

#### RECONSTRUCTING RIGHTS

Judges often behave in surprising ways when they reinterpret laws and constitutions. Contrary to existing expectations, judges regularly abandon their own established interpretations in favor of new understandings. In *Reconstructing Rights*, Stephan Stohler offers a new theory of judicial behavior which demonstrates that judges do not act alone. Instead, Stohler shows that judges work in a deliberative fashion with aligned partisans in the elected branches to articulate evolving interpretations of major statutes and constitutions. *Reconstructing Rights* draws on legislative debates, legal briefs, and hundreds of judicial opinions issued from high courts in India, South Africa, and the United States in the area of discrimination and affirmative action. These materials demonstrate judges' willingness to provide interpretative leadership. But they also demonstrate how judges relinquish their leadership roles when their aligned counterparts disagree. This pattern of behavior indicates that judges do not exercise exclusive authority over constitutional interpretation. Rather, that task is subject to greater democratic influence than is often acknowledged.

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# Reconstructing Rights

Courts, Parties, and Equality Rights in India, South Africa, and the United States

### STEPHAN STOHLER

University at Albany, State University of New York





# **CAMBRIDGE**UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India

79 Anson Road, #06-04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108493185 DOI: 10.1017/9781108694704

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First published 2019

Printed in the United Kingdom by TJ International Ltd, Padstow Cornwall

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

*Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data* NAMES: Stohler, Stephan, 1977– author.

TITLE: Reconstructing rights: courts, parties, and equality rights in India, South Africa, and the United States / Stephan Stohler, Suny, Albany.

DESCRIPTION: Cambridge, United Kingdom; New York, NY: Cambridge University

Press, 2019. | Series: Comparative constitutional law and policy |

Includes bibliographical references and index.

IDENTIFIERS: LCCN 2019008055 | ISBN 9781108493185 (hardback) | ISBN 9781108717427 (pbk.) SUBJECTS: LCSH: Equality before the law—United States. | Equality before the law—India. |

Equality before the law–South Africa. | Equality before the law–Political aspects.

CLASSIFICATION: LCC K3250 .876 2019 | DDC 342.08/5–dc23 LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2019008055

ISBN 978-1-108-49318-5 Hardback

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For Mom and Dad





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## Acknowledgments

This project has been long in the making, and it was made possible by the help of many. It was most profoundly shaped by the contributions and guidance of Rogers Smith, Brendan O'Leary, and Chuck Epp. They deserve special recognition not only because they supported it from its nascent stages, helping to improve it at every turn, but they have also had a profound impact on my own intellectual development. I am grateful for all they have taught me, I am thankful for all of the opportunities they provided, and I cherish their friendship.

Many others helped me through the very early stages of this project. Its origins trace back to Edwin Baker's free speech course at the University of Pennsylvania Law School. In that course and in subsequent conversations, he called my attention to the quintessentially political activity of legal interpretation. I am still saddened by his untimely death, but I am grateful for his inspiration. Baker did not engage in the type of political analysis employed here, but many others at the University of Pennsylvania did – and continue to do so. This book has benefited tremendously from their efforts, including help from Greg Ablavsky, Begüm Adalet, Chloe Bakalar, Emma Hayward, Tom Ginsburg, Tulia Falleti, Marie Gottschalk, Sally Gordon, Jeff Green, Richard Johnston, Michael Katz, Ellen Kennedy, Ian Lustick, Marc Meredith, Dani Miodownick, Anne Norton, Adolph Reed, Chelsea Schafer, Karen Tani, Justin Wert, Elspeth Wilson, and Robinson-Woodward Burns. In various ways and often in the context of other projects, they helped me understand the political dimensions of legal interpretation. I have learned a great deal from them. Ed Mansfield and Devesh Kapur provided much-needed financial support for the early field research that appears in this book.

My colleagues in Albany have been invariably supportive. This is especially true of the participants in the Politics and History Workshop, who endured



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#### Acknowledgments

an early version of the manuscript. I am grateful to Zsófi Barta, Heather Bennett, Peter Breiner, Cheng Chen, Chris Clary, Sally Friedman, Brian Greenhill, Esra Gules-Guctas, Bruce Miroff, Greg Nowell, Mort Schoolman, Niloufer Siddiqui, Patty Strach, David Trowbridge, and Meredith Weiss, whose comments and conversations improved the book immeasurably. Julie Novkov and Matt Ingram deserve my endless gratitude. They graciously read multiple drafts of various chapters and always made time for yet another conversation. Rohit De, Heinz Klug, and Mark Tushnet provided thorough and muchneeded feedback as part of a book workshop at the University at Albany. The book is much improved for their efforts. Barbara Matthews went the extra mile on several occasions.

