1	IN THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES
2	x
3	ADOPTIVE COUPLE, :
4	Petitioner : No. 12-399
5	v. :
6	BABY GIRL, A MINOR CHILD UNDER THE:
7	AGE OF FOURTEEN YEARS, ET AL. :
8	x
9	Washington, D.C.
10	Tuesday, April 16, 2013
11	
12	The above-entitled matter came on for oral
13	argument before the Supreme Court of the United States
14	at 10:12 a.m.
15	APPEARANCES:
16	LISA S. BLATT, ESQ., Washington, D.C.; on behalf of
17	Petitioners.
18	PAUL D. CLEMENT, ESQ., Washington, D.C.; on behalf of
19	Respondent Guardian ad Litem in support of
20	Petitioners.
21	CHARLES A. ROTHFELD, ESQ., Washington, D.C.; on behalf
22	of Respondents Birth Father, et al.
23	EDWIN S. KNEEDLER, ESQ., Deputy Solicitor General,
24	Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.; for United
25	States, as amicus curiae, supporting Respondents

1	Birth	Father,	et	al.	
2					
3					
4					
5					
6					
7					
8					
9					
10					
11					
12					
13					
14					
15					
16					
17					
18					
19					
20					
21					
22					
23					
24					
25					

1	CONTENTS	
2	ORAL ARGUMENT OF	PAGE
3	LISA S. BLATT, ESQ.	
4	On behalf of the Petitioners	4
5	ORAL ARGUMENT OF	
6	PAUL D. CLEMENT, ESQ.	
7	On behalf of Respondent	
8	Guardian ad Litem in support of Petitioners	20
9	ORAL ARGUMENT OF	
10	CHARLES A. ROTHFELD, ESQ.	
11	On behalf of Respondents Birth Father, et al.	30
12	ORAL ARGUMENT OF	
13	EDWIN S. KNEEDLER, ESQ.	
14	For United States, as amicus curiae,	
15	Supporting Respondents Birth Father, et al.	51
16	REBUTTAL ARGUMENT OF	
17	LISA S. BLATT, ESQ.	
18	On behalf of the Petitioners	61
19		
20		
21		
22		
23		
24		
25		

1	PROCEEDINGS
2	(10:12 a.m.)
3	CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: We'll hear argument
4	first this morning in Case 12-399, Adoptive
5	Couple v. Baby Girl.
6	Ms. Blatt?
7	ORAL ARGUMENT OF LISA S. BLATT
8	ON BEHALF OF THE PETITIONERS
9	MS. BLATT: Thank you, Mr. Chief Justice,
10	and may it please the Court:
11	All parties agree that even if the birth
12	father is a parent under the Indian Child Welfare Act,
13	the State court decision below awarding custody to the
14	father must nonetheless be reversed unless Sections
15	1912(d) or (f) create custodial rights that the father
16	concededly does not have under State law.
17	JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Are you suggesting I
18	don't know that the parties I know that the
19	government has said that (f) doesn't apply to the
20	father, but (d) does, so there's not a full concession
21	on your point. But putting that aside, if it is a
22	father who has visitation rights, and exercising all of
23	his support obligations, is it your position that
24	that because that father's not a custodian, he has no
25	protections whatsoever under (d) or (e)?

- 1 The State can come and take the child away
- 2 from an unfit mother or father if they're the ones with
- 3 custody, and that responsible parent who only has
- 4 visiting rights has no protections under (d), (e), or
- 5 (f)?
- 6 MS. BLATT: Well, under State law --
- JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: I'm not asking about
- 8 State law --
- 9 MS. BLATT: Right. I think that --
- 10 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: -- I'm asking about
- 11 Federal law.
- MS. BLATT: Yes, Federal law, which
- 13 requires custodial rights, would protect a father who
- 14 has visitation, i.e., custodial rights under State law.
- So in other words, that -- that is to say,
- 16 if a father --
- JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Well, (d) doesn't talk
- 18 about custodial rights. I do agree that (f) talks about
- 19 continued --
- MS. BLATT: Right.
- JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: -- custody.
- MS. BLATT: Okay. So let's talk about (d)
- 23 because I think we are in agreement that the Respondents
- 24 would have to agree that they either need to win under
- 25 (d) or (f), and we can talk about Section 1915, but

- 1 that's not a basis for father.
- 2 But section (d) -- and I'm reading from the
- 3 blue brief at 8a says that it requires the party seeking
- 4 the termination of parental rights to provide, quote,
- 5 "remedial services and rehabilitative programs designed
- 6 to prevent the breakup of the Indian family."
- JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Well, you don't think
- 8 that a parent with custody -- well, you do think a
- 9 parent with custody is the only definition of family,
- 10 but why wouldn't a noncustodial parent with visitation
- 11 rights be considered a family with that child?
- 12 MS. BLATT: My understanding under State
- 13 law, a parent who --
- JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: I'm not going to State
- 15 law --
- 16 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Could -- could I
- 17 hear her answer, please?
- MS. BLATT: Yes.
- 19 So the answer is, a parent with visitation
- 20 rights has custody, so he's protected.
- 21 Under State law, if you're paying child
- 22 support and you bring a paternity action and sue for
- 23 visitation rights, that's a petition for custody. So
- 24 all a birth dad needs to do to protect himself is to
- 25 acquire legal rights.

- 1 This father had no legal rights whatsoever,
- 2 parental or custodial, and the word "breakup," even the
- 3 other side concedes, it's discontinuance of an existing
- 4 legal relationship. There was no legal relationship
- 5 between this child and the birth father or his
- 6 relatives.
- JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Well, there is a support
- 8 obligation on that unwed father.
- 9 MS. BLATT: No.
- 10 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Why isn't that a
- 11 parental right? It's one of the parental rights the
- 12 States enforce whether or not you want to provide
- 13 support or not.
- MS. BLATT: If a child is being adopted, by
- 15 definition, the -- the adoptive family would be
- 16 providing support. But let's take the -- let's take
- 17 what a -- again, the definition of breakup. There is no
- 18 familial legal custodial parental relationship that
- 19 either this father or the -- or his parents -- his
- 20 extended family had with this child.
- 21 This adoption no more broke up an Indian
- 22 family than his -- than this Hispanic sole custodial
- 23 birth mother had raised the child herself.
- JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: So what do you do with
- 25 the States that do give unwed fathers the -- that don't

- 1 support their children and who don't have an ongoing
- 2 relationship the right to be considered first for
- 3 adoption? Why should we follow the definitions of South
- 4 Carolina or those other States? Why shouldn't we just
- 5 give it a Federal meaning?
- 6 MS. BLATT: Because there's --
- 7 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: As --
- 8 MS. BLATT: Because there's nothing in this
- 9 Act that anyone can point to that was a basis for
- 10 transferring custody to this father. At most, there is
- 11 an obligation, an exhaustion obligation, that if a
- 12 custodial parent has something like a drug abuse problem
- 13 the State has to remediate before the family is broken
- 14 up.
- 15 What is so extraordinary about this case,
- 16 particularly the United States' position, is that the
- 17 adoptive parents' failure to remediate a dad meant that
- 18 the child got custody of the dad. So if this dad had
- 19 had a drug problem because there was no treatment of him
- 20 the court held, well, that's a basis for giving the dad
- 21 custody.
- 22 But there's no language in the statute that
- 23 even remotely suggests that it's a rights-creating
- 24 provision. All of both of (d), (e), and (f) are
- 25 protections that assume existing rights and then make it

