UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT

FOR THE DISTRICT OF ARIZONA

BEFORE: THE HONORABLE SUSAN R. BOLTON, JUDGE

REPORTER'S TRANSCRIPT OF PROCEEDINGS

MOTION HEARING

Official Court Reporter: Elizabeth A. Lemke, RDR, CRR, CPE Sandra Day O'Connor U.S. Courthouse, Suite 312. 401 West Washington Street, SPC. 34 Phoenix, Arizona 85003-2150 (602) 322-7247

Proceedings Reported by Stenographic Court Reporter Transcript Prepared by Computer-Aided Transcription

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PROCEEDINGS 1 2 (Called to the order of court at 10:02 a.m.) 3 THE COURT: Good morning, ladies and gentlemen. Please sit down. 4 THE CLERK: Civil case 10-1061. Valle del Sol and 5 6 others v. Michael Whiting and others. Time set for hearing regarding Plaintiffs' Motion for Temporary Injunction. 7 Counsel, please announce your presence for the 8 9 record. MS. TUMLIN: Good morning. May it please the Court, 10 Karen Tumlin, National Immigration Law Center for the 11 Plaintiffs Valle del Sol. 12 13 MR. JOAQUIN: Linton Joaquin also with NILC for the Plaintiffs. 14 MR. JADWAT: Omar Jadwat of ACLU for the Plaintiffs. 15 16 MR. COX: Justin Cox with the ACLU for the 17 Plaintiffs. 18 MR. VIRAMONTES: Good morning, Your Honor. Victor Viramontes with the Plaintiffs. 19 20 MS. KEANEY: Melissa Keaney with the National 21 Immigration Law Center for the Plaintiffs. 2.2 MR. ESPIRITU: Nicholas Espiritu with MALDEF for the 23 Plaintiffs. 24 MR. HUERTA: Alvaro Huerta with NILC for the 25 Plaintiffs.

MS. PRECIADO: Your Honor, Nora Preciado with the 1 2 National Immigration Law Center for the Plaintiffs. 3 MR. POCHODA: Dan Pochoda from the ACLU of Arizona 4 for the Plaintiffs. 5 MR. BOUMA: John Bouma from Snell & Wilmer on behalf 6 of the Governor and the State. MR. HENRY: Good morning, Your Honor. Bob Henry from 7 Snell & Wilmer on behalf of the Intervenor Defendants, 8 Governor Brewer and the State. 9 MS. KSZYWIENSKI: Kelly Kszywienski from 10 Snell & Wilmer on behalf of the Intervenor Defendants. 11 12 MR. SCIARROTTA: Good morning, Your Honor. Joe 13 Sciarrotta with Governor Brewer's Office for Governor Brewer 14 and the State of Arizona. MR. TRYON: Good morning, Your Honor. Michael Tryon 15 16 from the Attorney General's Office for the State. 17 MR. BERGIN: Good morning, Your Honor. Brian Bergin for Cochise County Sheriff Larry Dever. 18 MS. LONGO: Anne Longo for Maricopa County Attorney 19 20 and Sheriff. 21 MR. ROLL: Chris Roll from the Pinal County 2.2 Attorney's Office on behalf of the Pinal County Defendants and 23 Yavapai County Defendants. 24 THE COURT: This is the time set for oral argument on 25 the Plaintiffs' Motion for Preliminary Injunction. Who will

be arguing this morning on behalf of the Plaintiffs?

MS. TUMLIN: I will, Your Honor.

THE COURT: Ms. Tumlin, you may come forward.

MS. TUMLIN: Good morning, Your Honor. I understand the Court has set an hour total for the motion this morning.

THE COURT: Yes

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MS. TUMLIN: I would like to reserve five minutes of rebuttal time.

THE COURT: Thank you.

MS. TUMLIN: Plaintiffs have brought the present motion to seek to enjoin Section 2(B) of SB 1070, as well as a portion of Section 5, codified at A.R.S. 13-2929.

In Plaintiffs' briefing we have presented compelling evidence of why the Court can and should enjoin Section 2(B), even in light of the Supreme Court's decision in $Arizona\ v$. United States.

Specifically, and importantly, the Plaintiffs have shown that Section 2(B) will be implemented in a manner that runs afoul of basic preemption principles outlined in *Arizona* v. United States and will lead to unconstitutional detentions under the Fourth Amendment.

By and large the Defendants have not presented evidence contesting the heart of this matter. Instead, they have made some claims around the edges, but have failed to show that 2(B) will be implemented in a fashion that does not

extend detention solely for the purpose of civil immigration violations.

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THE COURT: With respect to preemption, why didn't the Supreme Court preclude a facial challenge to preemption when they made the decision in the related Arizona v. United States case?

And the specific sentence written by Justice Kennedy says:

"This opinion does not foreclose other preemption and constitutional challenges to the law as interpreted and applied after it goes into effect."

When I read that, it doesn't seem to me to leave me a lot of room to say, well, I am just going to assume they didn't think through this and didn't think that maybe there was some other facial challenge that could be made before the law goes into effect.

MS. TUMLIN: Absolutely. I think the Supreme Court did think through it. And there are several -- that sentence, of course, is important, but there are several other indications in the opinion regarding Section 2(B) that make it quite clear that the Court was not ruling out even a pre-enforcement challenge on a different record.

At several times the Court says that there's a basic uncertainty at this stage, and I quote, this record before the court. The record now before this Court is entirely different

than it was before the Supreme Court.

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As a very basic matter, there was, in fact, no Fourth Amendment challenge before the United States Supreme Court. And separately, there was not evidence from up to 70 percent of the jurisdictions that will be implementing Section 2(B) showing that the chief law enforcement officials are poised to implement 2(B) in precisely the manner that the Supreme Court warned about, number one, as a preemption matter poised to implement 2(B) that calls for detentions based on suspected civil immigration violations without oversight and consultation from the federal government.

