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17	CITIZENS FOR QUALITY EDUCATION SAN DIEGO, et al.,	Case No. 3:17-cv-1054-BAS-JMA	
18	Plaintiffs,	BRIEF OF AMICUS CURIAE CAIR- CA IN SUPPORT OF DEFENDANTS' OPPOSITION TO PRELIMINARY	
19	VS.	INJUNCTION TO PRELIMINARY	
20	SAN DIEGO UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT, et al.,		
21 22	Defendants.		
23	Defendants.		
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	BRIEF OF AMICUS CURIAE CAIR-CA IN SUPPORT OF DEFENDANTS'

I. STATEMENT OF INTEREST

Amicus curiae is the Council on American-Islamic Relations, California ("CAIR-CA" and "CAIR," respectively), a 501(c)(3) which serves Muslims in California through its civil rights and advocacy efforts. CAIR-CA's offices are dedicated to enhancing a general understanding of Islam, encouraging dialogue, protecting civil liberties, empowering American Muslims, and building coalitions that promote justice and mutual understanding.

CAIR-CA's interest in this case derives from its committed interest in addressing the increasing bullying of Muslim students in schools. It intended to assist Defendants in developing tools that Defendants could use, should they so choose, to help prevent bullying. CAIR-CA desires to offer both crucial background on the growing epidemic of anti-Muslim bullying and Islamophobia, as well as set forth the relevant precedent of the Establishment Clause and the California constitution's religious clauses.¹

II. INTRODUCTION

California law guarantees each student, regardless of religion, equal rights and opportunities in the schools of this state. *See* Cal. Const., Article IX, Sec. 1; California Educ. Code § 200; *Serrano v. Priest*, 18 Cal. 3d 728 (1976). In order for these promises to be fulfilled, all California's students must be allowed to learn in an environment free from bullying, harassment, and torment.

For many Muslim students in San Diego and around the country, their right to an equal and fair education is being denied and disrupted by discrimination and harassment. Islamophobia² and anti-Muslim bullying has reached its modern peak in

¹ It is important to note that Islam is not a monolith: there are more than 70 different interpretations and practices observed by those describing themselves as Muslim. And while CAIR and CAIR-CA endeavor to support all American Muslims, their positions do not necessarily reflect the entire breadth of the American Muslim experience.

² Defined as an "irrational fear of, aversion to, or discrimination against Islam or people who practice Islam."

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this country. Nearly half of Muslim students in California report being bullied on the basis of their faith. This is nearly double the national average for all students. Many incidents of bullying go unreported, but those who have come forward describe terrifying situations. A seventh-grader threatened to shoot a Muslim student whom he deemed a "towel head and terrorist." A sixth-grade girl wearing a hijab was punched by three male students who called her "ISIS." Plainly, no student, regardless of gender, nationality, race, sexual orientation, or religion should be treated this way.

Against this backdrop, the San Diego Unified School District (the "School District") decided to take action against bullying that targeted Muslim students (the "Anti-Islamophobia Initiative"). There are three fundamental principles underlying the wisdom and propriety of the Anti-Islamophobia Initiative. First, it cannot reasonably be disputed that educating young people about different cultures and religions is a social good. See Brown v. Board of Ed., 347 U.S. 483, 493 (1954) ("[E]ducation is perhaps the most important function of state and local governments...It is the very foundation of good citizenship. Today it is a principal instrument in awakening the child to cultural values...."). Second, it cannot reasonably be disputed that bullying and harassment significantly impede the learning opportunities for the victims (and, indeed, their peers), and school districts have a duty to protect their students against such treatment. (See, e.g., Kaba Decl., Ex. 16 ("Students who are repeatedly bullied receive poorer grades and participate less in class discussions."); Cal. Educ. Code § 220.) And finally, knowledge about differences leads to tolerance and acceptance.

To achieve these ends, the School District directed its Superintendent to address the plague of anti-Muslim bullying, in conformance with California law. But the School District was ill-equipped to understand the particular challenges and issues that faced Muslim youth. Though growing, Muslims comprise only a small proportion of San Diego's population, and many Americans remain unfamiliar with Islam. At the same time, CAIR-CA had published multiple reports tracking and analyzing anti-

1 Muslim bullying and Islamophobia in California's schools.³ The fit was clear, and the School District and CAIR-CA discussed potentially entering into a partnership (the "Partnership") by which CAIR-CA would offer its knowledge and experience with Muslim students to the School District to assist in the latter's efforts to promote tolerance.

The actual services contemplated by the Partnership, and intended steps to be taken by the Anti-Islamophobia Initiative, were quite narrow. Students would not read the Qur'an, participate in prayer, or otherwise practice Islam. Instead, CAIR-CA would offer resources that the School District would consider, accepting some and rejecting others, to use to teach its students about Muslims and to curtail anti-Muslim bullying in schools.

Plaintiffs object to these basic lessons on the world's second largest religion as somehow endorsing Islam as the chosen religion of San Diego, and by implication denigrating all other faiths. Although Plaintiffs' Motion is long on incorrect pronouncements of law, it is short on actual analysis. Neither the Establishment Clause nor California's analogous provisions have ever been read so broadly as to compel a world in which religion is never acknowledged as a fact of life. Both the Supreme Court and the Ninth Circuit have steadfastly rejected challenges to school curricula which teach students about religion. As the Supreme Court has acknowledged, "one's education is not complete without a study of comparative religion or the history of religion and its relationship to the advancement of civilization." Sch. Dist. of Abington Tp., Pa. v. Schempp, 374 U.S. 203, 225 (1963); see also Engel v. Vitale, 370 U.S. 421, 434 (1962) ("The history of man is inseparable from the history of religion.").

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³ Suffice to say that CAIR-CA rejects Plaintiff's mischaracterizations about, attacks on, and demonizations of CAIR-CA. CAIR-CA does not believe it would be productive to use this brief to "set the record straight". Rather, this brief focuses on the harms of anti-Muslim bullying and the benefits of proactive intervention by school districts to educate and protect their students.

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At its core, this lawsuit asks whether schools can protect vulnerable students by dispelling ignorance and fear through education. That education, in this case, included teaching about certain cultural and religious practices of the world's billion Muslims. Both the Supreme Court and the Ninth Circuit have answered that question in the affirmative.

