 419. Affording the government the ability to
5 regulate its employees’ speech makes sense when the government is acting as an
6 employer. “But when the state acts as a sovereign, rather than as an employer, its
7 power to limit First Amendment freedoms is much more attenuated.” *Rangra v.*
8 *Brown*, 566 F.3d at 522-53. “*Garcetti* itself, like the Court’s other public employee
9 speech cases, recognizes the state’s very limited power as sovereign to infringe on
10 First Amendment freedoms.” *Id.* See also *Waters v. Churchill*, 511 U.S. 661, 674-
11 65 (1994) (noting that where the government is acting as a sovereign, rather than as
12 an employer to ensure the efficient operation of a state agency, the government’s
13 interests in achieving its goals are generally subordinate to the need to safeguard
14 protected speech).

15 When the state seeks to regulate the speech of its elected officials, it is acting
16 as a sovereign, not an employer, and so strict scrutiny applies, not the more
17 forgiving standard applicable to government employee speech. *Janus v. Am. Fed'n*
18 *of State, Cnty., & Mun. Emps., Council 31*, 138 S. Ct. 2448, 2472 n. 9
19 (2018) (noting that “even in public employment, a significant impairment of First
20 Amendment rights must survive exacting scrutiny”); *Rangra*, 566 F.3d at 522-53.
21 Elected officials work for “the public itself,” and it is the public that has “the power
22 to hire and fire.” *Jenevein*, 493 F.3d at 557. Thus, when the speech of an elected
23 official is at issue, courts do “not draw directly upon the *Pickering-Garcetti* line of
24 cases” – *i.e.*, the government speech doctrine – but “turn to strict scrutiny,”
25 requiring that any regulation governing “the elected official’s speech to his
26 constituency . . . be narrowly tailored to address a compelling government interest.”
27 *Id.* at 558. The Fifth Circuit also noted the distinction between public employees
28 and elected officials in *City of El Cenizo v. Texas*: “The state cannot regulate the

1 substance of elected officials’ speech under the First Amendment without passing
 2 the strict scrutiny test. . . . This conclusion does not, however, insulate non-elected
 3 officials and employees, who may well be obliged to follow the dictates of SB4 as
 4 ‘government speech.’” 890 F.3d at 184-85.

5 Consistent with the this approach, the majority of courts, including at least
 6 one court in the Ninth Circuit, note that *Garcetti* is inapplicable to the speech of
 7 elected officials, but that strict scrutiny must be applied. *See Holloway v.*
 8 *Clackamas River Water*, 2014 WL 6998084, *2-3 (Dist. Or. Dec. 9, 2014); *Rangra*,
 9 566 F.3d at 522-23; *Jenevein*, 493 F.3d at 558; *Zimmerlink v. Zapotosky*, No. 10-
 10 237, 2011 U.S. Dist. LEXIS 53186 (W.D. Pa. Apr. 11, 2011), adopted, 2011 U.S.
 11 Dist. LEXIS 53189 (W.D. Pa. May 18, 2011); *Melville v. Town of Adams*, 9 F.
 12 Supp. 3d 77, 102 (D. Mass. 2014); *Conservation Comm'n of Town of Westport v.*
 13 *Beaulieu*, No. CIV. A. 07-11087-RGS, 2008 U.S. Dist. LEXIS 71438, 2008 WL
 14 4372761, at *4 (D. Mass. Sept. 18, 2008); *Willson v. Yerke*, No. 3:10-CV-1376,
 15 2013 U.S. Dist. LEXIS 180065, 2013 WL 6835405, at *9 (M.D. Pa. Dec. 23,
 16 2013), *aff'd*, 604 F. App’x 149 (3d Cir. 2015). *Zimmerlink* succinctly explains why
 17 the government employee speech doctrine cannot apply to the speech of elected
 18 officials:

19 Under *Garcetti*, speech pursuant to a public employee’s
 20 “official duties” is afforded no protection under the First
 21 Amendment. *Bond* recognized that elected legislators have
 22 an “obligation” to speak on political issues. Thus,
 23 if *Garcetti* applied to elected officials, speaking on
 24 political issues would appear to be part of an elected
 25 official’s “official duties.” But protection of such speech is
 26 the “manifest function” of the First Amendment. *Garcetti*,
 27 thus, cannot be applied to political speech of elected
 28 officials consistently with *Bond*.