THE COURT: But you rely on -- if it weren't a preliminary injunction proceeding, what would otherwise be inadmissible evidence for a substantial part of what you're claiming is the evidence of the intent to enforce Section 2(B) in an unconstitutional fashion.

MS. TUMLIN: As Your Honor notes, of course, it is a preliminary injunction and we are relying on the kinds of evidence that are routinely presented at a preliminary injunction.

THE COURT: But I also have discretion when it comes to considering otherwise inadmissible evidence to make sure that it has some reliability.

And citing columns in newspapers, what other people said somebody said, is not the kind of reliable information.

I mean, you have certain things that appear to be more reliable, like a transcript of what someone said, even though it's not admissible, but, you know, relying on what this newspaper article says someone said or this columnist said or this reporter said on the radio or television doesn't seem to me to be the kind of thing that I should take as evidence even on a preliminary injunction.

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MS. TUMLIN: So maybe we can talk a little bit about the evidence.

So to start with, Plaintiffs have submitted a Declaration of Chief Villasenor, Chief in Tucson. And at paragraph 10 of his Declaration he makes it very clear that he will instruct his officers that under 2(B) which he considers a mandate, when they arrest someone, even once the underlying state law basis for that arrest or detention has concluded, if they are still awaiting results from federal immigration officials, that they must keep that individual detained.

That's not a newspaper quote. It's the direct testimony of the Chief of Police on how, after reading the AzPOST materials post-dating the Supreme Court, and after the Supreme Court decision, he intends to instruct his police officers.

Second, as Your Honor referenced, we have again, one month following the Supreme Court's decision, the testimony of Maricopa County officers, including Sheriff Arpaio himself,

stating that both before -- that before they were already subjecting individuals to precisely this kind of detention. Those two, just alone, make up an enormous amount of the jurisdictions that will be enforcing Section 2(B).

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Then we should turn to the e-mails and the instructions that have been circulated by AzPOST following the Supreme Court decision. In that instruction, which this is the body whose job it is to instruct law enforcement officers on how to interpret and to apply Section 2(B), there is no clear statement that precisely the kind of detention the Supreme Court was concerned about, that detention which extends beyond the point that the under law -- state law basis is prohibited.

Instead, they simply say: Implement it consistent with the Fourth Amendment principles.

THE COURT: Well, don't we tell police officers every day to act in accordance with the constitution in the way the Supreme Court has interpreted the constitution?

MS. TUMLIN: We do, Your Honor. But there's substantial evidence here, both from the practices that were in place in the major jurisdictions predating the Supreme Court decision, that the kind of detention that the Supreme Court has now said is impermissible and would lead to, quote, constitutional concerns, is exactly what they have been doing and intend to do.

If the instructions from the AzPOST to implement consistent with the Fourth Amendment was sufficient instructing information, we would not have the incident that Plaintiffs have documented in the Escobedo Declaration that we have produced in our reply, which is having a Phoenix officer conducting precisely this kind of extra detention solely for the purposes of Section 2(B).

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THE COURT: Well, actually, I read with interest

Exhibit K. And I'm not sure I know why the Defendants want to strike it, because other than the fact that I don't know whether 35 minutes is a long time to be detained, everything else that that officer did was not the result of any racial profiling.

He obviously had reasonable suspicion that Hugo was in the country illegally, because the first thing he presented instead of a driver's license was an expired visa. And the detention that ultimately occurred was detention by Immigration and Customs Enforcement, not detention by a state officer to determine his immigration status before he was released.

And so the only thing that I thought could be questioned from his affidavit as to whether or not there was anything wrong constitutionally with what happened to him was that he said, that he was on the side of the street doing whatever was being done for 35 minutes.

I don't know if that's too long or not. I don't know how long it typically takes to give someone the tickets that he was being given. And I can't assume that 35 minutes under the circumstances was an unreasonable period of detention.

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But everything that happened after that seemed to me to show the proper implementation of 2(B). He was released. Information was apparently received from ICE. And ICE apparently told the officer that they wanted this young man to be put into custody.

The officer went, picked him up, took him to ICE, and for reasons that have nothing to do with the state or the Phoenix Police Department, ICE kept him for some number of hours which, whether they had the right to do that or not, is certainly not before us today.

MS. TUMLIN: A few responses to that, Your Honor.

Mr. Escobedo's Declaration in terms of what is the detention that is problematic. So I think that Your Honor has raised a couple of distinct questions.

One is what's permissible or what's reasonable for the original traffic stop.

That is less of our concern, particularly in terms of Mr. Escobedo's case, and let me explain why. What is reasonable for a traffic stop is completely fact-dependent.

It varies on the facts of the situation, whether Mr. Escobedo or someone else was stopped for let's say a broken taillight

and that stop was lawful and there was the requisite reasonable suspicion.

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The officer may in the course of investigating that original stop develop reasonable suspicion for something totally separate and that may take what originally might be a 15-minute stop, which would be reasonable, and turn it into a 50-minute stop.

That's really not the question before the Court. The question has more to do with at the instant that the underlying state law basis for this stop ceases. So let's assume that all the state law stops are reasonable and that they don't extend beyond the time that is reasonable that would be justified by the original basis or subsequent basis that developed in the course of that proper inquiry.

Once that ceases and then the detention that occurs solely for the purposes of either getting verification back from the federal government or invoking a new round of questioning as to immigration status, that is constitutionally impermissible under Arizona v. United States.

And so for Mr. Escobedo, the point at which it was clearly unconstitutional was when the officer went to his house later. The original stop for squealing tires, et cetera, it was over. It had concluded. He had been released.

