Case 2:16-cv-01065-DLR Document 4	Filed 05/17/18	Page 1 of 13		
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UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT				
DISTRICT OF ARIZONA				
-	No. CV-10	6-01065-PHX-DLR		
Plaintiffs,		IFFS' BRIEF IN T OF THEIR MOTION		
V.	FOR AN	INJUNCTION OF		
Michele Reagan, et al.,	HB 2023	PENDING APPEAL		
Defendants.				
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INTRODUCTION

This case presents an unusually strong basis for a finding that a party is likely to succeed on appeal: a majority of the en banc Court of Appeals found, at an earlier stage of the case, that Plaintiffs were likely to succeed on the merits on a less robust record than the one presented at trial. Because this case involves the fundamental right to vote, it also involves a clear risk of irreparable harm. Meanwhile, the State of Arizona's (the "State") interest in effectuating the law at issue is negligible, at best. This Court should therefore enjoin HB2023 pending the resolution of the appeal of this case.

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LEGAL STANDARD

10 In considering whether to grant an injunction pending appeal, the standard for 11 preliminary injunctive relief applies. See Se. Alaska Conservation Council v. U.S. Army 12 Corps of Eng'rs, 472 F.3d 1097, 1100 (9th Cir. 2006). Plaintiffs must demonstrate either 13 (1) "a probability of success on the merits and the possibility of irreparable injury," or (2) 14 "that serious legal questions are raised and that the balance of hardships tips sharply in 15 [their] favor." Lopez v. Heckler, 713 F.2d 1432, 1435 (9th Cir. 1983) (citations omitted); see also Winter v. Nat. Res. Def. Council, Inc., 555 U.S. 7, 20 (2008) (plaintiff "must 16 17 establish that he is likely to succeed on the merits, that he is likely to suffer irreparable 18 harm in the absence of preliminary relief, that the balance of equities tips in his favor, and 19 that an injunction is in the public interest"); Alliance for the Wild Rockies v. Cottrell, 632 20 F.3d 1127, 1134 (9th Cir. 2011) ("serious questions" test survives Winter).

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ARGUMENT

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2 **A.**

Plaintiffs are likely to succeed on the merits for several reasons. Indeed, the record
here is similar to—but stronger than—the record that the en banc Ninth Circuit found
sufficient to establish a likelihood of success on the merits on Plaintiffs' *Anderson- Burdick* and Voting Rights Act ("VRA") claims at the preliminary-injunction ("PI") phase
of this case. Plaintiffs are also likely to establish that this Court's *Anderson-Burdick*analysis was flawed as a matter of law in part because it understated the burden that

Plaintiffs Are Likely to Succeed on the Merits

1 HB2023 imposes on voting rights, and that the Court's VRA analysis was incorrect 2 because it did not account for the evidence demonstrating that the voters who used ballot collection were *overwhelmingly* minority voters.¹

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First, Plaintiffs are likely to succeed on their *Anderson-Burdick* and VRA claims 4 5 because they have established the same key facts on which the en banc Ninth Circuit 6 previously relied in concluding that Plaintiffs were likely to succeed on the merits. In his 7 panel dissent at the PI phase (which was later largely adopted by the en banc court in 8 issuing an injunction), Chief Judge Thomas explained that "[t]he record demonstrated 9 that, in many rural areas with a high proportion of minority voters, home mail delivery 10 was not available, and it was extremely difficult to travel to a post office." Feldman v. 11 Ariz. Sec'y of State's Office, 840 F.3d 1057, 1088 (9th Cir.) (Thomas, J., dissenting), reh'g en banc granted, 841 F.3d 791 (9th Cir. 2016).² At trial, the evidence proved the 12 same point. See, e.g., 10/3 Tr. 39:20-41:2, 44:17-45:8, 46:14-23, 53:17-54:11 (Fernandez) 13 14 (San Luis has no home mail delivery and 12,498 P.O. boxes, no mass transit, and low car 15 ownership; there are only two locations at which ballots can be mailed or dropped off and, 16 because the post office is across the highway from the residential area, residents 17 frequently rely upon friends, neighbors and family to pick up mail); Ex. 25-028 ("There 18 are over 15,000 people in the city of Somerton, and none of them—not one of them has a 19 mailbox where the mail is delivered to their homes.").

