

1 BENBROOK LAW GROUP, PC
BRADLEY A. BENBROOK (SBN 177786)
2 STEPHEN M. DUVERNAY (SBN 250957)
400 Capitol Mall, Suite 2530
3 Sacramento, CA 95814
Telephone: (916) 447-4900
4 Facsimile: (916) 447-4904
brad@benbrooklawgroup.com
5

6 BOYDEN GRAY & ASSOCIATES PLLC
C. BOYDEN GRAY*
7 JONATHAN BERRY*
MICHAEL BUSCHBACHER*
8 JORDAN E. SMITH*
801 17th Street NW, Suite 350
9 Washington, DC 20006
Telephone: (202) 955-0620
10 berry@boydengrayassociates.com

11 *Pro hac vice applications to be submitted

12 **UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT**

13 **CENTRAL DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA – WESTERN DIVISION**

15 ALLIANCE FOR FAIR BOARD
16 RECRUITMENT,

17 Plaintiff,

18 v.

19 DR. SHIRLEY N. WEBER, in her official
20 capacity as Secretary of State of the State
21 of California,

22 Defendant.

CASE NO.

**COMPLAINT FOR
DECLARATORY AND
INJUNCTIVE RELIEF**

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1 1. In 2018 and 2020, California enacted two laws—SB 826 and AB 979—
2 requiring all publicly traded corporations headquartered in California to discriminate
3 based on sex and race in selecting their board members.

4 2. The 2018 statute, SB 826, requires corporations headquartered in
5 California to have specific numbers of women on their boards, depending on how
6 many seats the board has.

7 3. The 2020 statute, AB 979, similarly requires these companies to set aside a
8 specific number of director seats for members of “underrepresented communit[ies],”
9 which it defines as those who self-identify as “Black, African American, Hispanic,
10 Latino, Asian, Pacific Islander, Native American, Native Hawaiian, [] Alaska Native, . . .
11 gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transgender.”

12 4. These laws are unconstitutional and patronizing social engineering. The
13 legal regime they institute relies on and perpetuates invidious racial categories and sex
14 stereotypes that the American legal system has rightly discarded. These statutes do not
15 claim to remedy any particular past discrimination. Rather, California says that
16 mandating race and sex discrimination is justified on the pretext that discrimination will
17 be lucrative for California’s corporations and shareholders and thus for the state.

18 5. That is unconstitutional. If the Fourteenth Amendment and our
19 foundational civil rights laws stand for anything, it is that private moneymaking is no
20 justification for race or sex discrimination. Our nation’s history is all the evidence one
21 needs to see that a policy of wealth-through-discrimination has been tried and found
22 profoundly wanting, wanting not only because race and sex discrimination are wrong,
23 but also because this policy does not even provide the gains that it promises. It is (and
24 always was) a devil’s bargain. Had California actually looked at contemporary empirical
25 research on these issues rather than the unsupported advocacy pieces cited in the
26 legislative record, it would have seen that the imposition of race and sex quotas on
27 corporate board hiring is unlikely to bring California’s corporations even one red cent,
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1 and it may well have the opposite effect—harming pensioners and other investors by
2 reducing shareholder value.

3 6. States are generally free to try out bad ideas—this was in part what Justice
4 Brandeis meant when he spoke of the states as laboratories of democracy. But what
5 states may not do is open those laboratories up to perform experiments that rely on
6 debunked, pseudo-scientific racial categories or shopworn stereotypes about men and
7 women. In the language of constitutional law, states may not require discrimination on
8 the basis of race without making a convincing showing at the outset that the
9 discrimination is narrowly tailored to advance a compelling state interest. And they may
10 not compel discrimination on the basis of sex without demonstrating that the
11 discrimination is substantially related to achieving an important governmental interest.

12 7. California’s discriminatory quota regime cannot withstand constitutional
13 scrutiny. The pursuit of demographic balancing or increased financial returns for
14 California’s corporations are not sufficiently compelling or important interests justifying
15 race or sex discrimination. In any event, California’s empirical support for the quota
16 requirements is extraordinarily weak, and on some points non-existent. California’s
17 findings, moreover, are contradicted by robust empirical analyses showing that the
18 “diversity” California seeks to require has, at best, no impact on corporate performance
19 and may even *hurt* investors.

