CONSTITUTIONAL LAW

PRINCIPLES AND POLICIES FIFTH EDITION



Erwin Chemerinsky



CONSTITUTIONAL LAW

Principles and Policies

Fifth Edition

ERWIN CHEMERINSKY

Dean and Distinguished Professor of Law Raymond Pryke Professor of First Amendment Law University of California, Irvine School of Law



Copyright © 2015 Erwin Chemerinsky.

Published by Wolters Kluwer in New York.

Wolters Kluwer serves customers worldwide with CCH, Aspen Publishers, and Kluwer Law International products. (www.wolterskluwerlb.com)

No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopy, recording, or utilized by any information storage or retrieval system, without written permission from the publisher. For information about permissions or to request permissions online, visit us at www.wolterskluwerlb.com, or a written request may be faxed to our permissions department at 212-771-0803.

To contact Customer Service, e-mail customer.service@wolterskluwer.com, call 1-800-234-1660, fax 1-800-901-9075, or mail correspondence to:

Wolters Kluwer Attn: Order Department PO Box 990 Frederick, MD 21705

Printed in the United States of America.

234567890

ISBN 978-1-4548-4947-6

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Chemerinsky, Erwin, author.

Constitutional law: principles and policies / Erwin Chemerinsky, Dean and Distinguished Professor of Law Raymond Pryke Professor of First Amendment Law University of California, Irvine School of Law.—Fifth Edition.

pages cm. — (Aspen Student treatise series)

ISBN 978-1-4548-4947-6

 Constitutional law—United States. I. Title. KF4550.C429 2015 342.73—dc23

2015008314



Certified Sourcing

www.sfiprogram.org SFI-01042

Constitutional Law Principles and Policies

EDITORIAL ADVISORS

Erwin Chemerinsky

Dean and Distinguished Professor of Law Raymond Pryke Professor of First Amendment Law University of California, Irvine School of Law

Richard A. Epstein

Laurence A. Tisch Professor of Law New York University School of Law Peter and Kirsten Bedford Senior Fellow The Hoover Institution Senior Lecturer in Law The University of Chicago

Ronald J. Gilson

Charles J. Meyers Professor of Law and Business Stanford University Marc and Eva Stern Professor of Law and Business Columbia Law School

James E. Krier

Earl Warren DeLano Professor of Law The University of Michigan Law School

Richard K. Neumann, Jr.

Professor of Law Maurice A. Deane School of Law at Hofstra University

Robert H. Sitkoff

John L. Gray Professor of Law Harvard Law School

David Alan Sklansky

Professor of Law Stanford Law School

About Wolters Kluwer Law & Business

Wolters Kluwer Law & Business is a leading global provider of intelligent information and digital solutions for legal and business professionals in key specialty areas, and respected educational resources for professors and law students. Wolters Kluwer Law & Business connects legal and business professionals as well as those in the education market with timely, specialized authoritative content and information-enabled solutions to support success through productivity, accuracy and mobility.

Serving customers worldwide, Wolters Kluwer Law & Business products include those under the Aspen Publishers, CCH, Kluwer Law International, Loislaw, ftwilliam.com and MediRegs family of products.

CCH products have been a trusted resource since 1913, and are highly regarded resources for legal, securities, antitrust and trade regulation, government contracting, banking, pension, payroll, employment and labor, and healthcare reimbursement and compliance professionals.

Aspen Publishers products provide essential information to attorneys, business professionals and law students. Written by preeminent authorities, the product line offers analytical and practical information in a range of specialty practice areas from securities law and intellectual property to mergers and acquisitions and pension/benefits. Aspen's trusted legal education resources provide professors and students with high-quality, up-to-date and effective resources for successful instruction and study in all areas of the law.

Kluwer Law International products provide the global business community with reliable international legal information in English. Legal practitioners, corporate counsel and business executives around the world rely on Kluwer Law journals, looseleafs, books, and electronic products for comprehensive information in many areas of international legal practice.

Loislaw is a comprehensive online legal research product providing legal content to law firm practitioners of various specializations. Loislaw provides attorneys with the ability to quickly and efficiently find the necessary legal information they need, when and where they need it, by facilitating access to primary law as well as state-specific law, records, forms and treatises.

ftwilliam.com offers employee benefits professionals the highest quality plan documents (retirement, welfare and non-qualified) and government forms (5500/PBGC, 1099 and IRS) software at highly competitive prices.

MediRegs products provide integrated health care compliance content and software solutions for professionals in healthcare, higher education and life sciences, including professionals in accounting, law and consulting.