20 The trial record also shows, as Chief Judge Thomas found at the PI phase, that 21 residents of the Tohono O'odham Nation and the Cocopah Nation have no home mail 22 delivery and generally lack ready access to a post office. *Compare Feldman*, 840 F.3d at 23 1088, with 10/3 Tr. 55:5-7, 55:17-19 (Fernandez) (no home mail delivery on Cocopah 24 Nation or Tohono O'odham Nation); 10/3 Tr. 57:19-58:10 (Fernandez) (Tohono O'odham

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¹ Pursuant to this Court's instruction during the May 14, 2018 telephonic hearing, 26 Plaintiffs are presenting only three of the reasons they are likely to succeed on appeal, and the arguments in this filing focus in part on topics discussed during the May 14 hearing. 27 Plaintiffs do not waive any arguments as to their likelihood of success on the merits, and they expressly reserve the right to make additional arguments to the Ninth Circuit. 28

All citations herein to *Feldman* are citations to Chief Judge Thomas's dissent.

Case 2:16-cv-01065-DLR Document 422 Filed 05/17/18 Page 4 of 13

1 postmaster reported that some residents pick up mail every two or three weeks because the 2 post office is not located in a central area, and that "people would bring ... groups of 3 ballots in and drop them off"); Ex. 17-061 (Cocopah Nation "another example" of tribal area where "mailbox service is very far away" and "many community members help each 4 5 other" by collecting ballots). See generally Feldman, 840 F.3d at 1088 ("The evidence in 6 this case shows that restrictions on ballot collection affect the Tohono O'odham tribe 7 significantly."); id. at 1093 ("The record evidence was plain and uncontroverted: H.B. 8 2023 places a disproportionate burden on the voting opportunities of members of the 9 Tohono O'odham tribe in comparison with the population of white voters.").

10 With respect to urban areas, Chief Judge Thomas wrote at the PI phase that "record 11 evidence demonstrated that the burden of [HB2023] affected minority voters the most 12 because of socioeconomic factors." *Feldman*, 840 F.3d at 1088. He explained that "many 13 minority urban voters lived in places with insecure mail delivery; that many minority 14 urban voters were dependent upon public transportation, which made election day inperson voting difficult; that many minority voters worked several jobs, making it difficult 15 16 to take time off work to vote in person; and that many infirm minority voters did not have 17 access to caregivers or family who could transmit ballots." Id. at 1088-89. Likewise, the 18 evidence at trial demonstrated that minority voters in urban areas disproportionately 19 utilized ballot collection—and will be disproportionately burdened by HB2023—because 20 of these socioeconomic factors.³

³ See, e.g., 10/5 Tr. 636:19-637:23 (Quezada) (lack of outgoing mailboxes at 22 apartment complexes was one of "main reasons" voters requested ballot collection in heavily Latino Phoenix neighborhood); 10/6 Tr. 952:4-17 (Gallego) (voters in low-income 23 South Phoenix neighborhood "often very happy" to hand ballot to a collector and "not have to worry about leaving it out in the mailbox where something might happen ... mail 24 gets lost fairly frequently"); Ex. 91-042 (Lichtman) (compared to white Arizonans, Hispanics are 35% less likely to have access to a vehicle, while African Americans and 25 Native Americans are approximately three times less likely); 10/6 Tr. 948:22-951:7 (Gallego) (in her heavily minority district, "a lot of people []don't own a car at all"; with 26 public transportation, "it is tough to get around"); Ex. 97-058-60 (Rodden) (rates of disability among Native Americans are high, with "17 percent of Native Americans [] 27 disabled in Apache County, 22 percent in Navajo County, and 30 percent in Coconino County."); 10/6 Tr. 952:18-953:15 (Gallego) (explaining that burden on voters with 28 mobility challenges is severe; "it's a sad situation, but we have people who really have