- 1 harder to terminate those rights.
- 2 JUSTICE SCALIA: Your -- your argument
- 3 assumes that the phrase in the statute "to prevent the
- 4 breakup of the Indian family" only applies where --
- 5 where the father has custody. I don't -- I don't know
- 6 why that should be true. If -- if that's what Congress
- 7 meant, they could have put it much more narrowly. They
- 8 had a very broad phrase, "to prevent the break up of an
- 9 Indian family." And this guy is -- is the father of the
- 10 child --
- MS. BLATT: So he --
- 12 JUSTICE SCALIA: -- and they're taking the
- 13 child away from him even though he wants it.
- MS. BLATT: Okay. But when you --
- 15 JUSTICE SCALIA: And that -- that is not the
- 16 breakup of -- of an Indian family?
- MS. BLATT: The only relationship the dad
- 18 had is one of biology. And, Justice Scalia, you cannot
- 19 logically break up that biological relationship, nor can
- 20 you provide remedial services to prevent the breakup of
- 21 that biological relationship.
- 22 JUSTICE SCALIA: Oh, I see. You're
- 23 reading -- you're reading "Indian family" to mean
- 24 something more than -- than a biological relationship,
- 25 right? You're going to hang a lot of -- a lot of other

- 1 ornaments on that phrase?
- 2 MS. BLATT: Well, I'm hanging -- I'm hanging
- 3 a lot on two things.
- JUSTICE SCALIA: I mean, it seems to me he's
- 5 the father, the other woman's the mother, that's the --
- 6 that's the Indian family, the father, the mother, and
- 7 the kid.
- 8 MS. BLATT: He has a biological link that
- 9 under State law was equivalent to a sperm donor.
- 10 JUSTICE SCALIA: He's the father. He's the
- 11 father.
- MS. BLATT: And so is a sperm donor under
- 13 your definition. He's a biological father and nothing
- 14 else in the eyes of State law. And under that view --
- 15 JUSTICE SCALIA: This isn't State law. This
- is a Federal statute which uses an expansive phrase,
- 17 "the breakup of the Indian family."
- 18 MS. BLATT: Right. And there is no Indian
- 19 family here. The only breakup --
- 20 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: What's the difference
- 21 with a sperm donor? I mean, I know that you raise that
- 22 in your brief. But going back to Justice Scalia's
- 23 point, if the choice is between a mother, a biological
- 24 father, or a stranger, and if the father's fit, why do
- 25 you think that the Federal statute requires that it be

- 1 given to a stranger rather than to the biological father
- 2 when the statute defines "parent" as the biological
- 3 father?
- 4 MS. BLATT: And assuming all biological
- 5 fathers that are acknowledged or established are swept
- 6 in, which would include any biological father, the only
- 7 stranger in this case was the birth father, who
- 8 expressly repudiated all parental rights and had no
- 9 custodial rights. So again, the problem the other side
- 10 has --
- 11 JUSTICE GINSBURG: But he didn't. I mean,
- 12 he -- he said that he was prepared to surrender rights
- 13 to the mother, but not to a stranger. And when the
- 14 issue of adoption came up, he said, "Yes, I want to
- 15 assert my parental rights."
- 16 MS. BLATT: It was too late. There's not a
- 17 single State law that lets a dad, birth dad, hold that
- 18 kind of veto power over a woman.
- 19 JUSTICE GINSBURG: Where does it -- where is
- 20 there a reference in the definition of "parent" to a
- 21 State law? I see the -- which is the section that
- 22 defines a parent?
- MS. BLATT: Section 1903(9). But even
- 24 assuming -- which is --
- JUSTICE GINSBURG: Yes.

1	MS.	BLATT:	on	page	4A.	Whether	it'	s	а
---	-----	--------	----	------	-----	---------	-----	---	---

- 2 Federal definition or a State law definition, I think
- 3 everyone agrees you've got to at least look at some sort
- 4 of State law. But even if it's just a bare fact of
- 5 paternity, meaning a biological link is established,
- 6 they still have to have a basis for an extraordinary
- 7 award of a transfer of custody when there's been no best
- 8 interest determination and you have a dad who's a
- 9 complete stranger with no -- no parental rights
- 10 whatsoever.
- 11 JUSTICE GINSBURG: It says a parent means a
- 12 biological parent of an Indian child and he fits that
- 13 definition. And then the next section -- the next
- 14 sentence doesn't have any reference to State law.
- MS. BLATT: That's right. And again,
- 16 assuming he is a parent -- they -- they need to win both
- 17 points, Justice Ginsburg. He needs to be a parent.
- 18 Now, if you're an ICWA parent, which means
- 19 if you want to accept this definition of "all
- 20 biological," you do have rights under the Federal Act of
- 21 getting notice and a right to counsel, and the tribe
- 22 would have a right to intervene. The question is, is
- 23 there a basis for transferring custody under (d) or (f).
- 24 (F) is the one that requires continuing custody.
- 25 JUSTICE KAGAN: But, Ms. Blatt, if he's a

- 1 parent, why wouldn't some provision in 1912 give him
- 2 some rights? In other words, what's the point of making
- 3 him a parent under that definitional section if he
- 4 doesn't get any of the protections that 1912 provides
- 5 for when to terminate rights?
- 6 MS. BLATT: Because this -- this Act is not
- 7 about creating rights that didn't otherwise exist. It's
- 8 about protecting rights and making it harder to
- 9 terminate rights that already exist.
- 10 JUSTICE KAGAN: But what's the point of
- 11 labeling a parent if he gets no parental rights
- 12 under the statute and if the termination provisions
- don't apply to him?
- MS. BLATT: Notice, right to counsel, and
- 15 heightened consent requirements. So the mother here,
- 16 the birth mother is a parent, so she had a right to
- 17 notice, right to counsel, and heightened consent
- 18 requirements.
- 19 JUSTICE KAGAN: But what is he supposed
- 20 to --
- 21 MS. BLATT: So those are very significant.
- JUSTICE KAGAN: Well, how are they
- 23 significant? I mean, I'm trying to understand this
- 24 because if you get notice, but then you have nothing to
- 25 say in the proceeding because the statute gives you no

- 1 rights and the statute doesn't provide any standards for
- 2 terminating those rights --
- 3 MS. BLATT: Right.
- 4 JUSTICE KAGAN: -- what are you supposed to
- 5 do once you get notice?
- 6 MS. BLATT: Justice Kagan, just because he's
- 7 in the door as a parent, that doesn't mean the statute
- 8 let him leave out the back door with the child when
- 9 there was no, no determination with respect to -- I
- 10 mean, any kind -- it would be unprecedented to think
- 11 that because you had a failure to remediate to prevent
- 12 the breakup of an Indian family, that's a basis for
- 13 awarding custody? And that's the United States' view,
- 14 which is --
- JUSTICE KAGAN: I think you're not answering
- 16 the question of what's the point of labeling him a
- 17 parent if he gets none of the protections that the Act
- 18 provides to a parent?
- 19 MS. BLATT: You're assuming that this entire
- 20 Act was to make sure unwed dads who are Indian got more
- 21 time than non-Indian dads to veto adoptions, and that
- 22 had -- that's not even remotely the purpose of this.
- JUSTICE BREYER: Well, wait, wait, wait.
- 24 Isn't your answer 1915(a) still applies?
- MS. BLATT: 1915(a) still applies.