20 8. While the benefits are illusory, the harms are not. On the most general
21 level, allowing the government to categorize people by race is wrong in and of itself.
22 “Racial classifications are antithetical to the Fourteenth Amendment, whose ‘central
23 purpose’ was ‘to eliminate racial discrimination emanating from official sources in the
24 States.’” *Shaw v. Hunt*, 517 U.S. 899, 907 (1996) (quoting *McLaughlin v. Florida*, 379 U.S.
25 184, 192 (1964)). “Distinctions between citizens solely because of their ancestry are by
26 their very nature odious to a free people.” *Rice v. Cayetano*, 528 U.S. 495, 517 (2000)
27 (quoting *Hirabayashi v. United States*, 320 U.S. 81, 100 (1943)).
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1 9. Distinctions between the sexes, by contrast, are not inherently wrong. But
2 differences between men and women are often used as a stalking horse to conceal
3 unfair treatment grounded in mere sex stereotypes. As the late Justice Ruth Bader
4 Ginsburg explained for the Supreme Court, while there are “[i]nherent differences’
5 between men and women,” these differences cannot justify the “denigration of the
6 members of either sex” nor can they support the imposition of “artificial constraints on
7 an individual’s opportunity.” *United States v. Virginia*, 518 U.S. 515, 533 (1996). Thus,
8 while states may use sex classifications in limited circumstances, the state “must not”—
9 as SB 826 does—“rely on overbroad generalizations about the different talents,
10 capacities, or preferences of males and females.” *Id.*

11 10. The effect of SB 826 and AB 979 on those who do not fall within
12 California’s preferred racial and sexual identities is unequivocally harmful. For example,
13 Plaintiff Alliance for Fair Board Recruitment is an organization whose membership
14 includes a former corporate board director who was ousted from his position not
15 because of a lack of skills, judgment, connections, integrity, or talent, but because he is
16 not a woman and does not self-identify as an underrepresented minority. He is now
17 deprived of an equal playing field on which to compete for board positions at
18 corporations headquartered in California.

19 11. Finally, California’s statutes are also harmful because they trample on the
20 sovereign rights of other states to regulate corporate governance for entities
21 incorporated under their laws. SB 826 and AB 979 apply to all corporations
22 headquartered in California, even if the corporation in question is incorporated under
23 the laws of a different state. This policy is illegal because California lacks jurisdiction to
24 regulate the internal affairs of entities incorporated under the laws of other states.

25 **JURISDICTION AND VENUE**

26 12. This Court has subject matter jurisdiction over these claims under 28
27 U.S.C. § 1331 (federal question) and § 1343(a)(3)–(4) (civil rights violations) because the
28 claims arise under federal law and allege violations of Plaintiff’s members’ civil rights:

1 42 U.S.C. §§ 1983, 1981 (alleging violations of the Fourteenth Amendment Equal
2 Protection Clause and Plaintiff's members' equal right to contract) and the federal
3 internal affairs doctrine. Declaratory and injunctive relief is available under 28 U.S.C.
4 §§ 2201, 2202.

5 13. Venue is proper under 28 U.S.C. § 1391(b)(2), as the events giving rise to
6 Plaintiff's members' causes of action arose or exist in this District in which the action is
7 brought. For example, Plaintiff's members include shareholders of corporations
8 headquartered in this District, who are now forced to comply with California's
9 discriminatory quotas when exercising their contractual rights to elect their corporate
10 directors.

11 14. Venue is also proper under 28 U.S.C. § 1391(b)(1), because the Secretary
12 of State maintains an office in this District and therefore resides here. Further,
13 California law specifically permits actions against state officers such as Defendant to be
14 filed in Los Angeles (and thus within this District) because the Attorney General and
15 California Department of Justice maintain an office in that city. *See* Cal. Code of Civ.
16 Pro. § 401(1). This likewise establishes that Defendant resides within this District. *See*
17 28 U.S.C. § 1391(b)(1).