Case 2:16-cv-01065-DLR Document 422 Filed 05/17/18 Page 5 of 13

1 The evidence also showed that minority voters in urban areas in Arizona generally 2 "encountered significant burdens in exercising their right to vote." *Feldman*, 840 F.3d at 3 1093. At both the PI phase and at trial, the evidence showed that "[t]he reduced number of 4 polling places meant that voters had to wait hours in line to cast ballots"; "[1]ow income voters had difficulty getting to the polls because of their dependence on public 5 6 transportation"; and [v]oters who were not fluent in English had difficulty determining 7 where to vote." Id.; see also, e.g., 10/13 Tr. 1896:11 (Spencer) (during 2016 presidential 8 preference election, "the lines to vote on Election Day at times exceeded five hours."); 9 10/5 Tr. 644:1-647:18 (voters frequently confused about where to vote, and confusion 10 exacerbated by errors in Spanish-language election materials, including listing the 11 incorrect election date in a Spanish-language informational mailing); 10/4 Tr. 421:1-424:10 (Larios) (confusion about where to vote and distrust of official information inhibits 12 13 voter education); 10/5 Tr. 628:25-630:20 (Quezada) ("I come across many voters who 14 don't have access to any vehicles at all and who rely entirely on public transportation."). As Chief Judge Thomas concluded, "[s]tatistical evidence is not needed to see that 15 16 without ballot collecting, these voters will have less opportunity than other members of 17 the electorate to participate in the political process." *Feldman*, 840 F.3d at 1093-94.

Further, the evidence at trial went beyond that presented at the PI phase. It shows that "[o]n the Navajo Reservation, most people live in remote communities, many communities have little to no vehicle access, and there is no home incoming or outgoing mail, only post office boxes, sometimes shared by multiple families." Op. 61; *see also* 10/4 Tr. 174:16-179:21 (Gorman). Dr. Rodden also did an analysis of "mailability"

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chronic pain and who ... don't leave their homes or who struggle to get up" and, on one occasion, "a voter crawled to answer the door"). *See generally* 10/6 Tr. 895:11-897:18, 899:13-20 (Gillespie) (primary reasons for use of ballot collection were inability to get time off of work to drop ballot off; lack of reliable transportation; mobility impairments; lack of secure outgoing mail service; and rumors of voter intimidation at polling places); 10/4 Tr. 419:25-12 (Larios) (low-income voters who are working "don't oftentimes have the option of when to take time off ... and they were oftentimes working nights - and so that was often a prohibitive factor for them going to the polls and turning in their ballot"); 10/3 Tr. 116:6-7 (Correa) (needed to take time off work to vote).

Case 2:16-cv-01065-DLR Document 422 Filed 05/17/18 Page 6 of 13

1 outside of Maricopa and Pima counties and found that "around 86 percent of non-2 Hispanic whites have home mail service, but only 80 percent of Hispanics do, and only 18 3 percent of Native Americans have such access." Op. 7-8 (internal quotation marks 4 omitted). In addition, while this Court indicated at the PI phase that the record did not 5 contain much evidence regarding the use of ballot collection by white voters, see Feldman 6 v. Ariz. Sec'y of State's Office, 208 F. Supp. 3d 1074, 1084-85 (D. Ariz.), aff'd, 840 F.3d 7 1057 (9th Cir.), reh'g en banc granted, 841 F.3d 791 (9th Cir. 2016), the trial record 8 clearly shows that voters in predominantly white neighborhoods have had less need for or 9 interest in ballot collection. See infra page 8.

In short, there is substantial overlap between the evidence that the en banc Ninth
Circuit found persuasive at the PI phase and the record the Ninth Circuit will be reviewing
on appeal. The main difference is that the evidence the Plaintiffs presented at trial was *stronger* than the evidence presented at the PI phase. Plaintiffs therefore have a high
likelihood of succeeding on their *Anderson-Burdick* and VRA claims on appeal.

15 Second, Plaintiffs are likely to succeed on their Anderson-Burdick claim on appeal 16 because the Court erred in concluding that "[t]he evidence available largely shows that 17 voters who have used ballot collection services in the past have done so out of 18 convenience or personal preference, or because of circumstances that Arizona law 19 adequately accommodates in other ways." Op. 26. In North Carolina State Conference of 20 NAACP v. McCrory, where the district court "concluded its analysis by remarking that 21 [challenged restrictions on voting] simply eliminated a system 'preferred' by African 22 Americans as 'more convenient," the Fourth Circuit explained that several 23 "socioeconomic disparities establish[ed] that no mere 'preference' led African Americans 24 to disproportionately use" the methods of registration and voting that had been curbed or 25 eliminated; "for many African Americans, [those methods of registration and voting] are a 26 necessity." 831 F.3d 204, 232-33 (4th Cir. 2016).