- 1 JUSTICE BREYER: And so 1915(a) means --
- 2 that's right.
- 3 MS. BLATT: Right.
- 4 JUSTICE BREYER: So he does have a -- a
- 5 considerable right.
- 6 MS. BLATT: Well, 19 --
- JUSTICE BREYER: I mean, they'll have to go
- 8 through a set and decide. They have to give it to him
- 9 unless -- unless something overcomes the preference or
- 10 there is good cause to the contrary.
- 11 MS. BLATT: He's not -- he didn't seek to
- 12 adopt the child and he's not one of the preferred
- 13 parties.
- JUSTICE BREYER: Well, you're thinking about
- 15 this case. I'm thinking in general. I think the
- 16 question --
- MS. BLATT: Well, no -- no father is a
- 18 preferred party under 1915. No father can -- can assert
- 19 1915. That is --
- JUSTICE GINSBURG: But doesn't 1915 preclude
- 21 the adoptive parents because they're not in the preferred
- 22 category? If 1915(a) precludes the adoption, then the
- 23 adoptive parents would have no legal basis for objecting
- 24 to an award to the father.
- 25 MS. BLATT: Right. Well, we have three

- 1 responses. First, we -- that provision assumes that
- 2 somebody actually in that -- in that statute stepped up
- 3 to adopt the child, and no one did here.
- 4 Second, it would raise grave constitutional
- 5 concerns. I mean, just look at (a)(3) on the other
- 6 Indian families if Congress presumptively presumed that
- 7 a non-Indian parent was unfit to raise any child with
- 8 any amount of Indian blood. And so it would either have
- 9 to -- it's either not implicated here or resolved by good
- 10 cause. Otherwise, you do have an extraordinary reading,
- 11 Justice Ginsburg, of a statute that would override a
- 12 birth mother's right to choose the adoptive parents for
- 13 her child.
- 14 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Is it your position
- 15 that the preference is absolute or is it simply a factor
- 16 to be considered with the other -- in other words, if
- 17 every other factor suggests that the best interests of
- 18 the child are served by placement with the adoptive
- 19 couple, does the preference under 1915(a) trump all
- 20 those other interests?
- 21 MS. BLATT: It's not our view. Our view is
- 22 you would have -- you absolutely would have had good
- 23 cause with -- here when you had the 27 months and also
- 24 the mother's choice. The tribe's position is that --
- 25 JUSTICE GINSBURG: It's not listed under

- 1 the -- there are guidelines for what constitutes good
- 2 cause.
- 3 MS. BLATT: The best interests of the child
- 4 is not listed under the government's guidelines, which
- 5 again is extraordinary. It's also extraordinary that
- 6 any other adopt -- any other Indian would get a
- 7 preference whether or not that Indian had the same
- 8 tribal member.
- 9 JUSTICE KENNEDY: In -- in your view, at
- 10 what point, at what date did the Indian father lose the
- 11 right to ask for custody? Because he changed his mind
- 12 in -- in January, there was about a 5-day period there.
- MS. BLATT: Yeah.
- 14 JUSTICE KENNEDY: The adoption proceedings
- 15 had not concluded.
- MS. BLATT: Right.
- 17 JUSTICE KENNEDY: And at this point he said,
- 18 in effect, I've changed my mind.
- MS. BLATT: So State law is you have to
- 20 support the mother during pregnancy or at birth. So the
- 21 cases are pretty clear that the father can't wait till
- 22 he learns of the adoption.
- JUSTICE KENNEDY: So the State law
- 24 determines when his rights under the Federal Act end?
- 25 MS. BLATT: No. State law determines just

- 1 when you have parental rights to begin with. So its
- 2 there's no question that this particular dad, had State
- 3 law applied, the adoption would have gone forward and
- 4 his rights would have been terminated by virtue of his
- 5 lack of a right to -- to object to the adoption.
- 6 JUSTICE SCALIA: Unless we believe that the
- 7 Federal statute determines when he has parental rights
- 8 by defining "parent" to include a biological father.
- 9 MS. BLATT: Yes, but you still have --
- 10 JUSTICE SCALIA: If that's the case, then
- 11 what you said doesn't apply.
- 12 MS. BLATT: -- custodial rights, though.
- 13 That's not a basis for granting him custodial rights.
- 14 This -- again, the -- we can talk about (f), but I think
- 15 (f) is pretty obvious that that assumes
- 16 preexisting custody to be continued.
- 17 JUSTICE SCALIA: Yes, I wanted you to talk
- 18 about (f). Are you going to say something about that
- 19 or --
- MS. BLATT: Yes, and I do --
- 21 JUSTICE SCALIA: -- are you going to leave
- it to the government?
- MS. BLATT: No.
- 24 JUSTICE SCALIA: You don't agree with the
- 25 government's position, do you?

- 1 MS. BLATT: Well, the government agrees with
- 2 us on (f). But if you read (d), by the way, it is
- 3 inextricably intertwined with (e) and (f). It's talking
- 4 about the breakup of a removal proceeding under (f) or a
- 5 foster care proceeding under (e), and the government
- 6 concedes that neither of those provisions create rights;
- 7 they just make it harder to terminate the custodial
- 8 rights of a parent who has custody that can be
- 9 continued.
- 10 The other side doesn't really have a
- 11 definition of "custody" or "continue" that would sweep
- 12 in a dad without any parental rights. And I do just
- 13 want to say in terms of looking, taking one step back.
- 14 This is not the case that Congress had in mind when it
- 15 passed the Act to halt the depletion of the tribal
- 16 population. This involves accretion and conscripting
- 17 other people's children to grow the tribal population
- 18 based solely on a biological link.
- 19 JUSTICE KAGAN: Ms. Blatt, continuing on the
- 20 assumption that this man is a parent under the statutory
- 21 definition, what your argument seems to be suggesting is
- 22 that there are really two classes of parents under the
- 23 statute, right, that everybody is labeled a parent, but
- 24 then there are the parents who get the protections of --
- of the termination of rights provision and the parents

- 1 who don't.
- 2 And I'm just wondering why if this statute
- 3 creates two classes of parents it didn't say that in a
- 4 more upfront kind of way?
- 5 MS. BLATT: Yes.
- 6 JUSTICE KAGAN: It seems a strange thing to
- 7 read into a statute in this sort of backhanded way that
- 8 there are really two kinds of parents.
- 9 MS. BLATT: Well, I think it's rather
- 10 completely upside down that this entire statute, with 20
- 11 or 24 references to removal, custody, return of child to
- 12 the parent, is somehow being read to create rights.
- 13 There is no language in this statute that creates
- 14 custodial rights, and the birth father in this case
- 15 because of an exhaustion failure under (d), walked off
- 16 with the child without any best interest determination.
- 17 If I could --
- 18 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you, counsel.
- 19 Mr. Clement?
- 20 ORAL ARGUMENT OF PAUL D. CLEMENT
- 21 ON BEHALF OF THE RESPONDENT GUARDIAN
- 22 AD LITEM IN SUPPORT OF PETITIONERS
- MR. CLEMENT: Mr. Chief Justice, and may it
- 24 please the Court:
- 25 But for the application of ICWA, two things

- 1 would be crystal clear: The birth father would have
- 2 absolutely no parental or custodial rights under State
- 3 law or the Constitution; and second, the baby girl would
- 4 be entitled to a custodial determination that focused on
- 5 her best interests.
- Now, the lower courts --
- 7 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: What do you do with the
- 8 lower court's determination that one of the factors of
- 9 the best interest calculus was the Federal policy to
- 10 ensure that Indian children, children of biological
- 11 Indian parents, at least one, should be raised with
- 12 their parents? Because the lower court said it thought
- 13 it was in the best interest of this child to stay with
- 14 its birth father, in light of the Federal policy. So I
- 15 disagree with your colleague that there wasn't a best
- 16 interest --
- 17 MR. CLEMENT: Justice Sotomayor, would that
- 18 it were true that the Federal preference was one factor
- 19 in a multifactor test that looked at this child in her
- 20 best interest. That did not happen here. And if you
- 21 have any doubt about that, look at page 40a of the
- 22 petition appendix. And what the lower court --
- JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: What do I do with the
- 24 lower court's finding that this father, despite not
- 25 being married to his prior lover, had children, was