18 15. Last, venue is proper under 28 U.S.C. § 1391(b)(1) because a suit against
19 an officer in his or her official capacity is a suit against the official's office. *Brandon v.*
20 *Holt*, 469 U.S. 464, 471 (1985). "As such, it is no different from a suit against the State
21 itself." *Will v. Michigan Dep't of State Police*, 491 U.S. 58, 71(1989). Venue in this District is
22 therefore appropriate because venue over a state is proper in any district within that
23 state. *See California v. Azar*, 911 F.3d 558, 570 (9th Cir. 2018) ("A state is ubiquitous
24 throughout its sovereign borders. [Therefore,] . . . a state with multiple judicial districts
25 'resides' in every district within its borders.").

1 **PARTIES**

2 16. Plaintiff Alliance for Fair Board Recruitment is a Texas non-profit
3 membership association that seeks to defend the civil rights of director candidates and
4 shareholders, including by advocating for their right to equal protection under the law.
5 Plaintiff's members include persons who are seeking employment as corporate directors
6 as well as shareholders of publicly traded companies headquartered in California and
7 therefore subject to SB 826 and AB 979.

8 17. Defendant Dr. Shirley N. Weber is the Secretary of State of the state of
9 California. She is a constitutional officer of the state. *See* Cal. Const. art. V, § 11. In her
10 official capacity as Secretary of State, she is charged with administering and enforcing
11 SB 826 and AB 979. She is being sued in her official capacity under *Ex Parte Young*, 209
12 U.S. 123, 189 (1908), and 42 U.S.C. §§ 1981 and 1983, which supply causes of action
13 against state officers.

14 **STANDING**

15 18. A plaintiff has standing to bring a claim if he or she has suffered an injury
16 that is fairly traceable to the defendant's challenged conduct and this injury is
17 redressable by the court.

18 19. Plaintiff's members include biological males who do not self-identify as
19 women or underrepresented minorities as defined in AB 979 and are actively seeking
20 corporate director positions. Because of California's laws, they are unable to compete
21 on an equal footing for positions on the boards of directors of corporations
22 headquartered in California, in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment and 42 U.S.C.
23 § 1981.

24 20. California's race and sex quota mandates for corporate boards also violate
25 the constitutional internal affairs doctrine, and this violation of the internal affairs
26 doctrine has injured certain of Plaintiff's members by forcing them to compete on an
27 unequal playing field for board of director positions of corporations headquartered in
28 California.

1 21. The Plaintiff's members also include shareholders of publicly traded
2 corporations headquartered in California. To achieve its quotas, both SB 826 and AB
3 979 necessarily impact and limit the behavior of voting shareholders.

4 22. As voting shareholders of these corporations, Plaintiff's members select
5 who sits on these corporations' boards of directors. The only way in which a person
6 can be elected to these corporations' boards of directors is if a plurality of shareholders
7 vote in favor of a candidate at the annual shareholder meeting.

8 23. Plaintiff's members intend to vote on board member nominees at
9 upcoming annual meetings.

10 24. SB 826's Woman Quota thus imposes a sex-based quota requirement
11 directly on these members, who must now participate in and perpetuate sex-based
12 discrimination. This impairs their right to vote for the director candidates of their
13 choice, free from the threat of fines imposed on the corporation (which would reduce
14 the value of their holdings).

15 25. AB 979's Minority Quota similarly injures Plaintiff's members by requiring
16 them to discriminate against potential board candidates based their race, ethnicity,
17 sexual orientation, or gender identity, which impairs these members' right to vote for
18 the director candidates of their choice, free from the threat of fines imposed on the
19 corporation (which would likewise reduce the value of their holdings).

20 26. A live controversy exists between Plaintiff's members and Defendant as to
21 their respective legal rights and duties. Plaintiff alleges that the Woman Quota is a sex-
22 based classification that violates the Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution,
23 that the Minority Quota unconstitutionally requires discrimination against members of
24 certain racial and ethnic groups in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment and 42
25 U.S.C. § 1981, and that both SB 826 and AB 979 violate the internal affairs doctrine.
26 Defendant disagrees with all of these allegations.

27 27. The injuries to Plaintiff's members alleged above are directly traceable to
28 California's Woman and Minority Quotas and would be redressed by an order enjoining

1 enforcement of these laws. Plaintiff's injured members would thus have standing to
2 bring this suit as individuals.