The same basic conclusion—that the eliminated method of voting was not simply a "convenience"—is unavoidable here, where the record demonstrates that Arizona voters

1 used ballot collection *not* because of some unusual personal preference but because other 2 options for voting were either unduly burdensome or simply unavailable. For example, 3 Leah Gillespie, who testified that she personally observed that 1,200 to 1,500 ballots were 4 collected by the Maricopa County Democratic Party (which would not have been all of the 5 ballots the organization collected), said those ballots were collected even though 6 volunteers had been trained to attempt to find others (besides Maricopa County 7 Democratic Party volunteers) who could deliver a ballot for a voter: "[W]e do everything 8 we can to have someone else take it into the polls if at all possible. It's extra work. ... If 9 there's no other option for a voter, we take in the ballot." 10/6 Tr. 900:22-902:7, 907:12-10 23.⁴ Carolyn Glover testified that, after HB2023 was in effect, some residents at her senior 11 apartment complex had caregivers turn in their ballots, but others were not able to vote 12 because they did not have anyone to collect their ballots. 10/3 Tr. 228:20-230:1; see also 13 10/5 Tr. 639:12-642:16 (Quezada) (his campaign continued to receive requests for ballot 14 collection after HB2023 was enacted and, while his campaign attempted to provide rides 15 to voters, it did not have the resources to provide rides to all who requested assistance and 16 could not provide rides to bedridden voters or voters who needed specialized medical 17 transport); Pstross Dep. 51:5-23 (after HB2023, spoke to voters in the hospital or who 18 otherwise were unable to travel and could not contact the recorder's office for assistance 19 because the phone line was busy; Pstross was unable to help them because of HB2023).

The testimony of voters who relied on ballot collection illustrates this point as well.
Daniel Magos testified that on one occasion, he was dealing with flooding at his home and
was only able to vote because of ballot collection. 10/3 Tr. 239:16-241:3. Marva Gilbreath

⁴ See also 10/5 Tr. 674:7-18 (Quezada) (most of the time, voters who asked for ballot collection did not have a family member who could help); Op. 26 (Larios described "special challenges for communities that lack easy access to outgoing mail services; the elderly, homebound, and disabled voters; socioeconomically disadvantaged voters who lack reliable transportation; voters who have trouble finding time to return mail because they work multiple jobs or lack childcare services; and voters who are unfamiliar with the voting process and therefore do not vote without assistance or tend to miss critical deadlines"); 10/6 Tr. 900:12-19 (Gillespie) (Q: "...did you ever encounter anyone who wouldn't have been able to turn in a ballot without your assistance?" A. "Yes. Absolutely. People said 'Thank you. I have no other way to get this in."").

Case 2:16-cv-01065-DLR Document 422 Filed 05/17/18 Page 8 of 13

testified that she and her daughter both have health and mobility issues and that, prior to 2 HB2023, a friend collected their ballots. 10/3 Tr. 130:5-132:10. After HB2023 was 3 enacted, Gilbreath moved to a new neighborhood, did not know where her polling place 4 was, did not have a family member who could turn her ballot in, and did not know who to call to help; she did not vote in the 2016 general election, though she said that the option 6 of giving her ballot to a ballot collector would have made it possible for her to vote. 10/3Tr. 133:2-136:1.

8 To be sure, Arizona provides for special election boards and curbside voting, Op. 9 27,⁵ but there is no evidence in the record showing that these policies *in practice* have or 10 will meaningfully offset HB2023's burdens on voting. Indeed, "relatively few voters are 11 aware" of the special election board process. Op. 27; see also Vasquez Dep. 34:14-17 (unaware of special election boards); 10/3 Tr. 233:3-6 (Glover) (same); 10/3 Tr. 249:24-12 13 250:1 (Magos) (same); 10/4 Tr. 338:21-339:4 (Fulton) (same); 10/6 Tr. 963:19-23 14 (Gallego) ("I consider myself to be very engaged in campaigns and politics. I had never heard of the special election board until preparing for this trial."). A special election board 15 16 is also only available to voters who are "confined" because of "a continuing illness or 17 disability," Ex. 369-003; it has to be requested by 5 p.m. on the second Friday before an 18 election (unless a voter becomes ill or disabled after that day), *id*.; and there is no 19 evidence in the record indicating that Arizona election officials have the resources needed 20 to make a special election board available to thousands (or even hundreds) of voters. 21 Curbside voting, for its part, does not help those who do not have a means of traveling to a 22 polling place. See, e.g., 10/3 Tr. 233:7-23 (Glover); see also Healy Dep. 95:3-15 23 (witnessed polling location where curbside voting would not have been possible because