When a school district, like San Diego's, seeks to ensure equal opportunities for learning for all of its pupils, it should be celebrated not punished. Plaintiffs' Motion for a Preliminary Injunction should be denied.

BACKGROUND III.

The Modern Rise of Islamophobia in America Α.

Islamophobia in America is in some ways a recent phenomenon. "Before 9/11, the general attitude toward Islam in America was one of tolerance, or at worst, indifference." (Kaba Decl., Ex. 1 at 12.) The events of 9/11, two protracted wars in Muslim-majority nations, the rise and fall of Daesh (i.e., ISIS), as well as a deepening geopolitical rivalry with Iran, have intensified anti-Muslim sentiment. Somewhere along the way, Muslims, including American Muslims, have come to be viewed as outsiders, inconsistent with American values. *Id.* The visceral reaction to the proposed construction of an Islamic community center approximately two blocks north of Ground Zero in Lower Manhattan (described by its opponents as the "Ground Zero" Mosque"), the spate of legislatures rushing to ban courts from applying Sharia law⁴ (despite no evidence courts were doing so), and countless other instances of Islamophobia⁵ reflect a growing fear by many that America and Islam are fundamentally incompatible.

⁴ See, e.g., Awad v. Ziriax, 670 F.3d 1111 (10th Cir. 2012) (invalidating Oklahoma's constitutional ban on courts using Sharia law where the state "did not know of even a single instance where an Oklahoma court had applied Sharia law").

And while the Anti-Islamophobia Initiative and this brief speak in terms of "Islamophobia" and anti-Muslim feelings, these sentiments impact more than just

B. The 2016 Presidential Election and Vilification of Muslims

2 The 2016 Presidential Election heightened and in some ways harnessed for political ends the anti-Muslim sentiments that had been brewing over the past 15 years. On a backdrop of Daesh's acts of genocide in the Middle East, then-candidate Trump began identifying Islam *qua* religion as opposed to the United States. In a CNN interview, he stated: "I think Islam hates us." (Kaba Decl., Ex. 2.) Following an attack in Belgium, Mr. Trump told Fox Business that "We're having problems with the Muslims, and we're having problems with Muslims coming into the country." (*Id.*) Then at a town hall meeting when a participant told Mr. Trump that "We have a 10 problem in this country; it's called Muslims," he did not refute the assertion. (*Id.*). Even the families of American Muslims who gave their *lives* in support of the country 11 were not immune from his rancor. Mr. Trump infamously denigrated the mother of 13 Humayun Khan, an Army Captain killed in Iraq while saving the lives of his soldiers, sneering that "she was standing there, she had nothing to say, she probably - maybe she wasn't allowed to have anything to say, you tell me." (Kaba Decl., Ex. 4.)⁶ 15

C. The Increase In Hate Crimes Following the Election

Individuals throughout the United States have followed President Trump's lead. Hate crimes spiked the day after the 2016 election. "There were more reported hate

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Muslims. Sikhs, Hindus, Christian Arabs, and others are often subjected to hate crimes under a mistaken belief they are Muslim. These mistakes are often fatal: Balbir Singh Sodhi, a Sikh-American living in Arizona, was murdered four days after 9/11 by a man who thought Mr. Sodhi's turban (a religious obligation of Sikh men) indicated that he was Muslim. (Kaba Decl., Ex. 3.)

⁶ And Mr. Trump was not alone in this dark vein during the campaign. Ben Carson, a then-candidate for the Republican nomination and current Secretary of Health and Human Services, was asked in an interview on *Meet the Press*: "So do you believe that Islam is consistent with the Constitution?" His response was simple: "No, I don't, I do not. I would not advocate that we put a Muslim in charge of this nation. I absolutely would not agree with that." (Kaba Decl. Ex. 7.) Ted Cruz, another candidate for the Republican nomination and current United States Senator, released a statement that law enforcement needed to be able to "patrol and secure Muslim neighborhoods before they become radicalized." (Kaba Decl. Ex. 8.) President Trump's infamous series of Executive Orders banning visas for residents of certain Muslim-majority countries only further hammered home the message, this time with the full weight of the United States government, that Islam and America were fundamentally opposed.

crimes on Nov. 9 than any other day in 2016, and the daily number of such incidents exceeded the level on Election Day for the next 10 days." (Kaba Decl., Ex. 5.) This was not a one-day effect: hate crimes against Muslims rose by twenty percent in 2016. (Kaba Decl., Ex. 6.) They similarly rose 91% in the first half of 2017 compared to the same period in 2016. (Kaba Decl., Ex. 9.) In the year following the election, President Trump's name was invoked in approximately twenty percent of hate crimes committed against South Asians and Middle Easterners. (Kaba Decl., Ex. 10.) Even in San Diego, a Muslim woman wearing a hijab was robbed in November 2016 by men referencing President-elect Trump and the Muslim community. (Kaba Decl., Ex. 11.) That incident reflected a growing trend, as reported anti-Muslim hate crimes doubled in California between 2015 and 2016. (Kaba Decl., Ex. 22.) While the dramatic uptick in hate crimes has received the lion's share of the media's attention, Islamophobia has manifested itself in more subtle, everyday ways including anti-Muslim bullying at schools.