- 1 attentive of those children, had the resources to raise
- 2 the child? What do we with -- why are you --
- 3 MR. CLEMENT: What you do with that, Justice
- 4 Sotomayor, is you look what context those findings were
- 5 made. Those findings were made in the context of
- 6 1912(f), and the court specifically said that for those
- 7 purposes all I can look at is the birth father and
- 8 whether this new custodial relationship, beyond a
- 9 reasonable doubt, would pose a serious harm to the girl.
- 10 And what he --
- 11 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: But they looked at
- 12 something else that everybody's ignoring --
- 13 JUSTICE SCALIA: Please finish. Let's
- 14 finish.
- 15 MR. CLEMENT: What the court specifically
- 16 said is they looked at the expert testimony of how it
- 17 would cause trauma, despair, anxiety, depression on this
- 18 baby girl to be taken from her parents, and the court
- 19 specifically said all of that was legally irrelevant
- 20 because 1912(f) only lets you look at the harm from the
- 21 new custodial relationship. It doesn't let you look at
- 22 any harm from the breakup of the previous custodial
- 23 relationship.
- 24 And all of that would make sense if you were
- 25 talking about 912(f)'s application to the situations

- 1 it's designed for.
- 2 JUSTICE KENNEDY: Well, and even in that
- 3 sense, serious emotional and physical damage is a much
- 4 different threshold than the best interests of the
- 5 child, even on the statutory terms.
- 6 MR. CLEMENT: It's miles away. And it's the
- 7 appropriate standard when you're taking somebody who has
- 8 existing legal custody and depriving them of it. But
- 9 everywhere in the law, including ICWA, when you make an
- 10 initial placement of a child in a new custodial setting,
- 11 you don't do that unless you look at the child's best
- 12 interest.
- And look at 1916(a) of ICWA, which is the only
- 14 provision in the Act that specifically contemplates a
- 15 child being placed in a new custodial setting. It talks
- 16 about what happens if you have an adoption and then the
- 17 adoptive parents for some reason terminate their rights
- 18 and then you send the child back to their original
- 19 Indian custodian. And in that situation, recognizing
- 20 that when there's been a break of custody, you don't
- 21 just send somebody off to a -- a new setting based on
- 22 beyond a reasonable doubt; you look at the best
- 23 interests of the child. And that's --
- JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Mr. Clement, can I go
- 25 back to that best interest calculus? There's two

- 1 timeframes in my mind to look at: In January, when he
- 2 asserted his parental rights and 2 years later when the
- 3 trial was heard. If there's serious emotional harm, I
- 4 think the court below said, we're not looking at what
- 5 happens at the time we're deciding the custody issue
- 6 because otherwise, we're going to give custody by
- 7 estoppel.
- 8 We're going to encourage people to hold on
- 9 to kids and create the serious physical harm. In
- 10 January, when he asserted his rights, that's what we're
- 11 looking at. What was in the best interests of the child
- 12 at the time the issue was raised, and that was 4 or 5
- 13 months after the birth of the child.
- MR. CLEMENT: Well, Justice Sotomayor, I'm
- 15 here representing the guardian who represents the best
- 16 interest of the child. From the child's perspective,
- 17 the child really doesn't care whose fault it was when
- 18 they were brought in one custodial situation or another.
- 19 They just want a determination that focuses
- 20 on at the relevant time, that time, what's in their best
- 21 interest. And so in the same way that we think if you
- 22 rule in our favor and you remand to the lower court that
- 23 there has to be a best interest determination that takes
- 24 into account the current situation, notwithstanding that
- 25 that would be on the hypothesis that the last 15 months

- of custody were based on a legal misunderstanding, we
- 2 still think this girl --
- JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: So we're going to freeze
- 4 it at that point or are we going to freeze it today,
- 5 after the child's been with his -- with her father for 2
- 6 years?
- 7 MR. CLEMENT: You freeze it at the time that
- 8 somebody's talking about --
- 9 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: I don't want to be that
- 10 judge, by the way.
- 11 MR. CLEMENT: You freeze it at the time that
- 12 somebody's talking about changing a custodial situation.
- 13 But what is so tragic here is that the lower court
- 14 applied 1912(d) and (f), which are clearly designed for
- 15 a situation when you're contemplating transferring
- 16 custody away from an existing custodial relationship.
- 17 They looked at that and applied those inapposite
- 18 standards to create a transfer to somebody with new
- 19 custody.
- Now, the Solicitor --
- 21 JUSTICE GINSBURG: What about now, when you
- 22 said the best interest. Now the child has been some
- 23 15 months with the father. So if a best interest
- 24 calculus is made now, you would have to take into
- 25 account uprooting that relationship, would you not?

- 1 MR. CLEMENT: Absolutely, Justice Ginsburg.
- 2 We're not here to try to say that anybody is entitled to
- 3 automatic custody of this child based on some legal
- 4 rule.
- 5 JUSTICE KENNEDY: And I -- and I take it
- 6 you'll say that that goes back to this South Carolina
- 7 court if you prevail?
- 8 MR. CLEMENT: Absolutely. And I would hope
- 9 with instructions to please make that determination as
- 10 quickly as humanly possible.
- 11 JUSTICE KENNEDY: If the best interest of
- 12 the child is the uniformly accepted standard in State
- 13 courts, and if we forget constitutional avoidance
- 14 problems which I -- I think exist here, is there
- 15 anything in the statute that allows us to import the
- 16 best interests of the child into the statutory language,
- or do we have to just rely on constitutional avoidance
- 18 and -- and really rewrite the statute?
- MR. CLEMENT: Well, a couple of things,
- 20 Justice Kennedy. If you got to the point of applying
- 21 1915(a) and the placement preferences -- and we agree
- 22 with Petitioners that they're not squarely applicable
- 23 here because the birth father's argument was not that I
- 24 get to adopt, but that I have an entitlement -- if you
- 25 got to that, I think the good cause standard gives you a

- 1 vehicle for importing a lot of best interest standards.
- I also think you could look --
- JUSTICE GINSBURG: Even though -- even
- 4 though the guidelines to what's good cause do not
- 5 include best interest.
- 6 MR. CLEMENT: That's right, but even the
- 7 Justice Department doesn't say that the guidelines are
- 8 binding or entitled to anything more than Skidmore
- 9 deference, and I'd take constitutional avoidance over
- 10 Skidmore deference any day.
- But the second thing I would put on the
- 12 table is I think the fact that 1916(a) tells you that
- 13 the one time you are thinking about transferring
- 14 custody, Congress looked to the best interest standard.
- 15 That's a clear hint that if you are talking about
- 16 transferring custody you should look to the best
- 17 interests.
- 18 And, again, I think it's imperative to look
- 19 at 1912(d), (e), and (f). As the government and the
- 20 Solicitor General recognizes, they all contemplate
- 21 continued custody, (e) and (f) do.
- Now, then the government turns around and
- 23 says, well, but (d) was a basis for what the lower court
- 24 did, which is to transfer custody. With all due respect
- 25 to the government, (d) makes even less sense as a basis

- 1 for transferring custody than (f). At least (f) has
- 2 some standard designed for some transfer of custody. It
- 3 happens to be the wrong transfer. It's the transfer
- 4 away from continuing custody out and it's beyond a
- 5 reasonable doubt.
- 6 But (d) has no standard to satisfy. And
- 7 their position is that because this birth father was not
- 8 presented with remedial and rehabilitative services,
- 9 therefore, because he didn't get remedial services that
- 10 presumably he needed, he gets the child. That's crazy.
- 11 And what it shows is that 12(d) assumes that
- 12 it's like an exhaustion requirement, and unless and
- 13 until these services are provided you preserve the
- 14 status quo ante. But the lower court didn't preserve
- 15 the status quo ante. The lower court ordered this poor
- 16 girl sent to somebody who, at least under state law and
- 17 just a matter of practicality, is a stranger to her.
- 18 And nowhere in the law do you see any child
- 19 being transferred to a new custodial arrangement without
- 20 a best interest determination. And why did it happen
- 21 here? It happened here because of ICWA, which by its
- 22 terms does not apply to these situations, and it
- 23 happened because of 3/256ths of Cherokee blood.
- Now, the Justice Department back in 1978
- 25 recognized there were profound constitutional problems