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⁵ Arizona also "requires employers to give an employee time off to vote if the 25 employee is scheduled to work a shift on Election Day that provides fewer than three consecutive hours between either the opening of the polls and the beginning of the shift, 26 or the end of the shift and the closing of the polls," Op. 27, but the record does not indicate that any meaningful number of voters have used this right (or would be willing to 27 assert it). Further, this provision likely would not help most voters who are unable to vote in person because they work multiple jobs, and this policy of course only relates to one of 28 the reasons that HB2023 makes voting more difficult for some voters.

parking lot was so full that police were telling voters to drive on). Thus, the fact that these
 alternative means of voting exist does not offset the burdens resulting from HB2023; these
 burdens outweigh the weak justifications for that law; and Plaintiffs are likely to succeed
 in demonstrating on appeal that it fails the *Anderson-Burdick* test.

5 *Third*, Plaintiffs are likely to succeed on their VRA claim on appeal because the 6 Court erred by understating the extent to which ballot collection was disparately used by 7 minority voters. See Op. 62. The record is replete with evidence about the use of ballot 8 collection, and about the conditions (such as limited access to outgoing mail) that made 9 ballot collection particularly important, in predominantly minority communities. See 10/3 10 Tr. 39:20-41:8, 43:4-9, 44:9-45:8 (Fernandez); 10/3 Tr. 173:18-179:21 (Gorman); 10/4 Tr. 11 313:8-319:6, 320:7-325:14, 324:1-12, 322:24-323:13 (Fulton); 10/4 Tr. 417:6-17, 466:10-12 16 (Larios); 10/5 Tr. 632:19-633:4, 658:19-659:16 (Quezada); 10/6 Tr. 899:13-900:20, 13 902:2-7, 931:21-932:15 (Gillespie); 10/6 Tr. 954:2-8, 954:9-11, 961:22-963:23 (Gallego); 14 10/10 Tr. 1070:16-1071:9 (Gallardo); 10/10 Tr. 1169:7-1171:3 (Arias); 10/13 Tr. 15 1772:10-1795:8 (Ugenti-Rita); Ex. 19 at 8-25, 34-37, 41-43, 52-56; Ex. 90-006. 16 Moreover, several witnesses testified that there was much less need for or interest in ballot 17 collection in predominantly white neighborhoods. 10/5 Tr. 635:13-636:12, 642:17-643:25 18 (Quezada); 10/6 Tr. 898:5-25, 899:21-900:11 (Gillespie); 10/10 Tr. 1170:5-12 (Arias); 19 10/6 Tr. 953:16-20 (Gallego); 10/4 Tr. 430:8-431:9 (Larios); see also 10/13 Tr. 1792:2-19 20 (Ugenti-Rita) (Q: "you never heard any [legislative] testimony from community groups 21 about predominately white areas that lacked home mail delivery service? A. No."). The 22 record therefore shows that the voters who utilized ballot collection were *overwhelmingly* 23 minority voters. In turn, the Court should have found that HB2023 disparately burdens the 24 opportunities of minority voters to vote and Plaintiffs are likely to succeed on the merits 25 of their VRA claim.

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B. Plaintiffs and Arizona Voters Face Irreparable Harm

Absent an injunction pending appeal, Plaintiffs, their members and supporters, and
Arizona voters will likely be irreparably harmed. "Courts routinely deem restrictions on

Case 2:16-cv-01065-DLR Document 422 Filed 05/17/18 Page 10 of 13

1 fundamental voting rights irreparable injury" because "once [an] election occurs, there can 2 be no do-over and no redress." League of Women Voters of N. Car. v. North Carolina, 769 3 F.3d 224, 247 (4th Cir. 2014); see also Elrod v. Burns, 427 U.S. 347, 373 (1976); 4 Melendres v. Arpaio, 695 F.3d 990, 1002 (9th Cir. 2012); Obama for Am. v. Husted, 697 5 F.3d 423, 436 (6th Cir. 2012). Further, a case that raises "serious questions" or 6 "colorable" claims as to constitutional rights also necessarily involves the risk of 7 irreparable injury. Sammartano v. First Judicial Dist. Ct., 303 F.3d 959, 973 (9th Cir. 8 2002); see also Associated Gen. Contractors of Cal., Inc. v. Coal. for Econ. Equity, 950 9 F.2d 1401, 1412 (9th Cir. 1991).