2011 U.S. Dist. LEXIS 53186, at **10-11 (internal citations omitted).⁵

27 ⁵ Unlike this case where Plaintiffs seek to vindicate their own constitutional rights,
 28 a public agency (as a political subdivision of the state) has no standing to sue the
 state for violations of the First Amendment. *See, e.g., South Lake Tahoe v. Cal.*

1 As a result, Section 3550 must satisfy the strict scrutiny test, and Plaintiffs’
 2 rights to speak as elected officials cannot be cut short by the government speech
 3 doctrine. Because Section 3550 does not satisfy strict scrutiny, at least as it relates
 4 to Plaintiffs’ speech, it is unconstitutional.

5 **C. Plaintiffs Are Likely To Succeed On The Merits Because Section 3550**
 6 **Cannot Survive Strict Scrutiny**

7 ***1. Section 3550 is viewpoint discriminatory and fails strict scrutiny***

8 Section 3550 impermissibly limits speech only if it “deters or discourages”
 9 union membership but not if it promotes or encourages unions or union
 10 membership. (Mot. at 23-24.) A law that leaves elected officials “free to praise”
 11 unionization while sanctioning others “for opposing it, cannot survive in a country
 12 which has the First Amendment.” *See Schacht v. United States*, 398 U.S. 58, 63
 13 (1970). Indeed, viewpoint discriminatory laws routinely fail strict scrutiny. *See*,
 14 *e.g., Tschida*, 924 F.3d at 1303. Notably, neither PERB nor the Unions suggest that
 15 Section 3550 is viewpoint neutral or that Section 3550 satisfies strict scrutiny. As a
 16 result, if the Court finds, as it should, that Plaintiffs have standing and strict scrutiny
 17 applies, the Court should find that Plaintiffs are likely to succeed on the merits.

18 ***2. Section 3550 is also unconstitutionally vague***

19 “Because First Amendment freedoms need breathing space to survive,” when
 20 the government is regulating speech, it must “regulate in the area only with narrow
 21 specificity.” *NAACP v. Button*, 371 U.S. 415, 432-33 (1963). When First
 22 Amendment freedoms are at stake, “a more stringent vagueness test should apply.”
 23 *U.S. v. Wunsch*, 84 F.3d 1110, 1119 (9th Cir. 1995). Section 3550 is
 24 unconstitutionally vague for at least two reasons: (1) it is vague as to the content of
 25 the speech to which is applies; and (2) assuming Section 3550 can be applied to
 26

27 _____
 28 *Tahoe Regional Planning Agency*, 625 F.2d 231, 233 (9th Cir. 1980); *Santa Paula
 Elementary School Dist. v. Ventura Cty. Schools Self-Funding Authority*, 2009 WL
 10581008, at *3 (C.D. Cal. Oct. 20, 2009).

1 Plaintiffs’ speech made in their official capacities, it is vague as to when Plaintiffs
2 have crossed the line from individual speaker to government speaker.

3 a. Section 3550 is impermissibly vague as to content

4 Section 3550’s prohibition on speech that may “deter or discourage” union
5 participation is so vague that Plaintiffs and other elected officials have no way of
6 knowing when their speech becomes a prohibited utterance. Purely factual speech
7 could violate the statute. For example, if Plaintiffs mention to a constituent in a
8 private conversation that a public union cannot extract agency fees from that
9 constituent if he chooses not to join the union (an accurate description of *Janus*)
10 someone could very easily understand that statement to “deter or discourage” that
11 person from joining the union or agreeing to pay an agency fee as a non-member –
12 after all, by not joining the union, they don’t have to pay union dues or agency fees.
13 If that same statement were made in front of an audience – at a public board
14 meeting, at an election rally, to a news reporter who then broadcasts that statement
15 widely – an entire class of people may have been “deter[red] or discourage[d].”

16 The Unions offer no substantive response to this argument. PERB responds,
17 but its arguments prove Plaintiffs’ point. *First*, PERB concedes that it is
18 “uncertain[.]” whether the statute applies to purely factual statements. “The question
19 [*i.e.*, whether purely facture statements might violation section 3550] has been
20 raised in the cases presently pending before the Board. But this uncertainty means
21 only that section 3550 requires interpretation in light of prior statutory and case law;
22 it does not mean that the statute is so vague that it fails to provide a reasonable
23 opportunity to know what it prohibits. *O’Brien*, 818 F.3d at 930.” (PERB Opp. at
24 24:22-28.) A statute that requires interpretation to decide the metes and bounds to
25 which it applies is a statute that runs afoul of the First Amendment. For example, in
26 *Thomas v. Collins*, 323 U.S. 516 (1945), the Supreme Court held that a law
27 restraining when an individual could engage in speech “soliciting” union
28 membership violated the First Amendment because what constituted “soliciting”

1 was insufficiently defined: “No speaker . . . safely could assume that anything he
 2 might say upon the general subject would not be understood by some as an
 3 invitation. In short, the supposedly clear-cut distinction between discussion,
 4 laudation, general advocacy, and solicitation puts the speaker in these circumstances
 5 wholly at the mercy of the varied understanding of his hearers and consequently of
 6 whatever inference may be drawn as to his intent and meaning.” *Id.* at 535.