But when the officer came to his home, at that juncture, solely to enforce what he believed he was required

to do under 2(B), that's the constitutionally impermissible 1 2 part and that piece also --3 THE COURT: But I don't know that. I don't know what Immigration and Customs Enforcement told the officer to do. 4 5 And I know that the officer has statutory authority to detain 6 somebody and transport them to ICE. And if ICE got back to him and said: Oh, yes, this person is in the country illegally. 8 overstayed his visa. Would you go pick him up for us? 9 And the officer said: 10 Yes, I will. 11 12 And he went to his house and he essentially picked 13 him up. 14 MS. TUMLIN: It appears from the facts in Mr. Escobedo's Declaration that the communications with ICE 15 16 occurred after the officer had produced himself at Mr. 17 Escobedo's house. And so that kind of direction, oversight, 18 control by the federal government appeared to happen after the 19 second intervention by the officer. 20 THE COURT: But without talking to the officer, we 21 don't know. 2.2 MS. TUMLIN: Does Your Honor wish to talk about that 23 in terms of the evidence submitted? 24 THE COURT: I mean, that's another issue. 25 I mean in terms of asking me to grant a preliminary

injunction, what we have in this one instance is one side of the story. We don't know, except what communications were going on when the communications resulted in an instruction to pick this young man up. We don't know that because we don't -- nobody has talked to the officer and nobody has talked to the person he talked to.

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MS. TUMLIN: Right. And in this situation where we still are, indeed, in a pre-enforcement challenge to Section 2 which should not be in effect anywhere in the state, we shouldn't even have anything that resembles Mr. Escobedo's Declaration.

And, of course, the Court has before it the cumulative weight of the evidence of multiple statements by law enforcement officials that we presented, whether they are in press accounts or in declaratory form, as well as this one instance.

And in addition, there really is a clear failure on the part of the State or AzPOST to articulate and to delineate clear limits on that detention; that, despite the fact that the Supreme Court is rather clear that if there was any kind of detention that goes on that's not clearly directed by the federal government after the state law basis has ceased, that that would be constitutionally impermissible, both as a preemption matter and as a Fourth Amendment matter.

THE COURT: Did the Eleventh Circuit say anything

yesterday that causes you to think that perhaps your argument has been weakened by their rather easy affirmance of preemption under their equivalent, which is very similar to 2(B)?

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MS. TUMLIN: Your Honor, no, and here is why. Let me explain why.

What the Eleventh Circuit said in both the U.S. v. Alabama as well as the GLAHR case, the Georgia case, is that in considering the 2(B)-like equivalence, it considered it premature at this time to rule on a pre-enforcement challenge. And it said that that was the result that it felt was dictated by Arizona.

We believe that that's a bit overstated. Again, drawing specifically on what the Supreme Court said in their 2(B) analysis, they said that on this record at this stage there was a basic uncertainty about how 2(B) would be implemented, and for that reason they would not enjoin.

But they demarcated quite clearly what would amount to a preemption problem or a Fourth Amendment problem.

THE COURT: The Eleventh Circuit did say a few things about 2929 that you agree with?

MS. TUMLIN: It did. And let me just say one more thing, which is in the Eleventh Circuit, there was not the kind of record evidence that has been presented before this Court.

THE COURT: Thank you.

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MS. TUMLIN: If Your Honor would like to turn to 13-2929, we could do that.

THE COURT: I don't know if you actually want to spend time on that. I was more interested in finding out if the Defendants have a way to suggest that the Eleventh Circuit's case is not at least persuasive authority for Arizona and that you might want to address that in reply.

MS. TUMLIN: That sounds great, Your Honor. And I will be happy to save that for rebuttal.

I would simply note that like the Arizona 13-2929, the Georgia law issue did also have a separate criminal predicate offense requirement. So that the laws are quite comparable, and therefore, the analysis is similar.

 $\label{eq:court} \mbox{If the Court is interested, I would like to talk}$ $\mbox{briefly about the equal protection challenge to Section 2(B).}$

THE COURT: Yes.

MS. TUMLIN: So separately, the Plaintiffs have presented substantial evidence and are likely to prevail on their claim that Section 2(B) should be enjoined because it violates the equal protection clause.

And just to start as an initial matter, because there's been some confusion among the parties, the claim that we are advancing is that it's not the run-of-the-mill equal protection claim.

This is not a claim of a criminal provision or a civil ordinance that's in effect where we're saying that a protected group is disproportionally being prosecuted under the offense. That's a separate body of equal protection case law.

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This is a claim that is premised on the notion that if a motivating factor for the passage of Section 2(B) was discriminatory, was based on race or national origin, that the passage then of that law is poisoned or is infected by that discriminatory intent and under equal protection must be enjoined.

THE COURT: And assuming for the purposes of argument that you've presented evidence that some individuals, whether they were voting people or people who were encouraging a law like this to be passed, were motivated by discriminatory intent, how many people does it have to be in order for this act to become law?

It had to be voted on by a majority of the Arizona State House, the Arizona State Senate, and signed by the Governor. And there's clearly no evidence that those majorities had a discriminatory intent.

MS. TUMLIN: Right. So it's a really important question. It's one that we addressed in our briefing, but let me recap briefly.

The central tenant of equal protection law, its

predominant feature, is that if race is a motivating or substantial factor, it's tainted and it can't be allowed to proceed.

There's no magic number on the number of legislators. And, of course, all the cases in this area, Arlington Heights, the Central Fair Housing Act case v. McGee, all recognize that passage of law is a complex act. There are always multiple motives in the passage of law.

What the equal protection case law says is if

Plaintiffs can prove that a motivating factor, not the

dominant one, not the one that takes over, not a substantial

factor, but that it played a role in the passage, that is

sufficient and it must be enjoined.

THE COURT: Is it too complex to be decided on hearsay?

MS. TUMLIN: It's not. And the evidence -- not at all.

THE COURT: And without judging anyone's credibility?

MS. TUMLIN: Your Honor, again, several responses to

that.

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It's a difficult determination. Most people aren't comfortable talking about race in the modern day, and certainly it is difficult and a complex determination to isolate the role of race in the passage of law.