- 1 with the statute. Then-Assistant Assistant Attorney
- 2 General, later Judge, Patricia Wald, told Congress that
- 3 there were applications of the statute that raised equal
- 4 protection problems because they treated people
- 5 differently solely on the basis of race.
- 6 One of the things she pointed to is what she
- 7 point -- described as "the (b) portion of the definition
- 8 of 'Indian child.'" And that's what makes this child an
- 9 Indian child here, its biology, its biology combined
- 10 with the fact that the tribe, based on a racial
- 11 classification, thinks that somebody with 325 --
- 12 1 percent Indian blood is enough to make them a
- 13 tribal -- a tribal member, eligible for tribal
- 14 membership.
- 15 And as a result of that, her whole world
- 16 changes and this whole inquiry changes. It goes from an
- 17 inquiry focused on her best interests and it changes to
- 18 a focus on the birth father and whether or not beyond a
- 19 reasonable doubt there is a clear and present danger.
- 20 Again, that is --
- 21 JUSTICE BREYER: So what do we do about
- 22 that?
- MR. CLEMENT: You correct the lower court.
- 24 And there's two paths to correct the lower court. One
- 25 way to correct the lower court is to say, look -- can I

- 1 finish the answer?
- 2 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Finish the answer.
- 3 MR. CLEMENT: You could -- you would either
- 4 do it by changing the definition of "parent" and
- 5 recognize that, given the consequences that flow from a
- 6 parent in the statute, it only makes sense to prove
- 7 something more than bare paternity.
- 8 Or you could do it by recognizing that if
- 9 somebody gets in the front door of this statute based on
- 10 bare paternity, you have to interpret provisions like
- 11 (d), (e), and (f) with sensitivity to the fact that
- 12 under that reading just because you are a parent doesn't
- 13 mean you have these kind of extraordinary rights.
- 14 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you, counsel.
- 15 Mr. Rothfeld?
- 16 ORAL ARGUMENT OF CHARLES A. ROTHFELD
- ON BEHALF OF RESPONDENTS BIRTH FATHER, ET AL.
- 18 MR. ROTHFELD: Thank you, Mr. Chief Justice,
- 19 and may it please the Court:
- It is simply false to say that this child's
- 21 custody was transferred without a best interest
- 22 determination, as is apparent from any reading of the
- 23 lower court decisions in this case.
- 24 Both of the State courts here looked very
- 25 closely at the situation here and they found, in their

- 1 words, that the father here was a "fit, devoted, and
- 2 loving father, " and they said expressly and found
- 3 expressly as a factual matter that it was in the best
- 4 interest of this child.
- 5 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Do you think that's
- 6 correct under the Act? Where in the Act does it say
- 7 that you need to consider whether or not the father is
- 8 a -- would be a good parent? I thought your reading was
- 9 that it doesn't matter, all that matters is that he has
- in his case 3/128ths Cherokee blood.
- 11 MR. ROTHFELD: Well, I -- I think that there
- 12 is some confusion as to exactly what the State courts
- 13 did here and what ICWA does. ICWA does not assign
- 14 custody. ICWA -- ICWA addresses the question whether or
- 15 not the parental rights of -- of a parent of an Indian
- 16 child can be terminated. The courts here, both courts,
- 17 correctly held that under the plain application of ICWA,
- 18 under Section 1912(d), as discussed by Justices
- 19 Sotomayor and Scalia, clearly parental rights could not
- 20 be terminated.
- 21 The question then arose, what happens to the
- 22 child? And the court then, because there were a natural
- 23 parent with intact parental rights, applied the usual
- 24 rule that there is a strong presumption that a fit
- 25 parent, natural parent, who wants to exercise custody

- 1 of -- of his or her child should get custody. That was
- 2 what happened here.
- JUSTICE KENNEDY: And do you -- you want us
- 4 to write the case as if this is just a standard best
- 5 interest determination and -- and this federal statute
- 6 is irrelevant? I don't understand your argument.
- 7 MR. ROTHFELD: No, no, Your Honor. I -- I
- 8 think that the analysis of the South Carolina Supreme
- 9 Court was exactly right in this -- in -- in those terms.
- 10 The court applied ICWA, the Federal statute. The
- 11 question was, could the parental rights of this parent
- 12 be terminated? This -- everyone concedes this is an
- 13 Indian child. ICWA applies because of that.
- 14 The question then is, can the parental
- 15 rights be terminated? Sections 1912(e) and (f) address
- 16 that question -- (d), (e), and (f). And --
- JUSTICE SCALIA: Do you apply a "best
- 18 interest of the child" standard to a termination of
- 19 parental rights?
- MR. ROTHFELD: No, not in the --
- 21 JUSTICE SCALIA: I mean, can -- can -- I
- 22 know a lot of kids that would be better off with
- 23 different parents.
- 24 MR. ROTHFELD: And that -- that, too, is
- 25 exactly right, Justice Scalia. That is precisely what

- 1 the ordinary state law standard says, that there is a
- 2 presumption that the natural parent, if the natural
- 3 parent is fit, should be awarded custody of the child.
- 4 JUSTICE BREYER: Actually, it does -- does
- 5 (f) apply, in your opinion, to this case or not?
- 6 MR. ROTHFELD: Yes, it -- in our opinion,
- 7 both (d) and (f) apply.
- 8 JUSTICE BREYER: And (f) has something of
- 9 the best interest standard tilted towards the Indian
- 10 parent.
- 11 MR. ROTHFELD: Well, I think --
- 12 JUSTICE BREYER: Is that right or not? I
- mean, as I read it it's something. It's tough, but it's
- 14 there.
- 15 MR. ROTHFELD: I think that that's right,
- 16 but I -- but I would add the -- the caveat that it's not
- 17 a best interest in the sense of we are going to apply
- 18 this standard to determine custody.
- 19 JUSTICE BREYER: So in your view the best
- 20 interest standard does not apply, but rather (f)
- 21 applies?
- MR. ROTHFELD: (F) applies --
- JUSTICE BREYER: And (f) is a tough version
- 24 of a best interest standard.
- 25 Have I got it right or not?

	1	MR.	ROTHFELD:	Correct.	but	with	thi
--	---	-----	-----------	----------	-----	------	-----

- 2 addition, what it applies for is the question whether or
- 3 not the rights of this parent can be terminated.
- 4 Whether the parental rights of the parent can be
- 5 terminated. And so --
- 7 It says "continued custody." That seems to assume that
- 8 custody exists.
- 9 MR. ROTHFELD: That is -- that is the other
- 10 side's argument. Our response is that there is a
- 11 definitional provision in ICWA that says that a child
- 12 custody proceeding is one that includes a proceeding
- 13 leading to the termination of parental rights. Parental
- 14 rights are defined to be broadly as the parent-child
- 15 relationship.
- 16 And so we think in context (f) means that
- 17 it's the termination of the parent-child relationship is
- 18 what has to be considered.
- 19 JUSTICE KAGAN: So your argument is not that
- 20 "continued" means something different from the normal
- 21 language, your argument is that "custody" means
- 22 something different from its normal language.
- MR. ROTHFELD: Our argument is that
- 24 "custody" means what Congress said "child custody
- 25 proceeding" means, which is termination of the

