- 1 Mr. Douglas.
- 2 MR. HALL: Thank you, Your Honor. Your
- 3 Honor, I'll discuss the merits of the claims, and then
- 4 Mr. Lyons will speak, and Mr. Bindas.
- 5 THE COURT: Do you have a plan on how
- 6 you want to divide your time, Mr. Hall?
- 7 MR. HALL: I'm going to take about 15
- 8 minutes. And then they're going to take less than
- 9 that.
- 10 THE COURT: Go ahead.
- 11 MR. HALL: Thank you. The Choice
- 12 Scholarship Program provides yet another educational
- 13 choice to families in Douglas County. Parents may
- 14 choose from this option or an array of other options.
- 15 If they choose it, and if they receive a
- 16 scholarship, then they have a further choice. They
- may choose from among the partner schools.
- 18 Receiving a scholarship is in no way
- 19 contingent upon a child being accepted into a private
- 20 school. Dr. Fagen testified to this directly in
- 21 response to your question, Your Honor. She's been
- 22 charged with implementing this program by the board.
- 23 She also testified that the program is religiously
- 24 neutral. And in all material respects, the program is
- 25 identical to the numerous programs for education in

- 1 Colorado from pre-K to higher ed. You heard testified
- 2 during this three-day hearing. All of these programs
- 3 like the Choice Scholarship Program are religiously
- 4 neutral and have government money flowing to religious
- 5 and non-religious organizations.
- 6 Plaintiffs have from time to time tried
- 7 to distinguish a few of these programs, but their
- 8 distinctions are empty. For if article 2, section 4
- 9 means, as plaintiffs suggest, that no taxpayer
- 10 dollar -- no taxpayer shall be required to pay taxes
- 11 that eventually end up supporting a ministry, then all
- of these programs violate this provision.
- 13 Likewise, if article 9, section 7 means
- 14 that no governmental body may ever pay anything that
- 15 results in aid to a church, then all these programs
- 16 must come off the books. That these programs remain
- on the books strongly suggests that the plaintiffs'
- 18 interpretation of them is incorrect.
- 19 Both parties agree that Americans United
- 20 is the most closely analogous Colorado case regarding
- 21 the religion clauses. Americans United time after
- 22 time after time noted that the state grants in that
- 23 case were designed to aid the student. And as a
- 24 result, any aid to Regis College was only incidental
- and an irrelevant by-product.

- In the language of article 9, section 7,
- 2 the state funds were not in aid of Regis College.
- 3 They were in aid of the student.
- 4 Now, plaintiffs try and work with
- 5 Americans United by relying on these other factors.
- 6 Those factors in Americans United are attributable to
- 7 two interrelated things. First, in writing the state
- 8 aid statutes at issue in that case, the legislature
- 9 was relying on United States Supreme Court precedent
- 10 at that time. It's right up front at the outset of
- 11 the opinion.
- The court says, on the beginning of page
- 13 1075, quote, in an attempt to conform to First
- 14 Amendment doctrine developed by the United States
- 15 Supreme Court, the statutory grant program expressly
- 16 excludes the institutions which are, quote, sectarian
- 17 and theological. End quote.
- 18 To underscore this same point, in the
- 19 middle of that sentence, the court drops the footnote,
- 20 footnote 1, and gives a long discussion of legislative
- 21 history, including a quote from the latest sponsor.
- 22 And that quote is, "We do have some recent Supreme
- 23 Court decisions on this particular question."
- 24 And the key words are pervasively
- 25 sectarian. The Americans United court then discusses

- 1 *S the six pervasive sectarian factors from the
- 2 statutes at issue in that case. Again and again, it
- 3 draws on those factors throughout its opinion.
- 4 The second piece that generates these
- 5 other factors that plaintiffs rely on is the Americans
- 6 United court itself relied on U.S. Supreme Court
- 7 precedent at that time. Hence, there's a long
- 8 discussion about statute clause in cases like Romer
- 9 and Tilton and Hunt. These two things explain the
- 10 other factors plaintiffs would like you to rely on.
- 11 However, now in 2011, the foundations for
- 12 these other factors have completely disappeared. As
- 13 I'll discuss in a minute, First Amendment
- 14 jurisprudence in the school area moved on to Mueller,
- 15 Witters, Zavrilla, and most importantly Zelman.
- 16 Second, the 10th Circuit in Colorado
- 17 University expressly overruled the pervasive sectarian
- 18 statutes and approach on which these other factors
- 19 were based. Indeed, the 10th Circuit found that such
- 20 inquiries into a school's religious views both
- 21 constitutionally unnecessary and offensive. The 10th
- 22 Circuit wrote, quote, the First Amendment does not
- 23 permit government officials to sit as judges of the
- 24 indoctrination quotient of theology classes.
- These points I'm making now about these