D. The Widespread Prevalence of Anti-Muslim Bullying in Schools

Bullying has a long and disturbing history in this nation's schools. "Were bullying characterized as a disease affecting America's youth, a team from the Center for Disease Control charged with investigating epidemics would have been called in to study it." *T.K. v. N.Y.C. Dep't of Educ.*, 779 F. Supp. 2d 289, 297 (E.D.N.Y. 2011). "Differences among students in areas such as religion, disability, or ethnicity have the ability to affect the struggle for power among young people and lead to a student being singled out as an object of harassment." *Id.* at 301. Muslim students, who adhere to an oft-vilified religion, are at a particular risk to be bullied on the basis of their faith. At a national level, they are nearly twice as likely to be bullied on the basis of their faith than any other religious group. (Kaba Decl., Ex. 12.) These incidents derive

from the same source as anti-Muslim hate crimes generally: a belief that Islam and America are incompatible.⁷

And despite California's image as a bastion of tolerance, the state is not immune to such incidents. Muslim students in California surveyed in 2017 reported being accused of bringing explosives to school or being members of Isis. (Kaba Decl., Ex. 13 at 117.) Another refrain students have reported is being called a "terrorist" or related to Osama Bin Laden. (Kaba Decl., Ex. 1 at 20.) These incidents have long plagued California schools. For example, in San Francisco "a boy approached a 17 year-old *hijab*-wearing student during lunch and began screaming, 'Her father is bin Laden! She's going to blow up the school; she's going to blow it up! She has a bomb under her sweater! Everybody run, this jihad[i] girl is going to kill us!'" (*Id.* at 13.)⁸

CAIR-CA's research demonstrates this is not an isolated incident and paints a stark picture of the everyday realities for Muslim students. CAIR-CA's surveys show that bullying of Muslim students on the basis of their religion is a widespread problem in California. In 2014, 52% of Californian Muslim students surveyed stated that they had been verbally insulted or abused because of their religion. (Kaba Decl., Ex. 1 at 15.) This figure is *twice* the average for students generally. (Kaba Decl., Ex. 13 at 105.)

Disturbingly, students are not alone responsible for all the anti-Muslim bullying taking place at schools. The studies instead show that teachers are increasingly involved in bullying incidents involving Muslims. A national survey discovered that

⁷ An incident at a New York high school is telling. As part of the National Foreign Language Week at school, a student recited the Pledge of Allegiance in Arabic over the school's intercom. Multiple students complained, leading the principal to issue an apology for allowing the recitation to occur in Arabic. The reciting student was called

[&]quot;a terrorist" and told to "go to the Middle East." (Kaba Decl., Ex. 1 at 13.)

⁸ Similar incidents involving claims that a Muslim student has a bomb are common. A Dallas-area Muslim student set off a national incident when he brought a homemade clock to class, resulting in his arrest and repeated questioning by the police under suspicion of having manufactured an explosive device. (Kaba Decl., Ex. 1 at 13.)

teachers or other school officials were reported to have been involved in one in four bullying incidents involving Muslims. (Kaba Decl., Ex. 12.) A 2016-2017 survey of Californian Muslim students showed that 38% of responding students stated they had been the recipients of offensive comments from teachers. (Kaba Decl., Ex. 13.)⁹

E. The Intensification of Anti-Muslim Bullying Following the Election

As with hate crimes generally, the anti-Muslim bullying situation has only deteriorated following the 2016 Presidential Election. In analyzing a nationwide survey of educators, the Southern Poverty Law Center observed that a "Trump Effect" has infected schools causing a "profoundly negative impact on schools and students." (Kaba Decl., Ex. 14.) That study's author stated "children were imitating him both in word, tone and behavior." (Kaba Decl., Ex. 15.) This has predictably led to an increased level of Islamophobic behavior in schools including California's. CAIR-CA's survey conducted between 2016 and 2017 revealed that 53% of Californian Muslim students reported being bullied for being Muslim. (Kaba Decl., Ex. 13.) The study further showed an even more troubling statistic: 38% of respondents reported bullying by school officials, nearly doubling the 2014 response. (*Id.*; *see also* Kaba Decl., Ex. 12 ("A teacher or other school official is reported to have been involved in one in four bullying incidents involving Muslims.")) Muslim students were moreover approximately twice as likely to be bullied on the basis of their faith than other students. (Kaba Decl., Ex. 15.)

F. The Impact of Bullying on Students and Education

Bullying is not a harmless rite of passage in American schools. Instead, "the day-to-day adverse effects of bullying in damaging educational opportunities to students are as real as they are unnoticed. It is a problem that affects the school performance, emotional well-being, mental health, and social development of school children throughout the United States." *T.K.*, 779 F. Supp. 2d at 298. Bullying both

⁹ Islamophobic acts by school officials has likely led to an artificial deflation of the reported acts of anti-Muslim bullying.

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prevents students from achieving in school and inflicts a punishing toll on their mental and physical health.

Students who are bullied perform worse in school than those who are not. *Id.* at 304 (citing Gayle L. Macklem, Bullying and Teasing: Social Power in Children's Groups 42, 68 (2003) ("Being the victim of bullying is related to sliding grades, absenteeism, poor academic achievement, being lonely, exhibiting withdrawal behaviors, difficulty acting assertively, or being aggressive.")). A UCLA study of 2,300 public school students demonstrated that the "students who were rated the mostbullied performed substantially worse academically than their peers." (Kaba Decl., Ex. 16 ("Projecting the findings on grade-point average across all three years of middle school, a one-point increase on the four-point bullying scale was associated with a 1.5point decrease in GPA for one academic subject (e.g., math) - a very large drop.")). The academic cost of bullying would alone be enough to justify determined action to stop it.

But bullying also exacts a toll on the mental health of students. The Centers for Disease Control has recognized that bullied "youth are at increased risk for depression," anxiety, sleep difficulties, and poor school adjustment." (Kaba Decl., Ex. 17.) "Additionally, victims are more likely to engage in antisocial behavior, have increased 19 | health problems, and struggle to adjust emotionally." T.K., 779 F. Supp. 2d at 305-06 (citing Macklem, *supra*, 68). Bullying victims "have lower self-esteem and begin blaming themselves for what is happening," and "carry lasting emotional and psychological scars into adulthood." Id. It is therefore unsurprising that bullying victims are more likely than other students to engage in suicide-related behavior. (Kaba Decl., Ex. 18.)

G. California's Avowed Policy of Combating All Discrimination

The School District enacted the Anti-Islamophobia Initiative on a backdrop of California's longstanding anti-bullying policies. The State has consistently directed its schools to take action to combat bullying. The Education Code guarantees "the 1 right to participate fully in the educational process, free from discrimination and harassment." Cal. Educ. Code § 201 (recognizing "an urgent need to prevent and respond to acts of hate violence and bias-related incidents that are occurring at an increasing rate in California's public schools"). Teachers are similarly "encouraged to create and foster an environment that encourages pupils to realize their full potential and that is free from discriminatory attitudes, practices, events, or activities, in order to prevent acts of hate violence." *Id.* § 233.5. And California enacted the Safe Place to Learn Act in 2016, which proclaimed the State's policy "to ensure that all local educational agencies continue to work to reduce discrimination, harassment, violence, intimidation, and bullying." *Id.* § 234(b). That act specifically noted that Muslim, Sikh, and South Asian students face an outsized risk of harassment in California's schools. (Kaba Decl., Ex. 19.) The School District followed the legislature's directive to address an unacceptable rise in bullying against a minority population in order to guarantee California's promise of harassment-free public education.