7 There is no legal difference between speech “soliciting” union membership
 8 and speech “detering or discouraging” union membership – in both cases, the
 9 statutes “blanket[] with uncertainty whatever may be said[;] [i]t compels the speaker
 10 to hedge and trim.” *Id.* See also *Keyishian v. Board of Regents of University of the*
 11 *State of New York*, 385 U.S. 589 (1967) (finding that “seditious” speech was too
 12 vague)⁶; *City of El Cenizo*, 890 F.3d at 182-184 (finding that prohibition on
 13 “endorsing” any policy that limits the enforcement of immigration laws too vague
 14 because it would effectively prohibit elected officials from expressing their “support
 15 of or in favor of an idea or viewpoint,” which constitutes “core political speech”);
 16 *United States v. Wunsch*, 84 F.3d 1110, 1119 (9th Cir.1996) (finding the statutory
 17 term “offensive personality” impermissibly vague where “it would be impossible to
 18 know when [] behavior would be offensive enough to invoke the statute” and it “is
 19 likely to have the effect of chilling some speech that is constitutionally protected”).

20 *Second*, PERB argues that a “regulation is not impermissibly vague if it
 21 ‘allows persons of ordinary intelligence a reasonable opportunity to know what is
 22 prohibited.’” (PERB Opp. at 22:14-16.) Yet, as PERB admits, four different ALJs
 23 _____

24 ⁶ PERB argues that *Keyishian* does not apply because “section 3550’s ‘deter or
 25 discourage’ phrase lacks the weighty historical baggage of the term ‘seditious,’”
 26 arguing that the term seditious has a “particularly fraught history . . . in American
 27 law.” (PERB Opp. at 25:12-26:5.) If anything, the law’s many discussions of what
 28 “seditious” meant prior to the *Keyishian* decisions provides more guidance as to
 what counts as seditious speech. Here, there has been limited guidance as to “deter
 or discourage,” and that guidance, like the guidance as to “seditious” is conflicting.
Keyishian thus applies in full force.

1 have described the statute’s reach differently – if four ALJs cannot land on a single,
2 consistent interpretation of Section 3550, surely “persons of ordinary intelligence”
3 cannot be expected to know to what speech Section 3550 applies. Two of the cases
4 that ALJs have decided involved communications about *Janus* – the communication
5 in one case did not violate Section 3550, according to one ALJ, but the
6 communication in the other case did violate Section 3550, according to another
7 ALJ. (*See* PERB Opp. at 16:8-24.) Similarly, the other two cases that have resulted
8 in ALJ decisions only muddy the waters further. In both, the ALJs interpreted
9 Section 3550 to apply only to “coercive” statements, even though Section 3550 does
10 not use the word coercive, but applies to language that merely “deter[s] or
11 discourage[s]” unionization. Even then, in applying the non-existent “coercive”
12 statements standard, the ALJs reached different results, one finding that language
13 opposing an employer organization was not “coercive,” and the other finding that
14 “factually accurate” statements were, nonetheless, “subtly coercive,” and thus
15 violated Section 3550. (*See* PERB Opp. at 16:25-17:11.) The obvious conflicts in
16 just the four cases thus far under Section 3550 only underscore the vagueness of
17 Section 3550.

18 Third, PERB argues that the Ninth Circuit has upheld “closely analogous”
19 terms, including “promoting,” *Minority Television Project, Inc. v. F.C.C.*, 736 F.3d
20 1192, 1210-11 (9th Cir. 2013), “impair,” *United States v. Kilbride*, 584 F.3d 1240,
21 1258 (9th Cir. 2009), and “obstruct or unreasonably interfere with,” *Cameron v.*
22 *Johnson*, 390 U.S. 611, 616 (1968). (PERB Opp. at 24:1-6.) In *Minority Television*
23 *Project*, the Ninth Circuit correctly noted that “promoting a product or service” in
24 the context of a statutory scheme aimed at television advertisements was not vague
25 – everyone knows what a TV commercial hawking a product looks like. In
26 *Kilbride*, the Ninth Circuit held that the word “impair,” when used in the phrase
27 email “header information . . . is materially falsified if it is altered or concealed in a
28 manner that would impair the ability of a recipient of the message . . . to identify,

1 locate, or respond to a person who initiated” the message was not vague, at least
2 insofar as it rejected the defendant’s as-applied challenge that “impair” should be
3 interpreted to mean “completely obstruct.” “To impair, according to its plain
4 meaning, merely means to decrease.” 584 F.3d at 1258. And, in *Cameron*, the
5 Supreme Court found that the phrase “obstruct or unreasonably interfere with free
6 ingress or egress to and from any county courthouses” was not vague in the context
7 of an anti-picketing law. At best, these cases recognize that certain statutory
8 phrases, although potentially vague standing alone, are clear in context. There is no
9 language in Section 3550 that helps to put “deter or discourage” into context.