3 28. Because at least one of Plaintiff's members has standing, and because the
4 interests at stake are germane to Plaintiff's purpose, and neither the claim nor the relief
5 requested requires participation of individual members, Plaintiff has associational
6 standing. *United Food & Commercial Workers Union Local 751 v. Brown Grp. Inc.*, 517 U.S.
7 544, 552–53 (1996).

8 STATEMENT OF FACTS

9 **SB 826 – The Woman Quota**

10 29. In 2013, the California legislature passed a resolution urging California
11 public corporations to increase the number of women on their boards of directors. *See*
12 California Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 62 (Sept. 20, 2013). In 2018, dissatisfied
13 with what it believed was the slow pace of voluntary adoption by California companies,
14 the state legislature passed a more coercive measure: SB 826, which imposes a
15 mandatory minimum number of female directors for each corporate board, enforceable
16 by fine.

17 30. Then-Governor Jerry Brown signed SB 826 into law on September 30,
18 2018. SB 826 added California Corporations Code Sections 301.3 and 2115.5, which
19 require that, by December 31, 2021, public corporations headquartered in California
20 must have a minimum number of female directors on their boards.

21 31. The number of female directors required by SB 826 depends on the size
22 of the corporation's board: a corporation with six or more directors must have at least
23 three female directors, a corporation with five directors must have at least two female
24 directors, and a corporation with four or fewer directors must have at least one female
25 director. *See* Cal. Corp. Code § 301.3(b). The aim of these quotas is to achieve rough
26 demographic balancing.

27 32. The Woman Quota applies to any “publicly held domestic or foreign
28 corporation whose principal executive offices . . . are located in California,” including

1 companies incorporated outside of California, regardless of any contrary law in the state
2 of incorporation. Cal. Corp. Code §§ 301.3(b), 2115.5.

3 33. A corporation that fails to comply with the Woman Quota is subject to
4 significant penalties: a single violation carries a \$100,000 fine, and a second violation
5 carries a \$300,000 fine. Each director seat required to be held by a woman, but which is
6 not held by a woman for at least a portion of the calendar year, is considered a separate
7 violation. Cal. Corp. Code § 301.3(e).

8 34. To justify its Woman Quota, the California legislature does not claim that
9 California companies discriminate against female director candidates. Nor does it
10 suggest that the quota is necessary to remedy specific, past instances of discrimination.
11 Instead, the California legislature cites a handful of reports from investment firms,
12 consultancies, and advocacy groups that claim that female directors may improve a
13 corporation's financial performance or governance. Based on its selected reports, the
14 legislature concluded that “[m]ore women directors serving on boards of directors of
15 publicly held corporations will boost the California economy, improve opportunities for
16 women in the workplace, and protect California taxpayers, shareholders, and retirees[.]”
17 SB 826 §1(a).

18 35. But the sources the California legislature relies on are not credible. *See* SB
19 826 §1(c). None of the legislature's sources perform sound statistical analyses. Cited
20 “studies” by investment firms MSCI and Credit Suisse and consulting firm McKinsey
21 fail to report even basic statistical measures—like the “statistical significance” or the “p-
22 value”—that are necessary to show that the observed differences do not arise by mere
23 chance. All but one source (R. Kerlsley, et al., *The CS Gender 3000: Women in Senior*
24 *Management*, Credit Suisse Research Institute (Sept. 2014)) fail to control for important
25 variables—like the size of the firm, or the industry—that can bias results. The omission
26 of these control variables makes it impossible to infer causation from the asserted
27 correlations. Only one source (M. Torchia, et al., *Women Directors on Corporate Boards:*
28 *From Tokenism to Critical Mass*, 102 J. Bus. Ethics 299 (2011)) was subject to peer review.