10 Here, as set forth above, a number of voters will face significant burdens in casting their ballot for the 2018 general election if HB2023 remains in effect,⁶ and the voters who 11 12 will be impacted will overwhelmingly be minority voters. Some voters likely will not cast 13 a ballot at all. See 10/3 Tr. 228:20-230:1 (Glover); 10/3 Tr. 133:2-136:1 (Gilbreath). In 14 addition, individuals and organizations that assist voters will need either to divert 15 resources so they can provide transportation to voters who need it or to decline to provide 16 the assistance those voters need to submit their ballots. See generally 10/5 Tr. 650:20-17 651:9 (Quezada); Op. 16 ("H.B. 2023's limitations will require Democratic organizations, 18 such as the ADP, to retool their GOTV strategies and divert more resources to ensure that 19 low-efficacy voters are returning their early mail ballots."). Accordingly, this factor weighs in favor of the issuance of an injunction pending appeal. 20

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C. The Balance of the Equities and Public Interest Support an Injunction

The balance of the equities and the public interest also support Plaintiffs' requested relief. In contrast to the irreparable harm faced by Plaintiffs and Arizona voters, *see generally Ariz. Dream Act Coal. v. Brewer*, 818 F.3d 901, 920 (9th Cir. 2016) ("The public interest and the balance of the equities favor prevent[ing] the violation of a party's

 ⁶ Given the proximity of the 2018 general election, the time it takes to resolve an appeal on the merits, and the *Purcell* principle, there is a substantial risk that HB2023 will remain in effect for the 2018 general election unless an injunction pending appeal is granted.

Case 2:16-cv-01065-DLR Document 422 Filed 05/17/18 Page 11 of 13

1 constitutional rights.") (citation and quotation marks omitted), the State will not suffer any 2 material harm if an injunction is issued. The State has no interest in enforcing 3 unconstitutional laws. Connection Distrib. Co. v. Reno, 154 F.3d 281, 288 (6th Cir. 1998); 4 Newsom ex rel. Newsom v. Albemarle Ctv. Sch. Bd., 354 F.3d 249, 261 (4th Cir. 2003). In 5 addition, the interest asserted by the State at the May 14 telephonic hearing—namely, its 6 interest in effectuating its laws—is not even clearly a cognizable interest. While orders 7 issued from chambers by individual justices have expressed the view that this is a 8 recognizable harm, "[n]o opinion for the [Supreme Court] adopts this view," Latta v. 9 Otter, 771 F.3d 496, 500 n.1 (9th Cir. 2014), and it is not clear why a state has any interest 10 in *effectuating* a law that is distinguishable from the interests (if any) that the law serves. 11 Further, even if that interest is cognizable, it is particularly weak here given that the State 12 will count ballots collected in violation of HB2023 and that it is not clear what, if 13 anything, the State will do to enforce that law. Op. 37.

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CONCLUSION

All four of the relevant factors weigh in favor of the issuance of an injunction pending appeal. Plaintiffs have demonstrated that there is "a probability of success on the merits and the possibility of irreparable injury" *and* "that serious legal questions are raised and that the balance of hardships tips sharply in [their] favor." *Lopez*, 713 F.2d at 1435 (citations omitted). Accordingly, the Court should issue an order enjoining HB2023 until the appeal of this case is resolved.

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 Dated: May 17, 2018
 s/ Bruce V. Spiva

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I	Case 2:16-cv-01065-DLR	Document 422	Filed 05/17/18	Page 12 of 13
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	Case 2:16-cv-01065-DLR Document 422 Filed 05/17/18 Page 13 of 13
1	CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE
2	I hereby certify that on May 17, 2018, I electronically transmitted the attached
3	document to the Clerk's Office using the CM/ECF System for filing and a Notice of
4	Electronic Filing was transmitted to counsel of record.
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6	s/ Sarah R. Gonski
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General Information

Court	United States District Court for the District of Arizona; United States District Court for the District of Arizona
Federal Nature of Suit	Civil Rights - Voting[441]
Docket Number	2:16-cv-01065
Status	CLOSED

Bloomberg Law[®]