10 b. Section 3550 is impermissibly vague as when it applies

11 Even if the State could constrict Plaintiffs’ speech when they speak on behalf
12 of the entities that they serve, Section 3550 is still unconstitutionally vague because
13 it is unclear when Plaintiffs’ speech would be attributable to their employers.

14 As the California Supreme Court acknowledged in *Boling*, the line between
15 official action and private activities undertaken by public officials is not usually
16 easy to discern. The Unions suggest a bright line: “[T]o the extent that Plaintiffs
17 intend to speak in their official capacities on behalf of the government, the State can
18 regulate that government speech . . . [but] Section 3550, by its plain terms, does not
19 prohibit Plaintiffs, acting in their personal capacities, from expressing their own
20 policy preferences regarding unions, or from expressing their own policy views
21 during legislative or electoral debates.” (Union Opp. at 19:9-20:3.) This logic more
22 resembles a Mobius Strip than a bright line – when Plaintiffs express their views
23 “during legislative or electoral debates,” they are speaking as elected officials – *i.e.*,
24 “in their official capacities.” When exactly Plaintiffs would not be speaking in their
25 official capacities is not explained, and cannot be explained. For its part, PERB
26 argues that the test for when Plaintiffs speak on behalf of their employers is an
27 “objective one” that depends on what the listeners would “reasonably believe” under
28 the circumstances. (PERB Opp. at 27:6-26.) But, again, what listeners may

1 “reasonably believe” is both highly fact-intensive, and subjective, and dependent on
 2 credibility determinations or inferences drawn from the evidence. (*See supra*
 3 discussing *San Diego Unified School District*, PERB Decision No. 137 (June 19,
 4 1980) and *See County of Riverside*, PERB Decision No. 2119-M (June 24, 2010).⁷

5 **D. Plaintiffs Will Suffer Irreparable Harm**

6 Plaintiffs will suffer irreparable harm if a preliminary injunction is not issued.
 7 When First Amendment rights have been infringed, and continue to be infringed, the
 8 element of irreparable injury is met. *See, e.g., Am. Beverage Ass’n v. City & Cty. of*
 9 *San Francisco*, 916 F.3d 749, 758 (9th Cir. 2019); *Doe v. Harris*, 772 F.3d 563, 583
 10 (9th Cir. 2014). “The loss of First Amendment freedoms, for even minimal periods
 11 of time, unquestionably constitutes irreparable injury.” *Elrod v. Burns*, 427 U.S.
 12 347, 373 (1976). This is particularly true when the chilled speech is political
 13 speech, for which “timing is of the essence.” *Klein v. City of San Clemente*, 584
 14 F.3d 1196, 1208 (9th Cir. 2009).⁸

15 Neither PERB nor the Unions seriously contends otherwise. Instead, both
 16 reassert their argument that, because Section 3550 references only the speech of
 17 “public employers,” Plaintiffs do not face the threat of injury. This argument fails
 18 for all the reasons explained above. PERB also argues again that Plaintiffs have not
 19 established irreparable injury because they have not identified statements that they

21 _____
 22 ⁷ Defendants’ reliance on *Cal. Teacher Ass’n v. State Bd. Of Educ.*, 271 F.3d 1141
 23 (9th Cir. 2001) and *United States v. Williams*, 553 U.S. 285 (2008) is unavailing.
 24 Neither case addressed when an elected official’s speech could be imputed to the
 25 public entity on whose governing board they sit. *See Cal. Teacher Ass’n*, 271 F.3d
 26 at 1152; *Williams*, 553 U.S. at 306.

27 ⁸ Citing *Doe v. Harris*, 772 F.3d 563 (9th Cir. 2014) and *DISH Network Corp. v.*
 28 *F.C.C.*, 653 F.3d 771 (9th Cir. 2011), PERB argues that the Court must still consider
 irreparable harm, the balance of the hardships, and the public interest in First
 Amendment cases. (PERB Opp. at 32:22-33:2.) Plaintiffs do not contend
 otherwise, but simply note that those three factors are nearly always satisfied when a
 plaintiff’s First Amendment rights have been, and continue to be, infringed.