Wolters Kluwer Law & Business, a division of Wolters Kluwer, is headquartered in New York. Wolters Kluwer is a market-leading global information services company focused on professionals. For my grandson — Andrew Charles Chemerinsky

Preface

The American Constitution is in many ways an amazing document. Written over 200 years ago for a vastly different world, it remains the vehicle for debating and resolving society's most profound political and moral issues. Although it can be discussed in terms of elegant abstract theories, it also has enormous practical effects on the most intimate and important aspects of people's lives.

Constitutional principles can and must be evaluated from a myriad of perspectives: issues of interpretation and how meaning should be given to the document; questions of institutional competence, especially as to the role of the judiciary in a democratic society; normative visions about theories of government and individual freedoms; and perhaps most important of all, in terms of how constitutional doctrines affect people's lives. Ultimately, constitutional law is about the meaning of a just society and how best to achieve it.

My goal is to write the most thorough and lucid discussion of American constitutional law that I can in approximately 1,400 pages. I want both to state clearly constitutional doctrines and to identify the competing policy considerations in each area.

Constitutional law is a vast field, and space limitation affected every aspect of the book. First, many aspects of constitutional law that are covered in parts of the law school curriculum other than constitutional law courses are omitted. Most notably, constitutional provisions concerning criminal procedure—such as the Fourth Amendment, the Fifth Amendment's double jeopardy and grand jury clauses, and the Sixth Amendment—are not included. Nor does the book cover aspects of federal court jurisdiction that are traditionally the focus of federal jurisdiction courses, such as the Eleventh Amendment and abstention doctrines.¹

¹ These are covered in detail in Erwin Chemerinsky, Federal Jurisdiction (6th ed. 2012).

Second, the focus is primarily on the Supreme Court, and there is relatively little discussion of lower court decisions. There are many areas where lower court decisions are mentioned or cited, but there simply was not space for lengthy discussion of lower court approaches on various issues.

Finally, citations to secondary source materials are kept to a minimum. Although the literature on constitutional law is very rich, only a relatively small amount is cited in each area.

The material is divided into 12 chapters. Chapter 1 is an introduction and briefly describes the functions of the Constitution, the history of its drafting and ratification, and competing theories of constitutional interpretation.

Chapter 2 focuses on the federal judicial power and examines the authority for judicial review, justiciability doctrines, congressional control of federal court jurisdiction, and sovereign immunity of state governments.

Chapter 3 considers the federal legislative power, including various congressional powers, federalism as a limit on Congress's authority, and the problems of the administrative state.

Chapter 4 examines the federal executive power. A new section of this chapter focuses on presidential power in connection with the war on terrorism. Areas of overlap are acknowledged and dealt with by cross-references.

Chapter 5 discusses limits on state government power necessitated by the existence of a national government and of other states. Specifically, preemption, the dormant commerce clause, state taxation of interstate commerce, and the privileges and immunities clause are considered.

Chapter 6 examines the structure of the Constitution's protection of individual liberties. It discusses provisions in the Constitution's text, apart from the Bill of Rights, that concern individual rights. It also examines basic principles that apply to all the constitutional provisions dealing with individual liberties and civil rights, including the application of the Bill of Rights to the states, the requirement for government action, and the levels of scrutiny.

Chapter 7 focuses on procedural due process. The distinction between procedural and substantive due process is discussed at the outset. The chapter then examines what constitutes a deprivation of life, liberty, or property and what procedures must be followed when such a deprivation occurs.

Chapter 8 considers economic liberties under the Constitution. The chapter explores the use of substantive due process to protect economic rights, the contracts clause of Article I, §10, and the takings clause found in the Fifth Amendment.

Equal protection is examined in Chapter 9. This chapter begins by describing the analytical approach used in equal protection cases and focuses on the ways various types of discrimination have been treated by the Supreme Court.

Chapter 10 discusses fundamental rights. Because the Court often is unclear about whether a particular right, such as the right to marry, is found

Preface

under due process or equal protection or both, it is clearest to place in one chapter all the Supreme Court decisions under these provisions that have concerned individual rights. The source of the various rights, of course, is discussed throughout the chapter.

Chapter 11 looks at the First Amendment's protection of expression, including the rights of speech, press, assembly, and association. Chapter 12 examines the First Amendment's protection of religion under both the free exercise clause and the establishment clause.

Since the publication of the fourth edition, the Supreme Court has handed down major rulings concerning standing, the Affordable Care Act and the scope of Congress's powers, Arizona's restrictive immigration law and preemption, marriage equality, many aspects of freedom of speech, separation of church and state, and religious rights of secular corporations. All of these and many other developments are discussed throughout the book.