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H. **Cultural Education Enriches Students and Reduces Bullying**

Children are not born destined to bully their peers. Instead, bullying is a learned behavior from "influences in the environment, e.g., home, school, peer groups, even the media. As such, it also can be unlearned or, better yet, prevented." (Kaba Decl., 19 Ex. 20.) And education about cultural differences is an effective tool to combat bullying. "For one of the most important lessons that the American public schools teach is that the diverse ethnic, cultural, and national backgrounds that have been brought together in our famous 'melting pot' do not identify essential differences among the human beings that inhabit our land." Wygant v. Jackson Bd. of Educ., 476 U.S. 267, 314 (1986) (Stevens, J., dissenting).

Learning about other cultures also benefits students personally. The ethnic and religious diversity of the United States is ever-increasing, all while the world becomes more interconnected by the day. Current public school students will enter a professional world that requires cultural competency to be competitive in the global economy. Unsurprisingly, "major American businesses have made clear that the skills needed in today's increasingly global marketplace can only be developed through exposure to widely diverse people, cultures, ideas, and viewpoints." *Grutter v. Bollinger*, 539 U.S. 306, 330 (2003). Thus, learning about diverse cultures and religions serves a public school's mission of equipping its students with the skills and knowledge to succeed in the world.

I. CAIR-CA Offers to Work With The School District to Promote Tolerance

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In July 2016 the board directed the School District to develop a plan to address Islamophobia and discrimination against Muslim students and their families. (LiMandri Decl., Ex. 2.) The School District is admittedly not an expert in Islam or the concerns of Muslim students. In order to most effectively address issues that contribute to their bullying, the School District considered working with CAIR-CA, the largest civil rights organization for American Muslims. As the School District noted, "CAIR has broad reach" and it is "helpful to have input on what the specific concerns of our Muslim community are and on what actions might serve to address those concerns." (LiMandri Decl., Ex. 23.) The School District and CAIR-CA therefore discussed the potential of entering into an agreement, through which CAIR-CA would offer its knowledge to support the School District's goal of eliminating anti-Muslim bullying. (LiMandri Decl., Ex. 7.)

J. What The Partnership Would Have Involved

Plaintiffs' Motion has not just given a slanted description of the Partnership, it has given an incomprehensible one. ¹⁰ At a basic level, CAIR-CA offered to work with the School District to provide it with CAIR-CA's understanding of the breadth of the

¹⁰ The "Background" section of Plaintiff's Motion veers erratically between the School District's decision to address growing Islamophobia in its schools, some decades-old quotes confirming the "I" in CAIR stands for Islamic, the School District's decision to purchase some children's books, and then abruptly the School District's decision to not continue a partnership with CAIR after Plaintiffs' litigation threats.

Muslim experience in the United States in order to assist the School District in pursuing its legally required goal of providing a safe environment for Muslim students.

CAIR-CA, which had begun conducting surveys tracking Muslim bullying in schools since 2012, was a natural fit for the School District.

CAIR-CA's anticipated role in the Partnership can roughly be divided into two categories: (i) working with school faculty and officials to increase their understanding of Muslim culture; and (ii) providing the School District with resources with which they may choose to instruct students about Muslims. Neither category involves providing any "benefit" to Muslim students. Instead, both categories benefit the School District by enabling the School District to comply with State law and protect students.

And despite Plaintiffs' implication that lessons about Islam are a new addition to the curriculum, religion, including Islam, has been a subject of lessons in California schools since 1998. (Kaba Decl., Ex. 21 ("Apparently lost on many people who complained about the [Anti-Islamophobia Initiative] was the fact that religion already is studied in California public schools as part of state standards in place since 1998.").

The materials CAIR-CA identified of potential use for the School District are conspicuously only referenced in pejorative, misleading terms by Plaintiffs' Motion. These "CAIR Books" and "propaganda" are not copies of the Qur'an or doctrinal texts. Instead, the "CAIR Books" are the sort of children's books one expects to find in a school library:¹¹

- *Lailah's Lunchbox*, by Reem Faruqi, tells the story of a recent Muslim immigrant's experience of fasting during Ramadan at a school where well-meaning students offer her food.
- Four Feet, Two Sandals, by Karen Lynn Williams and Khadra Mohammed, tells the story of two girls living in a refugee camp who bond over the fact that each has one sandal that fits and

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¹¹ Copies of these books will be lodged with the Clerk's office.

begin sharing them, reminding them of the importance of friendship.

- *I'm New Here*, by Anne Sibley O'Brien, tells the story of three students who are immigrants from Guatemala, South Korea, and Somalia, who persevere through difficulties in a new country and ultimately become comfortable in their new school without losing a sense of their home country, language, and identity.
- *Does My Head Look Big In This?*, by Randa Abdel-Fattah, tells the story of a high school girl who decides to wear a hijab to school and the reactions of her classmates and teachers.

Reviewing the so-called "propaganda" similarly demonstrates the irreligious nature of the information exchanged in the Partnership. The "Know Your Rights as a Muslim Youth at School" pamphlet informs students of their rights under the law for religious accommodation and how to react to being bullied. (LiMandri Decl., Ex. 11).

"An Educator's Guide to Islamic Religious Practices" is a pamphlet for school officials which explains basic cultural points of many, but not all, Muslims including the following:

- "The Qur'an (Islam's scripture) prohibits consumption of alcohol, pork, and any pork by-products or derivatives. Therefore, practicing Muslims are careful about the food they consume and how it is prepared."
- "Prayer, fasting, pilgrimage, religious celebrations, as well as dietary and clothing requirements are practices of the Muslim faith."
- "For example, many Muslims are reluctant to shake hands with the opposite sex, even with teachers or administrators. This should not be taken as an insult, but as a sign of personal modesty."