- 1 parent-child relationship. And so we think that
- 2 continuation of a relationship -- the question is under
- 3 (f) would that be harmful for the child? But I should
- 4 quickly say that (f) is only one part of the argument
- 5 here. As Justices Sotomayor and Scalia began the
- 6 discussion with Ms. Blatt, (d) also applies. (D) says
- 7 nothing at all about custody. The question under --
- 8 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Could -- could I go
- 9 back to what you just said about (f)? You think custody
- 10 covers someone who has never had custody of the child
- 11 because it refers to something beyond the accepted
- 12 definition?
- MR. ROTHFELD: Well, I -- again, the
- 14 definition of "child custody proceeding" in ICWA
- 15 includes a proceeding leading to the termination of
- 16 parental rights. Parental rights --
- 17 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: But (f) doesn't say
- 18 "child custody proceeding." It says "continued custody
- 19 of the child."
- 20 MR. ROTHFELD: That -- that's true, but I
- 21 think that has to be interpreted within the context of
- the definitional provision and what Congress had in mind
- 23 when it referred to child custody proceeding.
- But I think -- you know, (f), as I say, is
- 25 only a portion of the argument here. And to return to

- 1 what Justices --
- JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Tell me why you are
- 3 fighting Justice Breyer? He said, I see -- and your --
- 4 Mr. Clement said the same thing -- that "good cause"
- 5 under 1958 has a variant of best interests of the child
- 6 or factors that are considered. I see (f) as doing the
- 7 same thing, allotting however a burden of proof that may
- 8 or may not be higher than other States.
- 9 I mean, in -- in -- some States may have
- 10 clear and convincing evidence, some States may have
- 11 preponderance. Some States -- I don't know if any have
- 12 beyond a reasonable doubt. But it's an allocation of
- 13 burden.
- MR. ROTHFELD: No. I -- I think that that's
- 15 right, and I certainly don't intend to fight
- 16 Justice Breyer. I -- I think that --
- 17 JUSTICE BREYER: You should if I'm not
- 18 right.
- 19 (Laughter.)
- 20 MR. ROTHFELD: I don't --
- 21 JUSTICE GINSBURG: But I think Justice
- 22 Breyer is quite wrong because a standard that says
- 23 results in serious emotional or physical damage to the
- 24 child is far from a best interest standard.
- 25 JUSTICE SCALIA: It sure is. And do you

- 1 know of any State that -- that applies best interest of
- 2 the child standard to termination of parental rights as
- 3 opposed to adoption?
- 4 MR. ROTHFELD: Absolutely not. And I -- and
- 5 I think I -- I will try to agree with both
- 6 Justice Breyer and Justice Ginsburg and Justice Scalia
- 7 and say that --
- 8 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: But not me, right?
- 9 (Laughter.)
- 10 MR. ROTHFELD: And Justice Sotomayor. And
- 11 always -- always the Chief Justice.
- 12 JUSTICE KAGAN: You might just have to
- 13 pick --
- MR. ROTHFELD: Which gets me to five, so.
- 15 But I think -- I think the crucial point is
- 16 what -- what we're talking about the determination of
- 17 parental rights under -- under (f) is whether or not, as
- 18 Justice Scalia says, the rights of a biological parent
- 19 can be terminated, which is not sort of the ordinary
- 20 best interest determination when you're choosing between
- 21 two people who are strangers to the child. So --
- 22 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: This is not -- (f)
- 23 is not about terminating parental rights. It's about
- 24 what -- I mean, it's about custody, right?
- 25 MR. ROTHFELD: No, no. I think (f) is

- 1 about -- both (d) and (f) are about terminating parental
- 2 rights. Parental rights cannot be terminated unless
- 3 these determinations have been made. Unless it's been
- 4 shown that --
- 5 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: In what proceeding,
- 6 the adoption proceeding or custody determination?
- 7 MR. ROTHFELD: Any proceeding which is aimed
- 8 at the termination of parental rights. The adoption
- 9 proceeding here cannot go forward, all concede, unless
- 10 parental rights are terminated. And so if parental
- 11 rights cannot be terminated under either (d) or (f),
- 12 this adoption cannot go forward and we are in a
- 13 different place.
- I think that's what -- exactly what the
- 15 South Carolina Supreme Court said. It said, we're going
- 16 to apply -- we're going to look to ICWA to see can we
- 17 terminate the parental rights of this natural father.
- 18 And as Justice Scalia says, that is central. There is a
- 19 natural parent here who wants custody. Can his -- can
- 20 his claim for custody be denied and can his parental
- 21 rights be terminated?
- 22 To determine that, Congress has put Federal
- 23 standards in place in ICWA, in (d) and (f), and we have
- 24 to say both of those have been satisfied here.
- 25 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: If -- if you had a

- 1 tribe, is there at all a threshold before you can call,
- 2 under the statute, a child an "Indian child"? 3/256ths?
- 3 And what if the tribe -- what if you had a tribe with a
- 4 zero percent blood requirement? They're open for, you
- 5 know, people who want to apply, who think culturally
- 6 they're a Cherokee or -- or any number of fundamentally
- 7 accepted conversions.
- 8 MR. ROTHFELD: That --
- 9 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: I mean, is it --
- 10 is -- would that child be considered an Indian child, so
- 11 a father who had renounced any interest in her until he
- 12 found out about the adoption would have all these
- 13 rights?
- MR. ROTHFELD: Well, that -- that would be a
- 15 different question. What we have here is a --
- 16 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: No, no. That's why
- 17 I asked it. It's a different question.
- 18 (Laughter.)
- 19 MR. ROTHFELD: Well -- and the answer would,
- 20 I think, be as a threshold matter, as this Court has
- 21 said consistently, it is fundamental -- fundamental
- 22 basis of tribal sovereignty that -- that a tribe get to
- 23 determine the --
- 24 JUSTICE GINSBURG: I thought the definition
- of an Indian child is just straight out of the statute.

- 1 An Indian child is someone who is either a member of a
- 2 tribe or eligible, and is the biological child of a
- 3 member of an Indian tribe.
- 4 MR. ROTHFELD: That is correct.
- 5 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: So return to what is
- 6 a hypothetical question and not what the statute
- 7 provides. Under your argument, a tribe that did not
- 8 require any blood requirement, but simply enrollment,
- 9 could be considered an Indian child.
- 10 MR. ROTHFELD: Well, the -- the child would
- 11 have to be a -- would have to be biological parents --
- 12 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Yes, yes, you have
- 13 somebody who has no Indian blood, he enrolls in my
- 14 hypothetical tribe, has a biological child. That child
- 15 would be an Indian child and the father would be
- 16 entitled to the protections you're arguing for.
- MR. ROTHFELD: Well, that's -- that's true
- 18 in theory. But of course, A, that is not our case. B,
- 19 if that were to occur and whether or not that would be
- 20 sort of a legitimate basis for determining membership of
- 21 a -- in an Indian tribe I think would be --
- JUSTICE BREYER: But that is a problem.
- 23 Because, look, I mean, as it appears in this case is he
- 24 had three Cherokee ancestors at the time of George
- 25 Washington's father. All right? Now, you say, oh,

- 1 well, that's a different issue.
- 2 But I don't see how to decide that case
- 3 without thinking about this issue because if your view
- 4 is taken and you accept that definition, a a woman who
- 5 is a rape victim who has never seen the father could,
- 6 would, in fact, be at risk under this statute that the
- 7 child would be taken and given to the father who has
- 8 never seen it and probably just got out of prison, all
- 9 right? And you don't know that this beyond reasonable
- 10 doubt standard would satisfy that.
- Now, that's obviously something I find
- 12 disturbing, as a person and also as a judge, because
- 13 we're trying to interpret the statute to avoid results
- 14 that would be very far out, at least. And -- and that's
- 15 what I want you to tell me. How do I prevent that kind
- 16 of risk through an interpretation of the statute?
- MR. ROTHFELD: Well, let me answer both that
- 18 question and the Chief Justice's question which I think
- 19 have similar responses. As to the rape victim, I am
- 20 confident that an application of Section 1912(f) would
- 21 lead to termination of that father's parental rights,
- 22 and so he would never be in the picture as a possible --
- 23 well, the question whether or not custody of someone who
- 24 has engaged in such conduct could lead to serious
- 25 physical or emotional damage to the child, I think there