While abroad, I also incurred many debts of gratitude. In South Africa, Jonathan Klaaren provided me with an institutional home at the University of Witwatersrand. Penny Andrews and Heinz Klug provided much-needed assistance at various stages when the project seemed to stall. Laurie Ackermann, Catherine Albertyn, Hugh Corder, David Everatt, David Hausman, Christina Murray, Kate O'Regan, Christopher Oxtoby, Franny Rabkin, and Pierre de Vos graciously gave their time to answer a seemingly unending list of questions. Librarians, many lawyers, and many more assistants helped me collect all of the relevant government briefs used in developing this argument. Marc Galanter, Manoj Mate, and Nick Robinson provided much-needed early help in advancing my research in India. While in New Delhi, Ashwini Deshpande, K.N. Govindacharya, Sudha Pai, and M.P. Singh kindly made time to help me understand crucial aspects of Indian law and politics. Ellen Bork repeatedly lent a sympathetic ear.

Larry Baum, Daniel Brinks, Keith Bybee, Lauren Foley, Mark Graber, Paul Herron, Lisa Hilbink, Tom Keck, Martin Shapiro, Marley Weiss, Emily Zackin, and many others kindly provided valuable suggestions and critiques during different stages of the project. The same is true for many conference participants, though I regret that I cannot include a full list of their names here. I am also grateful to John Berger and Danielle Menz at Cambridge University Press for their patience, help, and willingness to guide me through the publication process. Kathy Kieva was essential in developing the book's index.

I am happy to say that some of my closest friendships were forged while writing this book. Tim Weaver and David Bateman have been ongoing interlocutors and fantastic friends, helping to craft, shape, and challenge my thinking from the earliest days of graduate school to this day. I am lucky to call them friends, officemates, collaborators, and now colleagues. While not in



#### Acknowledgments

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the same field, Elizabeth Kracen, Chris Vanderwarker, Simone Vanderwarker, Pitou Devgon, Joanna Weaver, and Justin Mortensen provided love, support, and perspective that made this project worthwhile.

None of this would have been possible without the ongoing love and support from my family: Andi, Nick, Whit, Isa, Chase, Arlo, Kjerstin, Matt, Maddie, Will, Daniel, and Stu. I am sad that Peter Stohler passed before I completed this project. I will forever remember his patience when I tried to explain the book's argument to him in Swiss-German. That exercise was anything but mistake free. Unfortunately, while I wish otherwise, I know that the English version presented in the subsequent pages contains mistakes that can only be attributed to me, despite everyone's efforts to the contrary. More than she knows, Kristi Andersen has helped me find many of those mistakes, offered a sympathetic ear when talking through them, and generally helped me move this project forward.

My parents, Catharina and Christian Stohler, have loved, supported, and encouraged me throughout my life. This book is dedicated to them in the hope that it serves as some modest acknowledgment of their commitment and my gratitude.

This book has been much delayed by the arrival of Sabine and Louis. Together, they have filled my life with immense joy and happiness. Their contributions in this regard are matched only by those of their mother, the love of my life, Emily Thorson. Unlike our children, Emily has not delayed this project. On the contrary, her avidity and acuity have propelled it forward and shaped every argument for the better. Her love and kindness have shaped every part of my life for the better. Thank you.





### **Abbreviations**

ACLU American Civil Liberties Union
ANC African National Congress
BJP Bharatiya Janata Party
CORE Congress of Racial Equality

DP Democratic Party
EEA Employment Equity Act

**EEOA** Equal Employment Opportunity Act

**EEOC** Equal Employment Opportunity Commission

FCC Federal Communications Commission

FEP Fair employment practices

FF Freedom Front

**GEAR** Growth, Employment, and Redistribution

GNU Government of National Unity
HSRC Human Sciences Research Council

**JD** Janata Dal

JSC Judicial Service Commission

LDF Legal defense fund

MBEs Minority business enterprises MPNP Multi-party negotiation process

**NAACP** National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

NJAC National Judicial Appointments Commission

NP National Party

OBC Other Backward Classes

PAAS Patidar Anamat Andolan Samiti

RDP Reconstruction and Development Program

RSS Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh SACP South African Communist Party

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xviii Abbreviations

SALC South African Law Commission SAPS South African Police Services

SCs Scheduled castes
STs Scheduled tribes

UDF United Democratic Front

UP Uttar Pradesh

VHP Vishwa Hindu Parishad VRA Voting Rights Act of 1965