Notably absent from these materials are instructions to students on what they should and should not believe. Indeed, these materials are studiously careful in

describing what Muslims believe, not what is universally true. At no point did the Anti-Islamophobia Initiative contemplate teaching students the Qur'an, studying the Hadith, 12 requiring students to celebrate Muslim holidays, or in any way suggest that Islam is the correct faith. Put simply, all the Partnership would have been designed to do was provide resources to assist the School District in enhancing its curriculum to better instruct the School District's students and faculty about Muslim culture for the purpose of enriching those students' knowledge and promoting tolerance.

K. The School District Decides To Not Work With CAIR-CA

Despite their discussions, the School District ultimately decided not to enter into a formal relationship with CAIR-CA. (LiMandri Decl., Ex. 30.) The School District reaffirmed its intention to combat bullying of all students, describing its prior action as assuring the "Muslim community that their children will [be] given the same protection from bullying as all other students in the District." (*Id.*) The School District and CAIR-CA therefore never entered into any formal agreements at any time.

IV. ARGUMENT

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A. Standard for Preliminary Injunction

Plaintiffs are only "entitled to preliminary injunctive relief if they show: (1) likely success on the merits; (2) likely irreparable harm absent preliminary relief; (3) the balance of equities tips in their favor; and (4) an injunction is in the public's interest." *Doe v. Kelly*, 878 F.3d 710, 719 (9th Cir. 2017).

B. School Lessons About the World's Religions Do Not Violate The Establishment Clause

"[T]he Establishment Clause does not compel the government to purge from the public sphere all that in any way partakes of the religious." *Van Orden v. Perry*, 545 U.S. 677, 699 (2005) (Breyer, J., concurring in judgment). It therefore does "not mean that the Constitution prohibits public schools from making any mention of religion

¹² The Hadith are a collection of the actions and sayings of the Prophet Muhammad.

when teaching a secular lesson about pluralism and tolerance." *Skoros v. City of New York*, 437 F.3d 1, 31 (2d Cir. 2006); *see also Altman v. Bedford Cent. Sch. Dist.*, 245 F.3d 49, 76 (2d Cir. 2001) ("[T]he Establishment Clause does not prohibit schools from teaching about religion.") (citing *Stone v. Graham*, 449 U.S. 39, 42 (1980) (per curiam)). Instead, a school's policies satisfy the *Lemon* test and therefore the Establishment Clause so long as they: "(1) have a secular purpose, (2) have a primary effect that neither advances nor inhibits religion, and (3) not foster an excessive entanglement with religion." *Barnes-Wallace v. City of San Diego*, 704 F.3d 1067, 1082-83 (9th Cir. 2012) (citing *Lemon v. Kurtzman*, 403 U.S. 602, 612-13 (1971)).

Schools are moreover entrusted with "broad discretion in the management of school affairs." *Bd. of Educ. v. Pico*, 457 U.S. 853, 863 (1982). "Judicial interposition in the operation of the public school system of the Nation raises problems requiring care and restraint," and courts should only intervene if basic constitutional values are 'directly and sharply implicate[d]." *Cal. Parents for Equalization of Educ. Materials v. Torlakson*, 267 F. Supp. 3d 1218, 1227 (N.D. Cal. 2017) (quoting *Epperson v. Arkansas*, 393 U.S. 97, 104 (1968)). The Anti-Islamophobia Initiative, which the School District designed to educate students about an often unfamiliar religion in order to combat a surge in discrimination, does not violate the Establishment Clause.¹³

1. The Anti-Islamophobia Initiative Has a Secular Purpose

"Under *Lemon*'s first prong, governmental action is unconstitutional only if it has the 'ostensible and predominant purpose of advancing religion." *Newdow v. Rio Linda Sch. Dist.*, 597 F.3d 1007, 1019 (9th Cir. 2010) (quoting *McCreary Cnty., Ky. v. Am. Civil Liberties Union of Ky.*, 545 U.S. 844, 864 (2005)). Courts "must defer to the government's articulation of a secular purpose" so long as it is sincere. *Id.*; *see also Kreisner v. City of San Diego*, 1 F.3d 775, 782 (9th Cir. 1993) ("A reviewing

¹³ Because conduct which satisfies the *Lemon* test "necessarily passes muster under the California No Preference Clause," *Barnes-Wallace*, 704 F.3d at 1082 (citing *E. Bay Asian Local Dev. Corp. v. California*, 13 P.3d 1122, 1138 (Cal. 2000)), CAIR does not separately discuss that clause.

court must be reluctant to attribute unconstitutional motives to government actors in the face of a plausible secular purpose.") (internal quotations omitted). Importantly, "Lemon's secular purpose requirement is not intended to favor the secular over the religious, but to prevent government from abandoning neutrality and acting with the intent of promoting a particular point of view in religious matters." Am. Atheists, Inc. v. Port Authority of N.Y. & N.J., 760 F.3d 227, 238 (2d Cir. 2014) (internal quotations omitted). The Anti-Islamophobia Initiative, which the School District passed in order to combat bullying, is patently secular.

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Despite instructing the Court to "read the words of the government enactment," Plaintiffs' brief is studiously silent on those words. The reason is self-evident: the uniform stated purpose of the Anti-Islamophobia Initiative is to address Islamophobia and bullying in schools through cultural education. As recognized by the California legislature in AB 2845, "[p]upils who are Muslim, Sikh, or of South Asian descent often face verbal, physical, or online harassment, all of which have significant effects on their academic achievement and mental health." (Kaba Decl., Ex. 19.) In order to put into effect the legislature's directive to protect these at-risk students, the Board agreed to "direct the superintendent to bring back to the board a plan to address 18 Islamophobia and the reports of bullying of Muslim students." (LiMandri Decl., Ex. 19 10; see also id. Ex. 23 at 1 ("As we have done with other vulnerable segments of our student population, our intent in drawing attention to the bullying of Muslim students, in particular, is to raise awareness of the issue, and to promote tolerance and understanding.") (emphasis added); id. ("This initiative to combat Islamophobia is focused on promoting awareness and understanding among students of different cultures, with the intent of eliminating the fear faced by children.")) The School District's enactment of the Anti-Islamophobia Initiative further elucidates its purpose: "To ensure that: Schools are safe learning spaces for each and every student; Bullying is not to be tolerated in any form; Practices at the schools are culturally responsive and adequate social/emotional supports and services exist; Restorative Practices and