- 1 will be no difficulty in reaching that conclusion.
- 2 But on the question of could a tribe
- 3 establish some manipulative type of -- of membership
- 4 criteria, it's significant that that is not this case
- 5 because --
- JUSTICE SCALIA: Aren't there Federal
- 7 definitions of approvals of tribes? Not every group of
- 8 native Americans who get together can call themselves a
- 9 tribe.
- 10 MR. ROTHFELD: That -- that is quite right.
- 11 JUSTICE SCALIA: And isn't one of the
- 12 conditions of that a condition of blood and not -- not
- of voluntary membership?
- MR. ROTHFELD: As I --
- 15 JUSTICE SCALIA: I'm quite sure that's
- 16 right. So I think the hypothetical is -- is a null set.
- 17 I don't think it ever exists.
- MR. ROTHFELD: I -- I think that --
- 19 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Well --
- 20 MR. ROTHFELD: -- that's what I was trying
- 21 to get to -- I'm sorry, Mr. Chief Justice.
- 22 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: I'm just wondering
- 23 is 3/256ths close -- close to zero? I mean, that's --
- 24 that's the question in terms to me, that if you have a
- 25 definition, is it one drop of blood that triggers all

- 1 these extraordinary rights?
- 2 MR. ROTHFELD: But it has always been the
- 3 Cherokee membership criterion that if someone who can
- 4 trace their lineal ancestry to some -- to a person who
- 5 is on the Dawes Rolls is a member. No one has ever
- 6 questioned that that is a legitimate basis for
- 7 establishing tribal citizenship. And so --
- 8 JUSTICE ALITO: But what if a tribe makes
- 9 eligibility available for anybody who, as a result of a
- 10 DNA test, can establish any Indian ancestry, no matter
- 11 how slight?
- 12 MR. ROTHFELD: I think that that would lead
- 13 to the question posed by Justice Scalia. Whether or not
- 14 that would be a legitimate basis for establishing --
- 15 JUSTICE ALITO: No, it's different from his.
- 16 He says it's -- it has to be based on blood. This would
- 17 be based on blood.
- 18 MR. ROTHFELD: But I -- I think it leads to
- 19 his question that there is a Federal element to
- 20 recognition of an Indian tribe. And I think whether or
- 21 not tribal membership criteria so far depart from the
- 22 traditional understanding of what constitutes a tribe as
- 23 to be acceptable for those purposes, that would be a
- 24 question to be resolved by the United States, by the
- 25 political branches.

- 1 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Counsel, there are two
- 2 forms of the EIFD doctrine, the existing Indian family
- 3 doctrine. One applies directly to this case, what's the
- 4 status of an unwed father, and they seem, under that
- 5 doctrine, to apply the definition that a parent who
- 6 hasn't been involved in the care during pregnancy is not
- 7 a father.
- 8 But the other side of the doctrine is the
- 9 one that addresses, I think, the Chief's concern, which
- 10 is you don't only have Indian blood, but you've been a
- 11 father who's actually been a member of an Indian tribe,
- 12 an active member.
- We don't have to reach that separate issue
- 14 here, that EIFD -- that part of the EIFD doctrine.
- 15 MR. ROTHFELD: Well, I guess I'll give you
- 16 two answers to that. First, in this case, there has
- 17 been a finding by the family court that this father has
- 18 significant ties to the Cherokee Nation. And so if one
- 19 could think that that was part of the test under ICWA,
- 20 it is certainly satisfied here.
- 21 I -- I would go further than that and say
- 22 that I think the vast majority of State courts have
- 23 correctly rejected that theory because --
- 24 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: I don't disagree.
- 25 MR. ROTHFELD: It -- it would be sort of

- 1 beyond the judicial competence to determine whether or
- 2 not a particular person is Indian enough to qualify for
- 3 treatment as a father of an Indian child under -- under
- 4 ICWA.
- Just to nail this down, as to the particular
- 6 membership criteria of the Cherokee Nation, no one has
- 7 ever suggested, our opponents here do not suggest that
- 8 that is, in any sense, illegitimate or not a traditional
- 9 basis for establishing membership in an Indian tribe.
- 10 So if one can imagine wild hypotheticals of
- 11 the sort that Justice Alito and the Chief Justice have
- 12 suggested, they are not present here, and those would
- 13 present political questions to be addressed by Congress
- 14 or addressed by the executive branch.
- 15 In this case, again, the State courts found
- 16 that ICWA should be applied to allow a natural father to
- 17 raise his child. Those courts found that was in the
- 18 best interests of the child to be raised by their
- 19 natural parent because that parent was a fit, was a
- 20 loving, was a devoted parent in the words of -- of the
- 21 lower courts. Those conclusions were quite clearly
- 22 correct.
- 23 And if I can turn to something which
- 24 attracted some attention from Justice Scalia and Justice
- 25 Sotomayor in their exchanges with Ms. Blatt, the

- 1 application of Section 1912(d) and whether or not the
- 2 parental rights of this -- this father, who
- 3 unquestionably satisfies the definition of parent in
- 4 ICWA, Section 1912(d) says that parental rights cannot
- 5 be terminated unless remedial efforts have been made,
- 6 rehabilitative efforts have been made to fix a family
- 7 that is broken in some respect.
- 8 And Ms. Blatt suggests that that does not
- 9 apply here because there was no Indian family. I think
- 10 what Justice Scalia said was absolutely right. There
- 11 unquestionably was a family here in the ordinary sense.
- 12 There was a mother, there was a father, there was their
- 13 little girl, there were grandparents who very much
- 14 wanted to be involved in the life of this child, who
- 15 knit socks for her. There's no question --
- 16 JUSTICE SCALIA: Is my recollection correct
- 17 that -- that he had offered to -- to marry the mother,
- 18 and she rejected that?
- 19 MR. ROTHFELD: That -- that is quite
- 20 correct. I think that the genesis of this case, they --
- 21 they were an engaged couple and the mother broke the
- 22 engagement. The father wanted, very much wanted to
- 23 marry the mother, wanted to --
- 24 JUSTICE GINSBURG: I thought that there's
- 25 some ambiguity there because one reason why he wanted to

- 1 marry was that he would get more pay and allowances.
- 2 MR. ROTHFELD: Well, there -- there are
- 3 disputed facts as to what was going on, and so I don't
- 4 want to hinge a lot on this. But I think it is quite
- 5 clear the father -- they were engaged, the father wanted
- 6 to marry the mother.
- 7 The father's testimony -- and the family
- 8 court found, so we're not talking about simply, you
- 9 know, assertions here. The family court found that the
- 10 father was excited by the pregnancy, was looking forward
- 11 to the birth of the child, that he wanted to marry the
- 12 mother so that she would qualify for military health
- 13 benefits. The father at the time --
- 14 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: He was excited, but
- 15 there is no doubt he paid nothing during the pregnancy
- 16 and nothing at the time of the birth, right, to support
- 17 the child or the mother?
- 18 MR. ROTHFELD: That -- that is true. But
- 19 I -- I am --
- 20 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: So he was excited by
- 21 it, he just didn't want to take any responsibility.
- 22 (Laughter.)
- JUSTICE SCALIA: Well, that -- that was
- 24 after she had rejected his offer to marry her, no?
- 25 MR. ROTHFELD: Yes. I mean --