But again, the best thing to do is to look at the

guiding principles, the types of evidence that the Plaintiffs have presented. The evidence that legislators, when speaking both in the legislature itself or in e-mail communications, et cetera, used racially-coded language in talking about the need for the passage of SB 1070, when they were talking about what the so-called nondiscriminatory reasons for its passage, were using false or misleading information at best, suggesting that that was the pretextual motivation.

And last, that there is a conflation that you see, similar to what the court found in McGee, where the chief proponents of this bill conflated undocumented immigrants with Latinos or with Mexican Nationals, showing that though there was an articulation that the intent was to regulate undocumented immigration, that actually, part of the underlying motivation was greater and was to target and single out a particular ethnic group or national origin group.

THE COURT: Thank you.

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MS. TUMLIN: Thank you, Your Honor.

THE COURT: Good morning.

MR. BOUMA: Good morning.

THE COURT: I'm going to start with a question.

I assume you did some last-minute reading after the Eleventh Circuit issued its three opinions yesterday?

MR. BOUMA: I did some.

THE COURT: Did you, like I, focus on their

equivalent to 2929?

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MR. BOUMA: I was really getting more of a kick out of focusing on their equivalent of 2(B).

THE COURT: Well, I knew that would be the case, but 2929, why should that not be persuasive authority on this Court on the issue of preemption of 2929?

MR. BOUMA: Well, I think one reason -- I would really appreciate an opportunity to submit a supplemental brief on this point, if we could, because I think there is some cases that do really bear upon it, but the --

THE COURT: I'm not inclined to allow any supplemental briefing from either side.

MR. BOUMA: Okay. Well, the Eleventh Circuit relied substantially on its finding that the federal courts have exclusive jurisdiction over the federal statute. That was basically their decision.

They didn't go back and demonstrate that Congress had taken over the field. They didn't -- in passing and comparing it with Section 3, our Section 3 of the registration thing, but certainly nothing in the Supreme Court decision, none of the language in the Supreme Court decision about why Section 3 showed that the area that was preempted, that the field was full, applies to this particular area, the area of transporting and harboring.

So they didn't get into that. They talked about

conflict some, but again, their analysis was relatively quick on that. They basically went into the fact that it was not supported -- that they -- that the federal courts have exclusive jurisdiction over the federal statute.

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And we think that is probably not supported by the text of the statute which is 8 U.S.C. 1329 and is contrary to the Supreme Court authority we cited, including *Tafflin* and the RICO litigation that the federal court -- that statute does not say that the federal courts have exclusive jurisdiction over the federal statute.

The fact that the federal courts have jurisdiction does not mean it's exclusive and we think the Eleventh Circuit went off without a thorough analysis on that. I have somebody sitting at the table who could explain that in much greater depth.

THE COURT: But you agree that if I follow the Eleventh Circuit, that dooms 2929?

MR. BOUMA: I'm sorry?

THE COURT: If I follow the Eleventh Circuit, that 2929 is preempted?

MR. BOUMA: Well, that would -- that's pretty close to 2929.

I do think though that that would also be recognized that in terms of conflict, preemption, and field preemption, that this statute really is not an attempt to assist the

federal government and really doesn't interfere with it enforcing its immigration laws.

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It really deals with people who assist in illegal activity such as the coyotes and the human smugglers and --

THE COURT: Well, you know, I agreed with you in a related case, but I didn't have the benefit of a higher court at that time.

MR. BOUMA: Well, that's the Eleventh Circuit.

THE COURT: Not binding, but respectable.

MR. BOUMA: Well, as I say, I think that they've concentrated then on the statute that gives the federal courts jurisdiction and that statute does not give the federal courts exclusive jurisdiction.

THE COURT: Okay. I'll ask you the question that you want me to ask, which is, did the United States Supreme Court preclude any facial challenge to 2(B)?

MR. BOUMA: I don't know how they could have said it much clearer.

They -- and not just preemption. I mean, they haven't said "preemption" and "constitutional" and they were clearly aware that there were other constitutional issues.

They noted when they talked about some and they cited a Fifth -- a Fourth Amendment case. You know, they knew they were there and they said "preemption" and "constitutional" so -- and they were pretty specific.

I took some of the language, but I'm sure you looked at it pretty carefully yourself and you don't need me to read it -- but they made it particularly true where they noted that this was a suit against a sovereign state to challenge a state law before it even had an opportunity to even go into effect.

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And because it was a pre-enforcement posture, it would be inappropriate to assume that it would be construed in a way that conflicts with federal law.

THE COURT: I forgot to ask Ms. Tumlin this and I will ask her about this in her final argument and that -- something that she has suggested, that I certify a question to the Arizona Supreme Court, but I wanted to talk more generally.

One of the things that the United States Supreme

Court said is that the Arizona Supreme Court in the first

instance should have the opportunity to interpret Section

2(B), and in particular, the sentence that says nobody who's

arrested can be released until their immigration status is

checked, which could raise some significant Fourth Amendment

concerns.

MR. BOUMA: To paraphrase.

THE COURT: To paraphrase.

And I can't figure out how that issue will ever get to the Arizona Supreme Court. I have tried to posit different scenarios and I can't figure out a way that the Arizona courts

will ever be in a position to construe it.

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And so I wondered if Arizona and the Governor had given any thought to how the Arizona Supreme Court will get a case to tell us how that state law should be interpreted.

MR. BOUMA: Well, I guess I'm not remembering that they specifically referred to the Arizona Supreme Court. I was under the impression they were talking about Arizona courts.

THE COURT: Well, state courts, I think, is what they were specifically talking about, and I can't figure out how the case gets there unless I send it to them.

MR. BOUMA: Well, why wouldn't the --

THE COURT: Well, if somebody gets arrested --

MR. BOUMA: Right.

THE COURT: -- they get prosecuted.

The issue is whether they were detained too long in violation of the Fourth Amendment. I don't know how that comes up in a criminal case. It wouldn't result in a suppression of the evidence. I just can't see how the case will present itself in the state court under Section 2(B) to interpret what it means.