- 1 other factors in Americans United are not mine.
- 2 They're a mere summary of what the 10th Circuit talks
- 3 about in Colorado christian. The principles that
- 4 remain from Americans United are government neutrality
- 5 and student choice. And the Choice Scholarship
- 6 Program embodies both of them.
- 7 Now, note further that when Americans
- 8 United looked to the closest First Amendment
- 9 precedent, that was not unique under Colorado law.
- 10 Far from it. Rather, in every Colorado appellate
- 11 court case interpreting our state's religion clauses,
- 12 our courts have looked to the closest federal
- 13 precedent and interpreted our religion clauses in
- 14 harmony with the First Amendment. The cases,
- 15 Zavrilla, Young life, Conrad 1, Conrad 2, Freedom From
- 16 Religion Foundation and Americans United, just to name
- 17 a few, all take this approach.
- 18 Now, plaintiffs ask you to disregard this
- 19 precedent and strike out in a new direction. That new
- 20 direction takes you into the Blaine thicket. You
- 21 heard the testimony today from Professor Glenn,
- 22 anti-Catholic and anti-immigrant, bias has left a
- 23 stain on our constitutional history, which our courts
- 24 up to now have not followed.
- 25 And rather than follow the plaintiffs

- 1 into that unchartered territory, this court should
- 2 follow Colorado precedent, and that means looking to
- 3 Zelman. There the United States Supreme Court
- 4 addressed a materially indistinguishable elementary
- 5 and secondary school Choice Program. The Zelman court
- 6 upheld that Ohio program, because there is no
- 7 constitutional bar to, quote, neutral government
- 8 programs that provide aid directly to a broad class of
- 9 individuals who, in turn, direct the aid to religious
- 10 schools or institutions of their own choosing. Close
- 11 quote.
- 12 Similarly, when, quote, parents are the
- ones to select a religious school as the best learning
- 14 environment for their child, the circuit between
- 15 government and religion is broken.
- 16 The payment mechanism in Zelman, like the
- 17 Choice Scholarship Program, is to make the checks
- 18 payable to the parents, who then endorse them over to
- 19 the chosen school. The point of that whole exercise
- 20 is parent choice. It's the parents that are making
- 21 the choice.
- Zelman is also instructed on the facts.
- 23 For instance, in Zelman, 96 percent of students
- 24 attended religiously affiliated schools. The court
- 25 found this fact constitutionally irrelevant, saying,

- 1 quote, the constitutionality of a neutral educational
- 2 aid program simply does not turn on whether and why in
- 3 a particular area at a particular time most private
- 4 schools are run by religious organizations or most
- 5 recipients choose to use the aid at a religious
- 6 school. Close quote.
- 7 I'll make one more point on the religion
- 8 clauses. It's about article 9, section 8. It forbids
- 9 imposing religious tests as a condition of admission
- 10 into any public school.
- 11 Again, Your Honor asked this question
- 12 directly to Dr. Fagen: Does Choice Scholarship
- 13 Program do that? And she answered directly, no, it
- 14 doesn't. A student may receive a scholarship without
- 15 regard to religion and without regard to being
- 16 admitted to any of the schools.
- 17 And you heard the testimony clearly from
- 18 both Mr. Carson and Dr. Fagen that she was directed by
- 19 the board to implement this program.
- 20 Article 9, section 8 also forbids public
- 21 schools from requiring attendance or participation in
- 22 religious services or teaching sectarian tenets.
- 23 Neither the Choice Scholarship school nor any other
- 24 public school in Douglas County does either of these
- 25 things. It does not require attendance at religious

- 1 services, and neither is it teaching any sectarian
- 2 tenets. Religious partner schools do these things if
- 3 a student chooses them. And the evidence is
- 4 undisputed that the partners are private schools, and
- 5 that students may choose these things if they want to.
- The evidence has been clear throughout
- 7 that there's no compulsion sending any of these
- 8 children to any religious schools.
- 9 Now to turn to the school finance control
- 10 provisions. I want to begin with article 9, section
- 11 2. The language that plaintiffs put up in opening in
- 12 the PowerPoint says this: The general assembly shall
- 13 provide for the establishment and maintenance of a
- 14 thorough and uniform system of free public schools.
- Note that 9.2's actor is the general
- 16 assembly. It is the one that owes a duty to maintain
- 17 a thorough and uniform system of free public schools.
- 18 Plaintiffs have repeatedly tried to
- 19 conflate this duty of the legislature with not even a
- 20 local school district but with one individual school
- 21 program, the Choice Scholarship Program. They argued,
- in essence, that since the scholarship program isn't
- 23 comprehensive in every way they could imagine, it
- 24 wasn't thorough. And again, the duty is about
- 25 maintenance of a school system, not one school

- 1 program.
- 2 The testimony has been that Douglas
- 3 County has over 80 traditional public schools, 11
- 4 charter schools, two online schools, among other
- 5 options. The Choice Scholarship Program is simply one
- 6 more choice. If it has any effect on Douglas County
- 7 schools as a whole, it benefits them.
- Now, it just so happens, as this court
- 9 well knows, that genuine article 9, section 2
- 10 litigation is happening down the hall in the Lobato
- 11 case. There there are proper plaintiffs talking about
- whether the general assembly has fulfilled its duty to
- 13 provide a thorough, uniform system of free public
- 14 schools. This is not a 9.2 case.
- 15 If parents want to choose a scholarship
- 16 program, they can, like other options they can choose.
- 17 Article 9, section 3. First, we maintain
- 18 plaintiffs lack standing to bring this claim. On the
- 19 merits, 9.3 is fundamentally about protecting the
- 20 statewide Public School Fund from raiding by the
- 21 general assembly when statewide the entire text of
- 9.3, which is somewhat long, makes that clear.
- 23 Also, the enabling statute contemplated
- in 9.3, 22-41-101 and following, if you read that,
- 25 that also makes clear that what this is about is