1 And that study, which found that having a “critical mass” of women on boards of
2 Norwegian firms may increase a subjective measure of “organizational innovation,” is
3 irrelevant to the legislature’s claim that female directors will improve the economic
4 performance of California companies. *See id.*

5 36. Although many of the legislature’s sources assert that more female
6 directors *correlates* with better firm performance, not one study shows that the number
7 of women on the board *causes* better performance, a necessary predicate for the
8 legislature’s claim that its woman-quota will benefit California companies. In fact, many
9 of the sources relied on by California expressly warn that their results do not establish
10 causation. *See, e.g.,* M. Eastman, et al., *The Tipping Point: Women on Boards and Financial*
11 *Performance*, MSCI ESG Research 3 (Dec. 2016) (“As with the previous study, a causal
12 link was not established.”); R. Kerlsley, et al., *The CS Gender 3000: Women in Senior*
13 *Management*, Credit Suisse Research Institute 16 (Sept. 2014) (“We do not seek to claim
14 a causality”); R. Kerlsley, et al., *Gender diversity and corporate performance*, Credit Suisse
15 Research Institute 15 (Aug. 2012) (“None of our analysis proves causality”); G.
16 Desvaux, et al., *Women Matter: Gender diversity, a corporate performance driver*, McKinsey &
17 Co. 14. (2007) (“[T]hese studies do not demonstrate a causal link”). As economist and
18 University of Pennsylvania law professor Jonathan Klick concludes in his detailed
19 critique of Nasdaq’s similar proposed “board diversity” quota, “[t]here is no credible
20 evidence that diversity requirements systematically improve firm performance.” J. Klick,
21 *Review of the Literature on Diversity on Corporate Boards*, Am. Enterprise Inst. 1 (Apr. 2021).

22 37. The California legislature also omits from its discussion the many
23 rigorous, peer-reviewed studies that show that gender board diversity has no, or even a
24 negative, effect on corporate performance. *See* J. Klick, *Review of the Literature on Diversity*
25 *on Corporate Boards*, American Enterprise Institute 15–17 (Apr. 2021); J. Fried, *Will*
26 *Nasdaq’s Diversity Rules Harm Investors?*, European Corporate Governance Inst. Working
27 Paper No. 579/2021, 4–6 (Apr. 2021). Two peer-reviewed meta-analyses, which
28 examined the academic literature as a whole, found that the number of women

1 directors has no, or mixed, effects on corporate performance. J.L. Pletzer, et al., *Does*
 2 *Gender Matter? Female Representation on Corporate Boards and Firm Financial Performance – A*
 3 *Meta-Analysis*, 10 PLoS One 17 (2015) (observing that their results “show that a higher
 4 representation of females on corporate boards is neither related to a decrease, nor to an
 5 increase in firm financial performance”); C. Post and K. Byron, *Women on Boards and*
 6 *Firm Financial Performance: A Meta-Analysis*, 58 Acad. of Mgmt. J. 1546, 1563 (2015)
 7 (concluding that their “results suggest that board [gender] diversity is neither wholly
 8 detrimental nor wholly beneficial to firm financial performance”). And as economist
 9 and Harvard law professor Jesse Fried recounts, numerous studies have shown “that
 10 stock returns suffer when firms are pressured to hire new directors for diversity
 11 reasons.” J. Fried, *supra* at 5-6. Additionally, the Woman Quota will also imposes
 12 significant compliance costs, including by forcing firms to either create new board
 13 positions and/or to replace experienced male directors for no other reason than that
 14 they are not women. *See id.*

15 **SB 826 – The Minority Quota**

16 38. Seeking to further meddle in corporate internal affairs, Governor Gavin
 17 Newsom signed AB 979 into law on September 30, 2020. AB 979 adds California
 18 Corporations Code Sections 301.4 and 2115.6, which require that, by December 31,
 19 2022, in addition to the specified number of female directors, public corporations
 20 headquartered in California must also have a minimum number of directors from
 21 “underrepresented communities.” Cal. Corp. Code § 301.4(b). A director qualifies as
 22 being from an “underrepresented community” if the director “self-identifies as Black,
 23 African American, Hispanic, Latino, Asian, Pacific Islander, Native American, Native
 24 Hawaiian, [] Alaska Native, . . . gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transgender.” *Id.* § 301.4 (e)(1).

25 39. This definition of “underrepresented community” draws a number of
 26 mystifying distinctions. People of Spanish (and perhaps Portuguese) ancestry would
 27 presumably qualify as “Hispanic” and therefore “underrepresented,” while Persians,
 28 Arabs, Armenians, Turkish, and many other minority ethnic groups would not.