Trauma Informed Practices expand." (LiMandri Decl., Ex. 5.)¹⁴ Here there can be no question that the Anti-Islamophobia Initiative was launched "for the entirely non-religious (*i.e.*, secular) and commendable purpose of exposing students to different cultural attitudes and outlooks." *Grove v. Mead Sch. Dist. No. 354*, 753 F.2d 1528, 1539 (9th Cir. 1985) (Canby, J., concurring); *see also Bd. of Educ. of Kiryas Joel Village Sch. Dist. v. Grumet*, 512 U.S. 687, 711 (1994) (Stevens, J., concurring) (noting that teaching children to "be tolerant and respectful" of religious customs "would raise no constitutional concerns and would further the strong public interest in promoting diversity and understanding in the public schools."); *Lee v. Weisman*, 505 U.S. 577, 638 (1992) (Scalia, J., dissenting) ("[M]aintaining respect for the religious observances of others is a fundamental civil virtue that government (including the public schools) can and should cultivate....").

2. The Primary Effect of the Anti-Islamophobia Initiative Is to Educate and Promote Diversity

"Governmental action has the primary effect of advancing or disapproving of religion if it is sufficiently likely to be perceived by adherents of the controlling denominations as an endorsement, and by the nonadherents as a disapproval, of their individual religious choices." *Vasquez v. Los Angeles Cnty.*, 487 F.3d 1246, 1256 (9th Cir. 2007) (quoting *Brown v. Woodland Joint Unified Sch. Dist.*, 27 F.3d 1373, 1378 (9th Cir. 1994)) (internal quotations omitted). Courts evaluate this "from the point of view of a reasonable observer who is informed and familiar with the history of the government practice at issue." *Id.* There can be no reasonable argument that a school board containing no Muslims with oversight of a school district with few adherents has taken action to "endorse" Islam. Only by demonizing and misconstruing can

¹⁴ Even if the Court were to conclude that the Anti-Islamophobia Initiative had some attenuated religious purpose, a "religious purpose alone is not enough to invalidate an act of a state legislature. The religious purpose must predominate." *Newdow*, 597 F.3d at 1034 (quoting *Edwards v. Aguillard*, 482 U.S. 578, 598 (1987) (Powell, J., concurring)).

Plaintiffs plausibly argue that the School District's attempts to educate students about one of the world's largest religions and its adherents have elevated Muslims to primacy in San Diego.

Plaintiffs have cited no case for the proposition that teaching students about one of the world's largest religions conveys a message that the religion is "favored." This is unsurprising, as it would render most history classes unconstitutional violations of the Establishment Clause. Courts instead routinely uphold curricula and lessons that instruct students about faiths that range from Christianity to Wicca. The Establishment Clause contemplates even the direct teaching of a *holy text* so long as its use is in the service of a secular end. See Sch. Dist. of Abington Tp., Pa. v. Schempp, 374 U.S. 203, 300-301 (1963) ("The holding of the Court today plainly does not foreclose teaching about the Holy Scriptures or about the differences between religious sects in classes in literature or history."); see also Cal. Parents for Equalization of Educ. Materials v. Noonan, 600 F. Supp. 2d 1088, 1117 (E.D. Cal. 2009) ("[W]hen teaching about religion is incorporated into a larger secular curriculum, courts have consistently found no Establishment Clause violation."). School lessons which "involve no more than merely reading, discussion or contemplating [religious adherents], their behavior, or [their religion]" do not violate the Establishment Clause. See Brown, 27 F.3d at 1380 19 (noting that certain religious texts taught "thus are not reasonably viewed as communicating a message of endorsement"). "This is often stated in more simplified terms: Public schools can teach *about religion* rather than *teach religion*." Kevin C. McDowell, The Paradox of Inclusion by Exclusion: The Accommodation of Religion in the Public Schools, 40 Ind. L. Rev. 499, 511 (2007) (emphasis added). Courts therefore routinely reject Establishment Clause challenges to curriculum decisions which involve the teaching of religion for secular ends.

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The Northern District's decision in *Eklund v. Byron Union School District* is instructive. 2003 U.S. Dist. LEXIS 27152 (N.D. Cal. Dec. 5, 2003), aff'd 154 Fed. App'x 648 (9th Cir. 2005), cert. denied 549 U.S. 942 (2006). There, a middle school

began using an educational module entitled "Islam: A simulation of Islamic history and culture," which involved students roleplaying scenarios to illustrate the five pillars of Islam. 15 Id. at *4. The level of instruction was extensive: the teacher "read Muslim" prayers and portions of the Qur'an aloud in class, required student groups to recite a line from a Muslim prayer ... on their way out of class," and create banners stating prayers in Arabic. Id. at *7. Students were also required to "perform volunteer community service ... in conformance with the Muslim requirement of Zakaat" and to "give up things for a day, such as watching television or eating candy, to demonstrate the Islam principle of Ramadan, or fasting." *Id.* at *7-8. Despite the thoroughness and pervasiveness of the lessons, the court rejected plaintiff's argument that the school had "endorsed" Islam. "[T]he mere fact that the Islam role-playing module involved approximations of Islamic religious acts is not sufficient to create an endorsement of the Islamic faith." *Id.* at *28. The court highlighted the fact that the instructor "also repeatedly explained to the students the nature of the Islam role-playing assignment, [and] explained that it did not represent reality." *Id.* at *29-30. No reasonable student could interpret the lessons as an "endorsement" of Islam. *Id.*

The Anti-Islamophobia Initiative fares no differently under the Establishment Clause. If anything, the record reflects that the Anti-Islamophobia Initiative, which contemplated education about Islam and Muslims, and not roleplaying religious acts, was *less* objectively likely to be perceived as an endorsement of Islam. The only relevant materials in the record are: (i) a pamphlet titled "Know Your Rights as a Muslim Youth at School"; (ii) a pamphlet titled "An Educator's Guide to Islamic Religious Practices" (the "Educator's Guide"); and (iii) four books the school district

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^{25 &}quot;The Five Pillars of Islam, practiced by devout Muslims, are: Shahada, or the profession of faith by Muslims in God; Salaat, prayer five times a day; Ramadan, ritual fasting from dawn to dusk during the month of Ramadan; Zakaat, or charity; and Haaj [sic], a pilgrimage to Mecca." *Eklund*, 2003 U.S. Dist. LEXIS 27152, at *4 n.4.