MR. BOUMA: I'm not a criminal law specialist, so I wouldn't be able to tell you.

THE COURT: And I can't even think of a civil way that --

MR. BOUMA: Well, I suppose somebody could bring a declaratory judgment just as easy as not in the state court rather than in the federal court.

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And I suppose somebody could sue any one of the law enforcement agencies on the proposition that they were arrested pursuant to the statute that they believe to be unenforceable or unconstitutional under the state and the federal constitution. That could be handled in state court.

I mean, I don't see that there is a -- you know about as well as I do many lawyers have great imaginations and I don't think there's any limit to the number of people who can figure out a way to get there.

THE COURT: Yeah, well, except no obvious case comes to mind. And maybe it does for Ms. Tumlin, but I thought that might be why she suggested that I certify a question to the Arizona Supreme Court, something that I have never done, and think should only be done in a circumstance where that determination of that issue is important to allow the case to go forward.

MR. BOUMA: Why would the declaratory judgment action be appropriate?

THE COURT: Because you need a case or controversy. Something would have already had to have happened.

MR. BOUMA: Well, that will undoubtedly happen. It's not going to take very long for the Plaintiffs' people hanging

right outside the door to grab them.

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THE COURT: So what do you think about certifying a question to the Arizona Supreme Court to try to get them to tell us how Section 2(B) can be interpreted?

MR. BOUMA: Well, I imagine that the Supreme Court will -- you know, there's a presumption that they're going to enforce the law in a way to make it constitutional. And so there certainly wouldn't be a basis for enjoining the operation of 2(B) while it goes through the Supreme Court, because the court's already said that absent some declaration or determination by that, you know, we ought to wait to do that before we try to stop the statute.

THE COURT: Would you like to address the issue of discriminatory intent?

MR. BOUMA: Yes. I would also like to note, if I could, that just on the issue of the preliminary injunction, that the Plaintiffs haven't demonstrated irreparable harm.

And, you know, there's cases out there that say that the fact that you've demonstrated that you have standing for purposes of -- that you have -- made allegations sufficient for standing, that it is not sufficient for the proposition to issue a preliminary injunction.

And the one that comes to mind that's very much in point is the Ninth Circuit decision and it's *Hodgers v. Durgin* where the two individual plaintiffs had been each stopped by

Border Patrol -- separate Border Patrol agents and they claim it was a violation of their Fourth Amendment rights as unreasonable seizures and they wanted an injunction against systemic violations of the Fourth Amendment.

And the Ninth Circuit held, which I think is appropriate with what we have here, because you have already said for purposes of standing it's sufficient, you know, their unsworn allegations are sufficient.

The Ninth Circuit held:

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"Even if we assume that plaintiffs have asserted sufficient likelihood of future injury to satisfy the 'case or controversy' requirement of Article III standing to seek equitable relief, we find that plaintiffs are not entitled to equitable relief because" ... "there is no showing of any real or immediate threat that the plaintiffs will be wronged again."

There's no likelihood of substantial and irreparable injury to the plaintiffs and that's the situation here. In our papers we have gone through their depositions. We have talked about it. Showed that they really don't stand any likelihood and no peril.

Plaintiffs didn't address that. In their reply they simply said, well, even if -- and then they went to a backup argument that, well, we're harmed by the very existence of 2(B).

And the *United States v. Hays* deals with that in an equal protection context and it says that the court dismissed the plaintiffs' equal protection challenge to a redistricting plan because the plaintiffs failed to demonstrate that they personally have been subjected to a racial classification.

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So we don't even have to get to a lot of this.

They're not entitled to equitable relief here; probably on either of them, either statutes, because none of them are -- have demonstrated any facts at all that make them subject to the possibility of irreparable harm, immediate threat, substantial and immediate irreparable injury.

Secondly, now going back to your question if I may, I would say that the Plaintiffs have kind of been moving around on the standard here. They have got to -- you know, they have kind of accused us of misrepresenting the law and so on.

But I think that it's fair to say that they have been misrepresenting the applicable standard. They have to demonstrate that it's both a discriminatory purpose and a discriminatory effect. There's no question about that. You know, you can start with U.S. v. Armstrong, go to U.S. v. Bass, both Supreme Court cases, U.S. v. -- I mean Rosenbaum v. City of San Francisco, Ninth Circuit in 2007.

THE COURT: But what about Arlington Heights?

MR. BOUMA: What? Arlington Heights is a good one because that's the one they wanted to talk about. But they

didn't want to address these others. And Arlington Heights, if you look at it, starts with the proposition that there was immediate -- I mean, there was discriminatory effect. They just started out with that.

2.2

THE COURT: Well, but we have a situation -- I think they called it "impact."

And we have a situation here where the one thing that I think both sides can agree on is that the implementation of Section 2(B) will have a disproportionate impact on people from Mexico and Central America in Arizona by virtue of the fact that -- somebody's statistics said sixty-some percent of people that are in Arizona without legal authorization to be here are from Mexico and Central America.

So the impact will be disproportionate on that ethnic group because that ethnic group is disproportionately represented among unauthorized immigrants in the State of Arizona.

Isn't that the same situation that there was in Arlington Heights?

MR. BOUMA: I couldn't disagree more. I mean read Bass. U.S. v. Bass. U.S. v. Armstrong. They come in with 98 percent of the people that were charged were Black.

And then they -- one of the others was that 64, 70 percent -- we have it in our brief -- of the people who are prosecuted for crossing the border illegally were Hispanics.

And the court said, well, so what. I mean, those are the people who cross it most. And those are the people who are most involved with crack.

2.2

You've got to show -- you've got to identify a similarly-situated class for which the Plaintiffs' class can be compared. What is the similarly-situated class? Who else is coming across the border like the Hispanics? And where do you have any evidence that the Hispanics are being charged inappropriately and disproportionally to the number of other peoples coming across the border?