1 Similarly, AB 979 does not give any preference to a number of non-heterosexual sexual
2 identities that do not fall within the categories of gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transsexual.
3 For example, the law gives no preference to persons who identify as gender non-
4 conforming, intersex, or asexual.

5 40. Like SB 826, the number of directors from an “underrepresented
6 community” required by AB 979 depends on the size of the corporation’s board: a
7 corporation with nine or more directors must have at least three directors from
8 underrepresented communities, a corporation with five to eight directors must have at
9 least two directors from underrepresented communities, and a corporation with four or
10 fewer directors must have at least one director from an “underrepresented community.”
11 Cal. Corp. Code § 301.4(b). As with the Woman Quota, the Minority Quota is designed
12 to achieve a rough racial balancing.

13 41. Also, like SB 826, AB 979 applies to publicly held corporations with
14 principal offices located in California, regardless of where the company is incorporated
15 and regardless of the laws of the state of incorporation. Cal. Corp. Code §§ 301.4(b),
16 2115.6. AB 979 also carries similarly stiff fines for failures to comply: \$100,000 for a
17 single violation and \$300,000 for a subsequent violation. Cal Corp Code § 301.4(d).

18 42. In support of its “underrepresented community” director quota, the
19 California legislature cites U.S. statistics showing that members of non-white racial
20 classes holder fewer management and director positions, and hold fewer jobs in the
21 high-tech industry. AB 979 §(1)(a)–(l). The legislature also cites two reports from
22 consulting firms suggesting that racial diversity—on senior executive teams or in the
23 general high tech workforce—may benefit corporate earnings. AB 979 §(m)–(n). But the
24 legislature does not provide any evidence that racial diversity on corporate boards
25 improves firm performance or governance, likely because academic studies have failed
26 to establish that link. *See, e.g., D. Carter, et al., The Gender and Ethnic Diversity of US Boards*
27 *and Board Committees and Firm Financial Performance*, 18 Corp. Governance 396, 396 (2010)
28 (failing to “find a significant relationship between the , . . . ethnic diversity of the board,

1 or important board committees, and financial performance for a sample of major US
2 corporations”); D. Carter, et al., *Corporate Governance, Board Diversity, and Firm Value*, 38
3 *Fin. Rev.* 33, 49–50 (2003) (finding no “statistically significant differences in value”
4 between firms with high and low minority board representation when controlling for
5 board size and industry).

6 43. The California legislature makes no findings and cites no studies related to
7 directors who self-identify as gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transgender, likely because none
8 exist. Even Nasdaq conceded in its similar “board diversity” proposal “that there is a
9 lack of published research on the issue of LGBTQ+ representation on boards.” 85 Fed.
10 Reg. 80,472, 80,476 (Dec. 11, 2020).

11 * * *

12 44. Legislative analyses of both SB 826 and AB 979 prepared before
13 enactment highlight the significant risk of legal challenge to the laws. The California
14 Assembly Floor Analysis of SB 826 observes that the Woman Quota “would likely be
15 challenged on equal protection grounds,” since it “creates an express gender
16 classification, which subjects the proposed law to heightened scrutiny under the equal
17 protection clause of the 14th Amendment[.] . . . The use of a quota-like system . . . may
18 be difficult to defend.” SB 826 Assembly Floor Analysis, 4 (2018). The Assembly Floor
19 Analysis further notes that, in attempting to influence the governance of out-of-state
20 corporations, the “bill may [also] conflict with the internal affairs doctrine . . . ‘which
21 recognizes that only one State should have the authority to regulate a corporation’s
22 internal affairs[.]’” *Id.* The California Senate Floor Analysis of AB 979 expresses similar
23 concerns for the “underrepresented community” director quota. AB 979 Senate Floor
24 Analysis, 6–7 (2020); *see also* Senate Committee on Banking and Financial Institutions
25 Report on AB 979, 5–7 (2020).

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CAUSES OF ACTION

I. COUNT 1: The Woman Quota Violates the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment.

45. Plaintiffs incorporate herein by reference paragraphs 1 through 44 as if fully set forth herein.

46. The Fourteenth Amendment’s Equal Protection Clause prohibits unjustified discrimination based on sex. The discrimination here is stark: California’s Woman Quota law explicitly bars men from consideration for specific numbers of board director positions.