The book is complete through the end of the Supreme Court's October 2013 term, which ended on June 30, 2014. It is current through December 31, 2014. In light of the often rapid pace of change in constitutional law, I expect to continue to write new editions at regular intervals. I welcome comments and suggestions from readers.

Erwin Chemerinsky

April 2015

Acknowledgments

Writing a one-volume constitutional law treatise often seemed overwhelming. I was enormously helped by many people.

First and foremost, I thank my family—Catherine, Jeffrey, Adam, Alex, Mara, and Kim—for their encouragement, their patience, and their support. This book is dedicated to my grandson, Andrew, who was born on November 12, 2014, as I was completing this manuscript.

I express my deep appreciation to my friend Stephen Siegel for reading a draft of each chapter and offering insightful comments. His criticisms improved the book greatly, and his praise was invaluable inspiration to keep going.

I also am very grateful to many others who read parts of the book and provided extremely useful suggestions: Scott Altman, Catherine Fisk, Candice Hoke, Bill Marshall, Ed Rubin, Sharon Rush, Larry Simon, Matt Spitzer, and Marcy Strauss. I also thank the many readers of earlier editions who offered comments and suggestions that are reflected throughout this book. Nadine Strossen and her students offered countless helpful suggestions.

I completed the first two editions of this book while on the faculty of the University of Southern California Law School. Dean Scott Bice and Dean Matt Spitzer provided constant support and encouragement. My work on the first two editions was enormously aided by my assistant, Margaret Miller. The third edition was completed at Duke Law School, and Dean Kate Bartlett provided great support.

This edition and the prior one were undertaken and completed at the University of California, Irvine. I am very grateful to my Chancellors and Provosts, Michael Drake, Michael Gottfredson, and Howard Gillman, who have been tremendously supportive of my work and the law school in every

way. My assistant, Brandy Stewart, provides invaluable assistance on literally a daily basis.

The book simply could not have been completed without the help of Bob Nissenbaum at the Loyola Law School Library, which kindly "stored" a set of the Supreme Court Reporter at my house.

Also, as always, everyone at Wolters Kluwer has been terrific to work with. I am especially grateful to Carol McGeehan.

Last, but definitely not least, I was tremendously helped by a very talented group of research assistants. I express my deep thanks to Brian Mulhairn, Rod Castro, Chris Griggs, Amy Johnson, Melanie Petross, Melissa Pifko, Richard Rey, Karina Sterman, John Vetterly, and Cheryl Watkins for their work on the first edition; to Diara Fleming, Eric Godoy, Jorge Luna, Lori Minassian, Lisa Reush, Aneiko Webb, and especially Amy Kreutner for their work on the second edition; to Natasha Bell, Virginia Duke, Kim Kisabeth, Molly Penn, Michelle Riskind, and Garrick Sevilla for their work on the third edition; to Lori Speak and Tracey Steele for their work on the fourth edition; and to Fawn Bekam, Gillian Kuhlmann, and Jim Miller for their work on this edition.

Constitutional Law Principles and Policies

Summary of Contents

Contents		xi
Preface		xxi
Acknowledgment.	Š	xxv
CHAPTER 1	Historical Background and Contemporary Themes	1
CHAPTER 2	The Federal Judicial Power	31
CHAPTER 3	The Federal Legislative Power	239
CHAPTER 4	The Federal Executive Power	351
CHAPTER 5	Limits on State Regulatory and Taxing Power	409
CHAPTER 6	The Structure of the Constitution's Protection of Civil	
	Rights and Civil Liberties	501
CHAPTER 7	Procedural Due Process	569
CHAPTER 8	Economic Liberties	633
CHAPTER 9	Equal Protection	695
CHAPTER 10	Fundamental Rights	825
CHAPTER 11	First Amendment: Expression	965
CHAPTER 12	First Amendment: Religion	1247
Appendix	The Constitution of the United States of America	1339
		DE MATERIA
Table of Cases		1357
Index		1403

Contents

Preface		xxi
Acknow	vledgments	XXU
	CHAPTER 1	
	Historical Background	
	and Contemporary Themes	1
§1.1	The Constitution's Functions	1
§1.2	Why a Constitution?	6
§1.3	A Brief History of the Creation and Ratification of the Constitution	
	and Its Amendments	9
§1.4	How Should the Constitution Be Interpreted?	16
§1.5	Who Should Be the Authoritative Interpreter of the Constitution?	26
	CHAPTER 2	
	The Federal Judicial Power	31
	The rederal Judicial rower	31
§2.1	Introduction	32
§2.2	The Authority for Judicial Review	37
	§2.2.1 Marbury v. Madison: The Authority for Judicial	
	Review of Congressional and Presidential Actions	37
	§2.2.2 The Authority for Judicial Review of State	
	and Local Actions	45