I don't recall anything in this whole record of somebody similarly situated that was treated differently.

So the fact that they have the most border crossers and that they're the ones impacted by a law against border crossers doesn't mean that's discriminatory. I mean, that's so plain from both Bass and Armstrong that it's pitiful.

THE COURT: That's why I used the word "disproportionate."

MR. BOUMA: Disproportionate.

Okay. Did I miss something there?

THE COURT: No. That was part of the Arlington

Heights analysis that the impact of the law, regardless of its motivation, was going to impact in that case racial minority greater than it would impact anyone else.

And so they started with the proposition that it

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would disproportionately impact a racial minority to be
 1
 2
      able to disproportionately impact --
 3
               MR. BOUMA:
                           Okay. You're talking --
               THE COURT:
                           -- illegal immigrants from --
 5
               MR. BOUMA:
                           You're talking a housing case.
               THE COURT:
                          Right.
 6
 7
               MR. BOUMA:
                           You're talking a zoning case.
               We've cited -- despite what they say about we've only
 8
      cited one -- we have cited nine cases that deal with --
 9
10
               THE COURT:
                           I think they said they dealt with
      selective prosecution, which had a different test.
11
12
               MR. BOUMA: Yeah. Selective prosecution.
13
               And then there's a case that the -- the name of it --
14
      the Farm Labor case basically says that it doesn't make any
15
      difference whether you're talking about selective prosecution
16
      or selective enforcement, that both cases are totally
17
      applicable.
18
               They're much more applicable than Rosenbaum -- I
      mean, than the Arlington Heights case.
19
20
               Arlington Heights starts with the fact that there was
      an impact and goes on and discusses the various elements of
21
2.2
      how you find intent. But it was very clear that you have to
23
      have both impact and intent. There was not any big analysis
24
      in there about impact.
25
               But it was a housing case. That's altogether
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different than a selective prosecution case or a selective law enforcement case. And all the selective law enforcement cases -- they cite one, actually, that they -- and it's the Rodriguez case, I think -- and they rely on this -- they put it in their rely.

2.2

They rely on *Rodriguez*, which is about the only case we could find holding that discriminatory intent is sufficient to state an equal protection claim. All the others say you both have to have the impact and intent.

And the Rodriguez is a 2000 District Court case and it's out of California and it's certainly been superseded by a couple of them, one of them being Rosenbaum, which is a 2007 decision of the Ninth Circuit. And it's also been superseded by one other right out of the Ninth Circuit I mentioned a little earlier. It's Birmingham which is Ninth Circuit 2003, which was allegedly a pretext or traffic stop. Rosenbaum was alleged a pretextual search and patdown by customs officials -- no, I'm sorry -- Rosenbaum is a claim of the City of San Francisco police officers on the evenly enforced municipal noise ordinance.

So those are the cases that are on point. Arlington Height isn't. Arlington Heights is simply a discussion of the things you look at for the second element, which you really don't even get to here because the truth is they haven't established a discriminatory impact in an appropriate way in

the selective prosecution or selective enforcement case. 1 2 THE COURT: Thank you. 3 MR. BOUMA: And this statute is enforcement. It's 4 not housing. 5 THE COURT: And do you then suggest that the other 6 factors are also irrelevant, like whether it was a statute 7 that had an unusual provision in it that one doesn't find in other statutes like the attempt to take away or to coerce the 8 enforcement of 2(B) by conditioning on it citizen's suits 9 10 against individual police officers or cities or towns that 11 don't fully implement Section 2(B)? 12 I mean, you have to admit that that is not something 13 that you see in a lot of statutes directed at law enforcement. 14 MR. BOUMA: Well, the fact of the matter is you can 15 arque that two ways. One is that there are other statutes --16 and we've cited them -- where police officers are directed 17 that they have to do certain things, so -- and secondly --18 THE COURT: On pain of civil remedies? Monetary --MR. BOUMA: Police officers --19 THE COURT: -- enforcement. 20 21 Police officer aren't subject to civil MR. BOUMA: 2.2 remedies here. The police officer's only exposure here is if 23 they violate somebody's constitutional rights. 24 officers don't have any exposure under that. 25 municipalities do, but the police officers don't.

THE COURT: Okay.

2.2

MR. BOUMA: And they do have exposure for violating their civil rights certainly, and they do have exposure under the Title 8 and things like that, but they don't have exposure here.

You know, that law is directed to the cities to do away with the sanctuary things here. And that's something that I think you tend to miss sometimes when you get into this discussion is this law is about illegal immigration and there's good reasons to be concerned about illegal immigration. You even noted them in your first opinion.

And there's nothing wrong with the legislature trying to deal with illegal immigration. The fact that a lot of the people who are the illegal immigrants are Hispanic takes you right back to the Supreme Court decision about the discussion of why are people looking at people of Muslim descent in connection with the September 11th problem, and the Supreme Court basically says: What would you expect?

And that's what these -- the other three Supreme

Court cases I mentioned to you say. Is if they are the people
that are involved in this, if they are the people that are
doing the crack cocaine and there's a much higher proportion
of Blacks than anybody else, then they're going to end up
affecting a higher proportion of the Blacks.

That does not have a discriminatory impact. It

doesn't have a discriminatory impact at all. It has an impact on the people that are doing it. And the sanctuary policy here is to tell the cities, you know, we're interested in giving these officers the opportunity. That's -- the plea came in.

2.2

If you look at the legislative history, the plea came in and said, We're not getting an opportunity to find out who some of these people we arrest are. Even though we know they are bad guys and they've crossed the border -- we suspect they have crossed the border illegally -- you have a policy that says we can't find out who they are. And our people are at risk because of it and that's why we want this statute.

And that's why I will tell you this statute might have gone forward. There's no reason to believe it wouldn't, even with or without Russell Pearce. No question but what Russell Pearce was pushing it. But there is also, you if you look at what all the other people have said, including Hispanics that were in the legislature, there was support for this statute. There was discussion about illegal immigration and the problems that result from it.