47. Under the Fourteenth Amendment, laws that discriminate based on sex are subject to heightened scrutiny, meaning they must substantially relate to achieving an important governmental interest. Any discrimination based on sex must establish “an exceedingly persuasive justification” for such action. *Virginia*, 518 U.S. at 524. That a state law discriminates against men rather than women does not reduce the level of scrutiny. *See Sessions v. Morales-Santana*, 137 S. Ct. 1678, 1689–90 (2017); *Mississippi Univ. for Women v. Hogan*, 458 U.S. 718, 723–24 (1982).

48. Under 42 U.S.C. § 1983, private citizens may sue state officers for depriving citizens of their constitutional rights “under color of law.”

49. California’s Woman Quota, SB 826, deprives citizens of their constitutional right to equal protection of the laws under the Fourteenth Amendment because it serves no important government interest. To the contrary, it relies on improper gender stereotypes about women having unique “working styles” that will, it claims, improve corporate performance. Reliance on stereotypes about the capabilities or personalities of women is illegitimate and does not further an important government interest.

50. Even if SB 826 did serve an important government interest, forcing corporations to reserve board seats for only female candidates is not sufficiently tailored to be substantially related to achieving this interest. As explained above, the

1 evidence relied on by California is not “extraordinarily persuasive,” but is inconclusive,
2 methodologically flawed, and contradicted by numerous academic studies of far greater
3 scientific and statistical rigor.

4 **II. COUNT 2: The Minority Quota Violates the Equal Protection**
5 **Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.**

6 51. Plaintiffs incorporate herein by reference paragraphs 1 through 50 as if
7 fully set forth herein.

8 52. The Fourteenth Amendment’s Equal Protection Clause prohibits
9 discrimination based on race or ethnicity in all but the narrowest circumstances. Laws
10 that discriminate based on race are subject to strict scrutiny, meaning they must be
11 narrowly tailored to serve a compelling government interest.

12 53. AB 979 provides preferences based not only on race and ethnicity, but
13 also sexual orientation and gender identity, uniting them under the label
14 “underrepresented communit[ies].” But this combination does not change the level of
15 scrutiny: “all racial classifications . . . must be analyzed by a reviewing court under strict
16 scrutiny.” *Adarand Constructors, Inc. v. Peña*, 515 U.S. 200, 227 (1995).

17 54. AB 979 classifies people on the basis of race and ethnicity and then
18 requires corporations to give substantial preferences to board candidates who self-
19 identify as members of these favored racial and ethnic groups. Candidates like certain of
20 Plaintiff’s members who do not self-identify as underrepresented minorities are “forced
21 to compete in a race-based system that may prejudice” them. *Parents Involved in Cmty.*
22 *Sch. v. Seattle Sch. Dist. No. 1*, 551 U.S. 701, 719 (2007). As California’s legislative record
23 demonstrates, AB 979 is *designed* to work such prejudice in order to pursue the
24 unconstitutional objective of racial balancing. Thus, at a minimum, AB 979 creates an
25 unequal playing field for candidates who do not self-identify as members of California’s
26 favored racial and ethnic groups, which is itself a constitutional violation unless
27 California can satisfy strict scrutiny. *Id.*

28 55. AB 979 fails on both prongs of the strict scrutiny test:

1 a. *Compelling State Interest.* The Supreme Court has recognized
2 only two interests as sufficiently compelling to justify intentional racial
3 discrimination: remedying past discrimination, *see United States v. Paradise*, 480 U.S.
4 149 (1987), and fostering the educational benefits of diversity in a college setting,
5 *see Grutter v. Bollinger*, 539 U.S. 306 (2003). AB 979 addresses neither of these
6 interests. Instead, California claims that mandating racial discrimination is an
7 appropriate tool to increase “diversity” as a means of increasing the performance
8 of corporations headquartered in California and, thus, increasing the state’s
9 wealth. This is insufficient.