- 1 making sure that funds aren't diverted from the Public
- 2 School Fund to other parts of the state budget.
- 3 There is nothing that prohibits districts
- 4 from spending this money to purchase services from
- 5 private entities, including private schools. Once
- 6 distributed to districts, school districts have the
- 7 discretion, under the Public School Finance Act,
- 8 22.54-104-1 A to spend the moneys as they wish, *S
- 9 including paying private schools.
- 10 And we looked at numerous statutes where
- 11 this happens again and again and again. If plaintiffs
- 12 are correct about the interpretation of 9.3, all of
- 13 those statutes must come off the books.
- 14 Even if plaintiffs' unprecedented
- 15 traceability argument about somehow interest from this
- 16 fund was actually quite small, less than 2 percent,
- 17 makes its way to a private school, there's
- 18 unconstitutional action, recall, the percentage is *S
- 19 less than 2 percent. That was the testimony. Douglas
- 20 County holds back 25 percent of the funds.
- 21 Legislation must be presumed
- 22 constitutional and, therefore, it must be presumed, if
- 23 we're going to go down this road, that that tiny
- 24 fraction of the moneys is withheld within the 25
- 25 percent.

- 1 Which brings us to article 9, section 15,
- 2 local control provision. The cases in this area do
- 3 just two things. First, local school districts are
- 4 the actors primarily responsible for providing
- 5 education to children. Lujan, Owens, Booth, and many
- 6 other cases emphasize that education initiatives are
- 7 to come from the bottom up in Colorado. We heard the
- 8 commissioner of education testify to that effect.
- 9 Local school boards elected by local
- 10 voters have the constitutional authority and
- 11 responsibility, under article 9, section 15, to
- 12 develop programs to educate children.
- 13 The second thing these cases teach us is
- that the tension in this area is between local school
- 15 districts and the state. 9.15 cases are about whether
- 16 the state has encroached too far into local control.
- 17 Plaintiffs offer another novel theory or
- interpretation of 9.15 calling it abdication of
- 19 authority. But this is wrong for at least four
- 20 reasons. First, no case law supports it.
- 21 Second, plaintiffs' theory is exactly
- 22 backwards. Douglas County has absolute control over
- 23 this program. Douglas County school choice task force
- 24 developed it. The Douglas County administration
- 25 refined it. The Douglas County board adopted it it.

- 1 The Douglas County board may amend the policy *S at
- 2 any time. This is total control, not an abdication of
- 3 control.
- 4 Third, Dr. Fagen testified that Douglas
- 5 County has at least equivalent, if not greater,
- 6 control over the partner schools than over charter
- 7 schools. In both cases, charter schools and partner
- 8 schools, the district decides who to partner with. In
- 9 both cases, districts have a contract with those
- 10 schools. In both cases, the districts hold the
- 11 schools accountable to achieving at least as good or
- 12 better educational results as traditional schools. If
- 13 not, the districts have the authority to terminate the
- 14 relationship.
- 15 Fourth, Colorado cases make this point
- 16 even stronger. The Supreme Court in Booth held that
- 17 the state board may require a school district to
- 18 negotiate with a charter applicant until a charter
- 19 school is created. And the court of appeals in
- 20 Boulder Valley said that the state can create another
- 21 system of schools, charter schools authorized by a
- 22 state charter authority, without a 9.15 violation.
- 23 If the state can require districts to
- 24 accept charter schools on terms not set by the schools
- 25 themselves -- not set by the districts themselves,

- 1 then it cannot be a violation of 9.15 if a district
- 2 creates its own program and puts in place control
- 3 mechanisms at least as strong as with charters.
- 4 Your Honor, I'll end with this principle
- of local control, because this case is the embodiment
- of local control. Douglas County took the Owens
- 7 decision to heart. There is no constitutional nor
- 8 statutory impediment for the Choice Scholarship
- 9 Program. Plaintiffs cannot carry their burden on the
- 10 merits.
- 11 THE COURT: Thank you, Mr. Hall.
- 12 Mr. Lyons.
- 13 MR. LYONS: Thank you Your Honor. I'm
- 14 going to pick up with the other Rathke standards and
- move forward from there, because, as the court knows,
- 16 all of the Rathke standards must be satisfied in order
- 17 for this court to enter an injunction.
- 18 Let's take irreparable injury. The
- 19 plaintiffs have presented no evidence whatsoever of
- 20 irreparable injury to the individual plaintiffs, let
- 21 alone to the organizations for plaintiffs in this
- 22 case, other than a generalized interest in
- 23 constitutional issues. That's insufficient as a
- 24 matter of law.
- 25 You have to find next that these