And to think that the suggestion that Arizona is full -- the legislature and the Governor and that are full of a bunch of people who are racially motivated when all you have to do is walk out there and walk around the offices and see that all their staff -- or at least a significant part of

their staff -- is of Hispanic background is -- you know, the fact that they would even suggest that is just offensive.

2.2

THE COURT: Well, there are some offensive things in some of the e-mails that were attached to the Plaintiffs' motion that certainly suggested some discriminatory animus.

MR. BOUMA: I would agree that there were some awful e-mails -- there was some awful thoughts in there. You know, you can't deal with people in that respect.

But to suggest that the people who are interested in solving the problem of illegal immigration were all of that same mind or that the officers, all these professionals -- I hope you'll take the time to read the statements by the professional officers.

We have the head of the DPS here with us. We have Larry Debus -- Larry Dever here with us from Cochise County. You know, yeah, read what professionals say about what they devoted their lives to and they have been arresting people as necessary. They understand probable cause. They understand reasonable suspicion. Or they can tell you about the hundreds of people that have been investigated and sent off to ICE. And you're not going to find hardly any, any complaints of racial profiling.

And yet these people come in here and make the proposition that these are a bunch of bozos just looking for the opportunity to go out and racially profile and

discriminate after they have been able to do law enforcement all these years in a very professional way without doing any of that.

2.2

THE COURT: Okay. Thank you, Mr. Bouma.

Before you start the comments that you want to make, I want to go back to the thing I forgot to ask you about.

MS. TUMLIN: Of course, Your Honor.

THE COURT: You asked me to certify a question to the Arizona Supreme Court and you specifically proposed this question.

Does Section 2(B) -- I'll paraphrase -- authorize law enforcement to detain individuals, including extending their detention beyond the point that they would otherwise be released, in order to determine or verify the individual's immigration status.

And that -- I don't need the Arizona Supreme Court to tell me that the answer to that question is "No."

The United States Supreme Court has already said the answer to that question is "No."

So the question that you asked me to ask the Arizona Supreme Court would not be productive of any answer that I don't already know the answer to. Any question that I don't already know the answer to.

And the reason one would take -- a District Judge would pursue the highly unusual -- even though authorized

procedure of certifying a question -- was to get the answer to an important question of state law to which I didn't have the answer and there wasn't any state authority that would inform me as to what the answer should be.

2.2

So this question I know the answer to and so I wouldn't ask the Arizona Supreme Court to confirm that no, of course it can't without violating the United States

Constitution and probably the Arizona Constitution also.

MS. TUMLIN: I think, of course, that the Court has the discretion to modify the question. And of course, what we're -- what we would be seeking for certification is a definitive statutory construction of Section 2(B) by the Arizona Supreme Court.

THE COURT: But can they do it without any facts?

Can they do it without a circumstance or two that presented itself? Can they do it without allowing the law to go into effect and having it as an applied challenge?

MS. TUMLIN: Of course, they can. If they could not, then individuals would be subject to the unconstitutional harms of a construction that permits over-detention under the Fourth Amendment or impermissible detention under preemption principles. And the Supreme Court made very clear that it thought state courts needed to be the ones to interpret the question.

THE COURT: Can you think of a way it gets into the

state court?

2.2

MS. TUMLIN: We can't. We quite agree. And that's why we had also asked for the unusual procedure of certification.

And it's simply because there is enough substantial evidence on the record now pre-enforcement that waiting at all and allowing Section 2(B) to play out is going to lead to harms and inconsistent interpretations.

And we would flag, of course, that we have pointed out the significant irreparable injury to Plaintiffs and others in the state.

THE COURT: I wanted to talk about irreparable injury under 2929 --

MS. TUMLIN: Okay.

THE COURT: -- because A.R.S. 13-2929 has actually been in effect for more than two years now.

We don't know of any instance, because I'm sure if there had been one, somebody in this room would have brought it to my attention, where anybody has been arrested, let alone charged, under that statute.

Should that in any way impact my irreparable harm analysis that would differ from what the Eleventh Circuit had to say on that subject?

MS. TUMLIN: No, of course not. There were no instances of either Georgia's law or Alabama's equivalent

provisions being enforced because they were enjoined pre-enforcement.

2.2

And the critical question which the Court has answered in a couple of different places with respect to the irreparable injuries of our Plaintiff, and particularly Lu Santiago and now the Class Members, for the harboring and transporting provision, is whether or not individuals are likely to be at risk or threatened prosecution.

The fact that maybe prosecution has not occurred under 13-2929, we don't know that, but perhaps that is the case, doesn't mean that the likelihood or the imminent threat to those individuals who engage in the activities that are criminalized under 13-2929 don't face that imminent risk of irreparable harm.

THE COURT: Okay. Those were my questions.

Now, whatever points you wish to make on rebuttal.

MS. TUMLIN: Okay. So just to conclude on the certification question, certainly the Court can modify the question so that what we're getting is parameters by the state's ultimate adjudicator and interpreter of state law.

And, of course, what the Supreme Court said was and what -- to paraphrase, as we have been doing -- it said, hum, seems like we might need to do some constitutional avoidance in interpreting Section 2(B).

And they said rather clearly that it's the state

courts who have that role to decide whether there needs to be an interpretation that avoids the constitutional problems.

Second, I would point out that on the other side of the ledger to the harm, significant harms the Plaintiffs have articulated if 2(B) is allowed to go into effect, for example, pending certification from the Arizona Supreme Court, there is a de minimus harm to the State from keeping enjoined a provision that has already been enjoined for over two years now in order to get the significant question resolved.

To conclude briefly on 13-2929, in the Eleventh
Circuit opinion, in the two cases, in addition, of course,
there's a South Carolina District Court opinion that equally
finds a similar provision of both conflict and field
preemption and there's no contrary precedent in this area.