	Con	itents
Introd	luction to the Justiciability Doctrines	47
	rohibition Against Advisory Opinions	51
	ng	58
§2.5.1	Introduction	58
§2.5.2	Injury	62
§2.5.3	Causation and Redressability	77
§2.5.4		85
§2.5.5		93
§2.5.6		
0	Zone of Interests Protected by the Statute	103
Ripen	ess	107
§2.6.1	Introduction	107
§2.6.2	Criteria for Determining Ripeness: The Hardship to	
0=	Denying Review	110
§2.6.3		
3=.0.0	Issues and Record for Judicial Review	117
Mooti	ness	118
§2.7.1	Description of the Mootness Doctrine	118
§2.7.2	Exceptions to the Mootness Doctrine: Collateral	
3-111-	Consequences	121
§2.7.3	Exceptions to the Mootness Doctrine: Wrongs	
54.7.0	Capable of Repetition Yet Evading Review	124
§2.7.4		
84.7.1	Voluntary Cessation	128
§2.7.5	Exceptions to the Mootness Doctrine: Class Actions	132
0	olitical Question Doctrine	135
§2.8.1	What Is the Political Question Doctrine?	135
$\S 2.8.1$ $\S 2.8.2$	Should There Be a Political Question Doctrine?	137
§2.8.3	The "Republican Form of Government"	101
84.0.3	Clause and Judicial Review of the Electoral Process	140
89 9 1		147
§2.8.4	Congressional Self-Governance.	150
§2.8.5		152
§2.8.6	, 0	104
§2.8.7		154
20.00	of Government	154
§2.8.8		100
0	United States	155
	ressional Control of Federal Court Jurisdiction	156
§2.9.1	Introduction	156
§2.9.2	1	162
§2.9.3		2
0	Jurisdiction	174
	eign Immunity as a Limit on the Federal Judicial Power	187
§2.10.1		4 2 2
	Amendment	190
89 10	What Does the Fleventh Amendment Mean?	104

Contents

	§2.10.3	The Application of the Eleventh Amendment:	200
	§2.10.4	What's Barred and What's Allowed	400
	\$4.10.4	Suits Against State Officers	207
	§2.10.5	Ways Around the Eleventh Amendment: Waiver	224
	§2.10.5	Ways Around the Eleventh Amendment: Suits	441
	84.10.0	Pursuant to Federal Laws	230
		I distant to rederal Laws	400
		CHAPTER 3	
		The Federal Legislative Power	239
§3.1	The Doo	ctrine of Limited Federal Legislative Authority	240
§3.2		ch v. Maryland and the Scope of Congressional	
			242
§3.3		cessary and Proper Clause	248
§3.4		mmerce Power	250
	§3.4.1	Introduction to the Commerce Power	250
	§3.4.2	Gibbons v. Ogden and the Definition of the	
		Commerce Power	252
	§3.4.3	The Commerce Clause Before 1937	254
	§3.4.4	The Commerce Clause from 1937 to 1995	262
	§3.4.5	The Commerce Clause After United States v. Lopez	272
§3.5	The Tax	ing and Spending Power	282
	§3.5.1	The Scope of the Taxing and Spending Power	282
	§3.5.2	The Taxing Power	283
	§3.5.3	The Spending Power	287
§3.6		ongressional Powers Under Article I and Article IV	291
	§3.6.1	Foreign Policy	291
22.5	§3.6.2	Domestic Affairs	296
§3.7		s's Powers Under the Reconstruction-Era	
		nents	298
	§3.7.1	May Congress Regulate Private Conduct?	299
20.0	§3.7.2	What Is the Scope of Congress's Power?	304
§3.8		s's Power to Authorize Suits Against State Governments	314
§3.9		s's Power to Investigate	324
§3.10		th Amendment and Federalism as a Limit on	900
§3.11		sional Authority	326
85.11		on of Legislative Power and the Problems of the	941
	§3.11.1	The Nondelegation Doctrine and Its Demise	341 341
	§3.11.2		345
	§3.11.2 §3.11.3	The Legislative Veto Delegation of Executive Power to Congress and	545
	30.11.0	Its Officials	348
			0.10
			xiii