¹⁶ Plaintiffs notably fail to discuss what the Anti-Islamophobia Initiative *does* and instead focus upon proving up the fact that CAIR is a Muslim advocacy organization. That is irrelevant.

proposed purchasing. (LiMandri Decl., Exs. 11, 12, 28.) At most, they convey general information *about* Muslims. They do not teach the Qur'an or convey a message that the beliefs of Muslims are correct. (*See, e.g.* LiMandri Decl., Ex. 12 at 5 ("The Qur'an (Islam's scripture) prohibits consumption of alcohol, pork, and any pork by-products or derivatives. Therefore, practicing Muslims are careful about the food they consume and how it is prepared."))¹⁷

The Establishment Clause presumes students are able to differentiate between being taught religion and being taught *about* religion. And there is no basis to conclude that the students of San Diego could not. Ultimately, the most telling evidence that the primary effect of the Anti-Islamophobia Initiative was to promote tolerance comes from the students who heard the lessons themselves: "To all the people who bully Muslims or Latinos, stop it. Treat them with respect. Even though they're from a different race or religion, they're still human beings." (LiMandri Decl., Ex. 14 (quoting an eighth-grader who listened to a speech by a member of CAIR-CA).)

3. The Anti-Islamophobia Initiative Does Not Require an Excessive Entanglement With Religion

"The Establishment Clause does not prohibit all entanglements; only excessive ones that demonstrate that a government program has the impermissible effect of advancing or evidencing hostility toward religion." *Nurre v. Whitehead*, 580 F.3d 1087, 1097 (9th Cir. 2009) (internal quotations omitted); *see also Cholla Ready Mix, Inc. v. Civish*, 382 F.3d 969, 977 (9th Cir. 2004) ("Some level of interaction between government and religious communities is inevitable."). "A relationship results in an excessive entanglement with religion if it requires sustained and detailed interaction between church and State for enforcement of statutory or administrative standards." *Williams v. California*, 764 F.3d 1002, 1016 (9th Cir. 2014) (internal quotations omitted); *see also Nurre*, 580 F.3d 1087 (Entanglement "typically involves

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¹⁷ The Educator's Guide was moreover designed to be given to teachers, not students.

comprehensive, discriminating, and continuing state surveillance of religion."). ¹⁸ The Anti-Islamophobia Initiative, which involves consulting with CAIR-CA about materials to help the School District combat Islamophobia, requires no such enforcement of standards that would lead to excessive entanglement.

Nothing in the potential Partnership between CAIR-CA and the School District requires "sustained and detailed" interaction between them to enforce standards. It instead would have formalized a relationship by which CAIR-CA provides advice to the School District, who is ultimately vested with the authority to make decisions in the best interests of its students. The only alleged "entanglement" that can be deciphered from Plaintiffs' Motion is a conclusory allegation that the School District has "delegate[d] government power to a religious organization." (Mot. at 18.)¹⁹ Not only has the School District not delegated power to CAIR-CA, the one case cited by Plaintiffs for the proposition involved a state law that granted churches and schools the ability to veto liquor licenses for premises located near them. *Larkin v. Grendel's Den, Inc.*, 459 U.S. 116, 117-18 (1982). CAIR-CA is moreover a civil rights advocacy organization, not a mosque. There can be no reasonable argument that the School District has abdicated its regulatory authority to a house of worship. Mere consultation between CAIR-CA and the School District does not constitute entanglement within the meaning of the Establishment Clause.

While the Ninth Circuit has also recognized "political entanglement," that form of entanglement typically arises only "in cases involving direct financial subsidies paid to parochial schools or to teachers in parochial schools," and "by itself is insufficient to constitute excessive entanglement." *Nurre*, 580 F.3d at 1097-98. This case involves no such subsidies.

¹⁹ Plaintiffs' other allegations therein cannot plausibly be described as leading to "entanglement" within the meaning of the Establishment Clause. (*See* Mot. at 18 (referencing the School District's "lavish[ing] unique benefits on a religious subset")).

C. The Anti-Islamophobia Initiative Does Not Violate California's No **Aid Clause**

The dearth of precedent interpreting the No Aid Clause presents a unique challenge. As the Ninth Circuit has recognized, the "absence of controlling precedent in regard to the No Aid Clause presents ... [a] problem, in part because that clause is without a parallel in the United States Constitution." Barnes-Wallace v. City of San Diego, 607 F.3d 1167, 1176-77 (9th Cir. 2010) ("Barnes-Wallace I") (noting the lack of precedent analyzing what constituted "aid" or a "sectarian purpose" in the context of that case).²⁰ The paradigmatic No Aid Clause case involves the direct grant of financial aid to religious organizations. See, e.g., Cal. Statewide Communities Dev. Auth. v. All Persons Interested in the Matter of the Validity of a Purchase Agreement, 12 | 152 P.3d 1070 (Cal. 2007) (bond financing agreements between a public entity and religious schools); Cal. Educ. Facilities Auth. v. Priest, 526 P.2d 513 (Cal. 1974) (issuance of bonds to build facilities at sectarian institutions); Barnes-Wallace v. City of San Diego, 704 F.3d 1067, 1078 (9th Cir. 2012) ("Barnes-Wallace II") (leasing of property to sectarian organization); Frohliger v. Richardson, 218 P. 497 (Cal. Ct. App. 1923) (funding restoration of California's Catholic missions).