1 intend to make, but haven't, as result of Section 3550. (PERB Opp. at 33:19-26.)
2 This is yet another repeat of PERB's argument (and the Unions' argument) that
3 Plaintiffs have not adequately identified chilled statements. Finally, PERB argues
4 that Plaintiffs' purported delay in filing suit suggests that there can be no irreparable
5 harm. (PERB Opp. at 33:27-34:5, citing *Garcia v. Google, Inc.*, 786 F.3d 733, 746
6 (9th Cir. 2015).) *Garcia* is a copyright case, where the district court noted that a
7 copyright holder's delay in enforcing her rights "undercut" her "claim of irreparable
8 harm." 786 F.3d at 746. When constitutional rights are at stake, especially First
9 Amendment rights, delays in filing suit do not "undercut" a finding of irreparable
10 harm because, as the Supreme Court has noted, "[t]he loss of First Amendment
11 freedoms, for even minimal periods of time, unquestionably constitutes irreparable
12 injury." *Elrod*, 427 U.S. at 373. *See also Legal Aid Soc. of Hawaii v. Legal Servs.*
13 *Corp.*, 961 F. Supp. 1402, 1418 (D. Haw. 1997) *preliminary injunction vacated on*
14 *other grounds* (In a First Amendment case, the court found "that the delay" in
15 bringing suit did "not undermine Plaintiffs' ability to establish irreparable harm.").

16 Finally, the Unions argue that Section 3550 is unlikely to cause irreparable
17 harm because one Plaintiff (Barke) has continued to engage in speech regarding
18 unions and unionization and three others (Anderson, Reardon, and Dohm) sit on
19 boards that have adopted policies or agreed in collective bargaining agreements that
20 their "districts" will not "deter or discourage" union membership. (Unions Opp. at
21 24:14-25:3.) As an initial matter, this argument is quite disingenuous with respect
22 to Plaintiff Barke. The articles they submit (Dkt. No. 58-2 and 58-3) were published
23 when he was not serving on a board or council of any public employer. (Dkt. No. 8,
24 ¶¶ 2-3.) In any event, the argument applies to only four of the Plaintiffs, not all
25 seven, and certainly not all elected officials in California; the argument thus
26 provides no grounds to deny the preliminary injunction given that irreparable harm
27 will certainly flow to the other Plaintiffs and other un-named elected officials. In
28 addition, that Barke has spoken and has yet had a Section 3550 claim levelled at the

1 board he sits on is no comfort that no such charges could be leveled against his
2 school district, and therefore the threat of injury and irreparable harm remains.
3 Further, that some speech has been made does not mean that all speech is being
4 made; in fact, Barke plainly asserts that his speech has been chilled. *See, e.g.*, Barke
5 Decl. ¶¶ 8, 11, 13, 16, 17. As to Anderson, Reardon, and Dohm, it is well-
6 established that compliance with an unconstitutional law is no barrier to challenging
7 it. *San Francisco County Democratic Cent. Committee v. Eu*, 826 F.2d 814, 822-23
8 (9th Cir. 1987) (rejecting argument that because party had agreed to comply with the
9 law, he could not challenge the statute’s unconstitutionality).

10 **E. The Remaining Factors Favor Entry Of A Preliminary Injunction**

11 When a plaintiff’s First Amendment right to speak has been infringed, the
12 balance of the hardships and the public interest favor the entry of a preliminary
13 injunction. *Am. Beverage Ass'n v. City of S.F.*, 916 F.3d 749, 758 (9th Cir. 2019).
14 As the Ninth Circuit noted in *Am. Beverage*, when plaintiffs “raise[] serious First
15 Amendment questions,” it “compels a finding that the balance of hardships tips
16 sharply in [plaintiffs’] favor,” and the “public interest” favors entry of a preliminary
17 injunction because “it is always in the public interest to prevent the violation of a
18 party’s constitutional rights.” 916 F.3d at 758 (internal citations omitted).

19 Defendants do not seriously contest these factors, but instead repeat their
20 argument that Section 3550 does not infringe Plaintiffs’ First Amendment rights to
21 speak. That argument should be rejected for the reasons explained. Further, PERB
22 and the Unions exaggerate the purported hardship that they will endure if a
23 preliminary injunction is issued. Section 3550 would still remain enforceable, just
24 not against speech by Plaintiffs and other elected officials. The rest of the statutory
25 scheme governing fair labor practices would also remain in force.

26 **III. CONCLUSION**

27 For the foregoing reasons, Plaintiffs respectfully request that the Court grant
28 the Motion.

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