10 b. *Narrow Tailoring.* Even if these goals were compelling—and they
11 are not—there is nothing in the legislative record of AB 979, or in the broader
12 corpus of social science, to support narrow tailoring. California has not
13 endeavored to show that race-neutral policies are insufficient to create greater
14 “diversity” or to boost corporate performance. And California has also not come
15 forward with any evidence that its race-based strictures will not outlast the
16 claimed problems it seeks to address. More fundamentally, California does not
17 provide any convincing evidence that requiring corporations to engage in racial
18 discrimination will in fact achieve its goal of improving firm performance. As
19 explained previously, the available social science research shows that there is at
20 most *no* correlation between the racial makeup of corporate boards and the
21 firm’s performance, let alone any causal relationships.

22 **III. COUNT 3: The Minority Quota 42 U.S.C. § 1981.**

23 56. Plaintiffs incorporate herein by reference paragraphs 1 through 55 as if
24 fully set forth herein.

25 57. 42 U.S.C. § 1981 forbids discriminating on the basis of race in the making
26 and enforcing contracts. Like the Fourteenth Amendment, § 1981 prohibits
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1 discrimination that would prevent a plaintiff from competing on an equal footing for a
2 contract because of his or her race or ethnicity.

3 58. AB 979 violates 42 U.S.C. § 1981 by discriminating based on race and
4 ethnicity by hindering those who do not identify as members of California’s favored
5 “underrepresented communit[ies]” from securing contracts for board of director
6 positions at corporations headquartered in California. This unlawfully deprives
7 candidates who do not identify as members of these “underrepresented communit[ies]”
8 of the opportunity to compete on an equal playing field for board positions. Similarly,
9 AB 979 violates § 1981 by requiring shareholders to discriminate based on race when
10 enforcing their contractual rights to vote for director candidates.

11 **IV. COUNT 4: Both Quotas Violate the Internal Affairs Doctrine.**

12 59. Plaintiffs incorporate herein by reference paragraphs 1 through 58 as if
13 fully set forth herein.

14 60. The internal affairs doctrine provides that internal matters of corporate
15 governance are governed by the law of the state of incorporation. Matters concerning
16 the number, qualifications, and election of directors have historically been viewed as
17 subject to the internal affairs doctrine.

18 61. The Supreme Court has held that the internal affairs doctrine is mandated
19 by constitutional principles, except in the rarest situations, such as when the law of the
20 state of incorporation conflicts with a national policy on foreign or interstate
21 commerce.

22 62. California’s race and gender quota laws expressly apply “to the exclusion”
23 of the laws of the state of incorporation. Cal. Corp. Code §§ 2115.5(a), 2115.6(a). In
24 other words, these board laws assert that they override other states’ laws governing
25 corporations incorporated in their own states. Therefore, California’s “diversity” laws
26 violate the internal affairs doctrine.

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PRAYER FOR RELIEF

WHEREFORE, Plaintiff respectfully requests that the Court enter judgment in its favor and against Defendant Dr. Shirley Weber, in her official capacity as California Secretary of State, as follows:

1. For declaratory relief adjudging that SB 826 violates the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment;
2. For declaratory relief adjudging that AB 979 violates the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment;
3. For declaratory relief adjudging that AB 979 violates 42 U.S.C. § 1981;
4. For declaratory relief adjudging that SB 826 and AB 979 are unconstitutional because they interfere with the sovereignty of California’s sister states by intruding on the internal affairs of corporations incorporated under the laws of those other states;
5. For declaratory and injunctive relief permanently enjoining Defendant in her official capacity as well as any and all of her subordinate officers, agents, servants, employees, or any other persons working in active concert or participation with Defendant who receive actual notice of the injunction, from enforcement or application of SB 826 and AB 979;
6. For costs of suit, including attorney fees and costs under 42 U.S.C. § 1988 and any other applicable law; and
7. For any and all further relief to which Plaintiff may be justly entitled.

1 Dated: July 12, 2021

Respectfully submitted,

2 BENBROOK LAW GROUP, PC

3 By s/ Bradley A. Benbrook
BRADLEY A. BENBROOK

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5 BOYDEN GRAY & ASSOCIATES PLLC

6 By s/ Jonathan Berry
JONATHAN BERRY

7 Attorneys for Plaintiff

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