As the Eleventh Circuit --

THE COURT: Well, except my other decision.

MS. TUMLIN: Right.

2.2

And as the Court acknowledged, that was not done with the benefit of the evolving case law and certainly not done with the recent guidance from the Supreme Court.

The Eleventh Circuit says that the courts -- the Supreme Court's analysis in Arizona, in Section 3 in particular, is an instructive analogy.

We think that's the case. And I would underscore also both the Eleventh Circuit's analysis as well as the

Supreme Court's analysis in Arizona that even if you're ultimately, completely parallel to the federal law, the doubling-up of penalties is inappropriate and is preempted, as is the vesting in state officials and state prosecutors the decision of when to prosecute and how much to prosecute. That leads to the preemption problems.

2.2

"Equal protection" I would like to discuss a bit.

THE COURT: Well, the Defendants say that basically selective prosecution cases are the type of case we should look at for this statute, because this has to do with law enforcement targeting individuals for detention, arrest, or at least holding them for another sovereign.

MS. TUMLIN: Those cases are inapposite.

And, yes, if Section 2 takes effect down the road, individuals could bring selective prosecution-type of cases against Section 2(B).

But we're talking about a fundamentally different animal here. We're talking about a challenge, an equal protection challenge, which we have alleged in our complaint to the statute overall.

We're only moving today on Section 2(B) that says race and national origin were a motivating factor in the passage of Section 2(B).

And an analysis from $Arlington\ Heights$, $Hunter\ v.$ Underwood is a very instructive case for the Court. The Fair

Housing Act cases that we have cited and McGee all say that when plaintiffs produce evidence that race played a motivating role, under the Arlington Heights factors, that must be stopped, that law must be blocked.

2.2

And that's what we're talking about in the selective prosecution cases are off point and require a different showing.

The Court asked earlier is the question of discriminatory intent too difficult to determine on hearsay?

And I just want to flag that a huge bulk of Plaintiffs' evidence is the legislature's own statements, whether in e-mails or in the legislative debate themselves. Obviously, there aren't credibility and hearsay issues with those statements.

I wanted to talk a bit because it came up significantly in the State's argument about the discriminatory impact prong and starting specifically with the Court's questions and the back-and-forth regarding the aggregate statistics.

Number one, it is routine in these type of Arlington

Heights cases that courts look to statistical analysis of

whether or not there would be a disproportionate impact of the

law on a particular group. And that's what we presented.

And the reason why the courts look to that is it is, of course, a known fact in Arizona that if you were trying to

target undocumented immigration, you are disproportionately going to be affecting Mexican Nationals and Latinos generally.

2.2

That's something the legislators would have known when they were legislating. And equal protection case law says when you should have know that you would be harming a protected group, we consider that.

It's not the only -- it's not the only consideration.

That's why Arlington Heights is a multi-factored test, but it is a concern.

And I would add that the aggregate statistics is not Plaintiffs' only evidence of discriminatory impact. We have presented police chief declarations showing that they believe in their expert opinion that the law would be implemented in a way that inappropriately considers race.

And in addition, the language of 2(B) itself --

THE COURT: Can't the law be implemented in such a way that it doesn't consider race?

I mean, why should I assume that police officers will ignore their obligations under state law and the constitution and racially profile?

MS. TUMLIN: And to be clear, Your Honor, a finding that Plaintiffs are likely to cede on their equal protection claim here does not require the Court to find that law enforcement officers will racially profile.

What it requires a finding of is that race was a

motivating factor and that legislators knew and were aware that there would be an impact on a protected group. And so the finding of "I assume that law enforcement officers will racially profile" is not a finding that the Court has to make here.

2.2

I would note that the text of 2(B) itself where -and this is language that the State has pointed out to you
several times -- where it says that race, national origin, or
color shall only be considered, quote, except to the extent
permitted by the United States or Arizona constitution,
actually supports Plaintiffs' discriminatory impact claim and
here is why.

It's crystal clear under Ninth Circuit case law and it's crystal clear in the material that the AzPOST has put out that race in a border state, in effectuating a stop, race cannot be a factor whatsoever, except in the caveat when you are looking for a specific suspect in a particular racial group.

So this language itself that implies or suggests that maybe sometimes race is an appropriate factor also gives more credibility to Plaintiffs' argument that the legislators had race in mind and that it was a motivating factor.

I have shuffled my notes inappropriately, which sometimes happens, and just in sum, I would remind the Court that on the equal protection claim, the Plaintiffs have

presented under each of the Arlington Heights factors 1 2 substantial evidence. 3 We talked about discriminatory impact already. We 4 talked some about the statements, the legislators' own 5 There are many more in the record showing 6 misleading statements suggesting pretext for the nondiscriminatory reasons, racially-coded language, and 7 language specifically that conflates being undocumented with 8 being Latino. But in addition, we have also shown the substantial 10 departures from regular practice which the Court asked the 11 12 State about. And it's the -- and also a very extensive 13 history of the historical background of legislation in Arizona 14 that targets and singles out Spanish speakers, Latinos, and Mexicans for discrimination. 15 16 THE COURT: Thank you, Ms. Tumlin. 17 It is ordered taking this matter under advisement. 18 Court is in recess. (Proceedings adjourned at 11:08 p.m.) 19 20 21 2.2 23 24

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CERTIFICATE I, ELIZABETH A. LEMKE, do hereby certify that I am duly appointed and qualified to act as Official Court Reporter for the United States District Court for the District of Arizona. I FURTHER CERTIFY that the foregoing pages constitute a full, true, and accurate transcript of all of that portion of the proceedings contained herein, had in the above-entitled cause on the date specified therein, and that said transcript was prepared under my direction and control. DATED at Phoenix, Arizona, this 24th day of August, 2012. s/Elizabeth A. Lemke ELIZABETH A. LEMKE, RDR, CRR, CPE 2.2