The No Aid Clause only prohibits the School District from "granting anything" to or in aid of any religious sect, church, creed, or sectarian purpose." Cal. Const. art. XVI. The question is therefore whether educating students about a major world religion is "granting anything," and if it is, whether it goes to a "sectarian purpose." The Court must look at the surrounding circumstances and the purpose behind the conduct to determine whether a grant was made to further a "sectarian purpose." See

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²⁰ The Ninth Circuit specifically rejected *Paulson*, as *Barnes-Wallace I* involved "a very different and more challenging question than that presented in *Paulson*." 530 F.3d at 789 (noting that it would "require expanding our interpretation of California cases"). *Paulson*, involving the sale of municipal land to a sectarian organization for the purpose of maintaining a cross, is far too inapposite to provide guidance here. That the Ninth Circuit twice certified these questions to the California Supreme Court demonstrates the uncertain ground a No Aid Clause challenge treads, particularly without the benefit of a full record.

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Davies v. L.A. Cnty. Bd. of Supervisors, 177 F. Supp. 3d 1194, 1209 (C.D. Cal. 2016)
 (considering the "history of the depiction of a cross on the County seal" to determine
 whether the addition of a cross was sectarian or secular). And even a grant of aid to a
 sectarian purpose is permissible if the benefit is incidental to a larger secular purpose.

1. The Anti-Islamophobia Initiative Does Not Provide a Benefit to a Sectarian Purpose

Plaintiffs' suggestion that educating students about the culture of a major world faith constitutes a "benefit" to that religion would twist the No Aid Clause into a caricature that would lead to constant litigation over school curricula. Cf. Grove, 753 F.2d at 1540 (Canby, J., concurring) ("[O]bjectivity in education need not inhere in each individual item studied; if that were the requirement, precious little would be left to read."). As noted above, the vast majority of cases involve a direct transfer of funds to a religious organization. The few cases outside of that context involve similar grants of aid that can be fairly characterized as direct. For example, *Paulson*, the main decision upon which Plaintiffs rely, centered on San Diego's 27-year battle over a cross on Mount Soledad. The "aid" in that case was the sale of a miniscule portion of Mount Soledad upon which a cross sat, structured to benefit purchasers who agreed to maintain the cross there. *Paulson v. City of San Diego*, 294 F.3d 1124 (9th Cir. 2002) (en banc). The Ninth Circuit predictably concluded that a purpose of displaying a cross was sectarian in nature. In contrast, there are no cases analyzing such a remote and attenuated benefit inherent in increasing cultural awareness. The better view is that fostering tolerance does not "grant anything" within the meaning of the No Aid Clause. Indeed, it is difficult to even identify what it is that has been "granted." Plaintiffs' Motion, likely recognizing this issue, elides over the point and fails to identify what specific things, monetary or otherwise, were granted to Islam.

2. Teaching Cultural Awareness Is Not a Sectarian Purpose

The purpose of the Anti-Islamophobia Initiative was to increase the cultural awareness of students at the School District. At its core, the Anti-Islamophobia

1 Initiative is *education* about the culture of a growing and vilified segment of the American population, not support for a religion. No one would claim that teaching students about the role of Quakers in American history, the differences between Catholics and Protestants that led to the formation of the Maryland colony, or the difference in religious beliefs that led the Puritans to board the Mayflower, provides a benefit to a sectarian purpose. Instead, the benefit accrues to all of the students at the School District by learning about the world. "The fact is that, for good or for ill, nearly everything in our culture worth transmitting, everything which gives meaning to life, is saturated with religious influences, derived from paganism, Judaism, Christianity both Catholic and Protestant - and other faiths accepted by a large part of the world's peoples. One can hardly respect a system of education that would leave the student wholly ignorant of the currents of religious thought that move the world society for a part in which he is being prepared." Illinois ex rel. McCollum v. Bd. of Educ., 333 U.S. 203, 235-36 (1948) (Jackson, J., concurring). Teaching students about the world is the School District's sole purpose of existence and enriches those same students. There is no sectarian purpose in doing so.

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3. Any Sectarian Benefit Is Incidental to the Secular Effect of the Anti-Islamophobia Initiative

And even if the Court were to conclude that merely educating students about a world faith somehow provides a benefit for a sectarian purpose, that benefit is incidental to the secular objective of educating students and promoting tolerance. There is no evidence in the record that the School District does not also teach students about other religions such as Christianity, Judaism, and Hinduism. Plaintiffs' complaint that there "are no lectures from priests on how to accommodate Catholic students during lent," (Mot. at 13), elevates form over substance. There is no evidence 26 | in the record that the School District's existing support services for Catholic students, whose religious tenets are exponentially better known than that of Muslims, are lacking. Plaintiffs' core challenge is instead that a lesson about one faith provides a benefit at the expense of other faiths. The Ninth Circuit has already rejected that contention.²¹

The *only* on-point case involving educational curricula and the No Aid Clause is *Brown v. Woodland Joint Unified School District*. There, the Ninth Circuit concluded that a school's teaching about the Wiccan religion was not done "for the purpose of aiding witchcraft," and "does not give the reasonable appearance that the state is endorsing witchcraft," meaning that any benefit that arose "can be only indirect and incidental." 27 F.3d at 1385. This case is no different. As discussed above, the School District's supplementation of its curriculum to include information about Muslim culture "does not give the reasonable appearance that the state is endorsing" Islam, but that the School District has not intentionally blinded itself to a growing segment of the American population. This provides no aid to a sectarian purpose, let alone directly, and the No Aid Clause challenge should therefore be denied.

V. CONCLUSION

At its heart, this case is a curriculum dispute dressed up as an Establishment Clause challenge and cloaked in the very anti-Muslim rhetoric that the School District was trying to address. Teaching about the culture and adherents of a religion is not, and has never been, unconstitutional. Rather, it is education and familiarity that will dispel fear and ignorance. And by educating its students (rather than punishing them), San Diego can secure a safe and hospitable environment for all in its schools, including Muslim youths. The Court should deny Plaintiffs' attempt to prevent the School District from complying with its legally mandated duty to prevent bullying and to educate its students.

²¹ See also Hobbie v. Unemployment Appeals Comm'n of Fla., 480 U.S. 136, 144-45 (1987) ("This Court has long recognized that the government may (and sometimes must) accommodate religious practices and that it may do so without violating the Establishment Clause.").

1	DATED this 9th day of April, 2018.	
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	BRIEF OF AMICUS CURIAE	- 26 - CAIR-CA IN SUPPORT OF DEFENDANTS'