- JUSTICE KENNEDY: Well, these -- these
- 2 considerations are why domestic relations pose the
- 3 hardest problems for judges. Our domestic relations
- 4 judges all by themselves every day have these difficult
- 5 problems. If we could appoint King Solomon, who was the
- 6 first domestic relations judge, as special master, we
- 7 could do it. But we can't do it.
- 8 MR. ROTHFELD: That -- that -- that --
- 9 JUSTICE KENNEDY. But what we have -- what
- 10 we have here is a question of a Federal statute which,
- 11 as I must understand it, displaces the ordinary best
- 12 interest determinations of the State courts. Would you
- 13 agree with that?
- MR. ROTHFELD: I -- I would agree that
- 15 Congress indicated that part of the best interest
- 16 inquiry for an Indian child concerns -- takes account of
- 17 their status as an Indian child, and Congress made a
- 18 factual determination -- the fact that --
- JUSTICE SCALIA: I don't know why you make
- 20 that concession. I mean, your client has been deprived
- 21 of parental rights. I do not know that -- that it is
- 22 traditional to decide whether a parent will be deprived
- 23 of parental rights by assessing what is in the best
- 24 interest of the child.
- 25 That seems to me quite --

- 1 MR. ROTHFELD: That is quite --
- JUSTICE SCALIA: -- extraordinary, not
- 3 normal.
- 4 JUSTICE KENNEDY: But is -- is that true
- 5 under South Carolina law?
- 6 MR. ROTHFELD: Yes, that is. I -- with
- 7 respect to that --
- 8 JUSTICE KENNEDY: Under South Carolina law
- 9 in this adoption proceeding, the -- if it had not been
- 10 for the statute, the best interest of the child standard
- 11 would not have applied?
- 12 MR. ROTHFELD: I think there are three
- 13 things that are going on here.
- 14 Had ICWA not applied here at all, then the
- 15 father would have had no right to object to the
- 16 adoption, so the adoption would have gone forward had it
- 17 not been for ICWA.
- 18 However, as Justice Scalia says correctly,
- 19 when a natural parent is involved, and the natural
- 20 parent has rights that have not yet been terminated, as
- 21 this parent's have not, then ordinarily a best interest
- 22 inquiry --
- JUSTICE GINSBURG: He would be out under
- 24 South Carolina law because he didn't support the child
- 25 during the pregnancy.

- 1 MR. ROTHFELD: I -- I have to disagree with
- 2 that, Justice Ginsburg. The family court judge found
- 3 that his parental rights could not be terminated as a
- 4 matter of South Carolina law, as well as a matter of
- 5 ICWA law. And so we think it is quite clear that this
- 6 father's right would not be terminated.
- 7 As Justice Scalia says, in the ordinary
- 8 course, while we're not engaged in a free-floating best
- 9 interest inquiry, one would say whether or not a -- a
- 10 profound showing of parental neglect or insufficiency
- 11 has been made to terminate those rights. If it cannot,
- 12 then that father should get custody.
- In response to what Justice Kennedy had
- 14 asked about --
- 15 JUSTICE GINSBURG: Termination of parental
- 16 rights requires a showing that it's an unfit parent,
- 17 which is quite --
- 18 MR. ROTHFELD: That -- that is absolutely
- 19 right, and no such showing has been made or could be
- 20 made in this case.
- 21 And if I may just finish --
- 22 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: You have an extra --
- 23 you have an extra minute.
- 24 MR. ROTHFELD: The -- both of the State
- 25 courts in this case carefully looked at the -- at the

- 1 situation here and found that this father, far from
- 2 being an unfit father, was a fit, loving, devoted father
- 3 who had created a safe, satisfactory and -- and loving
- 4 environment for the child.
- 5 Under ordinary South Carolina standards,
- 6 once one gets past ICWA, parental rights cannot be
- 7 terminated in a situation of this sort, the parental
- 8 rights, as Justice Scalia says, of a natural parent, who
- 9 had --
- 10 JUSTICE ALITO: Well, if this case would
- 11 have come out the same way under purely South Carolina
- 12 law, then why are we here?
- MR. ROTHFELD: The -- the only reason that
- 14 ICWA comes into play is because South Carolina law did
- 15 not give this father a right to object to the adoption.
- 16 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you, counsel.
- 17 MR. ROTHFELD: Thank you very much, Your
- 18 Honor.
- 19 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Mr. Kneedler?
- ORAL ARGUMENT OF EDWIN S. KNEEDLER,
- 21 FOR THE UNITED STATES, AS AMICUS CURIAE,
- 22 SUPPORTING RESPONDENTS BIRTH FATHER, ET AL.
- 23 MR. KNEEDLER: Mr. Chief Justice, and may it
- 24 please the Court:
- 25 I would like to start with the definition of

- 1 "parent" under the Act because I think a lot flows from
- 2 that. The Act provides that a parent -- a parent of an
- 3 Indian child is the -- if it's the biological parent,
- 4 except where the child -- or where the parent -- paternity
- 5 has not been established or acknowledged.
- 6 Here, the -- the father's paternity was
- 7 acknowledged and established, both courts below found.
- 8 As a consequence, he has not simply a biological
- 9 relationship to the child, he has a legal relationship
- 10 to the child, created under Federal law.
- 11 Then --
- 12 JUSTICE KENNEDY: But -- but -- did you --
- 13 at your -- when you began, do you use "paternity" in the
- 14 biological sense?
- 15 MR. KNEEDLER: "Paternity" itself is in a
- 16 biological sense, but when --
- 17 JUSTICE KENNEDY: As -- as you -- as you
- 18 interpret the statute, "paternity is the biological
- 19 sense, " not -- not an --
- MR. KNEEDLER: Yes.
- 21 JUSTICE KENNEDY: -- not an existing
- 22 parental relationship.
- MR. KNEEDLER: No, a biological sense. But
- 24 the establishment of --
- JUSTICE SCALIA: It says that, doesn't it?

- 1 A parent is -- is the -- the biological parent.
- 2 MR. KNEEDLER: Yes. It does.
- JUSTICE SCALIA: That's what it says.
- 4 MR. KNEEDLER: Yes, but what I'm saying is,
- 5 once -- in the unwed father situation, once the father
- 6 establishes or acknowledges paternity, the father has a
- 7 legal relationship, not just the --
- 8 JUSTICE ALITO: Well, family law is
- 9 traditionally a State province, but your argument is
- 10 that Federal law can take a traditional family law term
- 11 like "parent" and perhaps others and give it a meaning
- 12 that is very different from its traditional meaning or
- 13 its meaning under State law?
- MR. KNEEDLER: Well, several things about
- 15 that.
- 16 JUSTICE ALITO: Strike the "traditional"
- 17 meaning, but its meaning under State law.
- 18 MR. KNEEDLER: Well, several things about
- 19 that. First, there are States -- the Casey amicus brief
- 20 in footnote 7 identifies a number of States which
- 21 recognize parental rights for a parent who has
- 22 established or acknowledged citizenship. So the State
- 23 law varies on that.
- 24 And this was the -- one of the very problems
- 25 Congress was concerned about with respect to Indian

- 1 children because --
- 2 JUSTICE SCALIA: Wait. I didn't understand.
- 3 Citizenship, who has acknowledged citizenship?
- 4 MR. KNEEDLER: I'm sorry. I meant to say
- 5 paternity. Sorry.
- 6 JUSTICE SCALIA: Okay. I understand now.
- 7 MR. KNEEDLER: What you have here -- what
- 8 you have here are people who are citizens of two
- 9 separate sovereigns. An Indian tribe is a sovereign and
- 10 a State. Congress tried to accommodate those competing
- 11 interests by leaving the cases in State court, letting
- 12 them be subject to State law, but subject to minimum
- 13 standards to protect the people who are citizens -- or
- 14 eligible for citizenship in the Indian tribe.
- 15 That is a classic implementation of
- 16 Congress's plenary responsibility in the Federal trust
- 17 and guardianship for Indians, and nothing could be more
- 18 at the core of tribal self-determination and tribal
- 19 survival than the determination of tribal membership and
- 20 the care about what happens to Indian children.
- 21 JUSTICE KAGAN: Mr. Kneedler, let's say
- 22 you're right that this man is a parent under the terms
- 23 of the Act, so not just a biological father, but also he
- 24 has a legal status as parent under this Act. And then
- 25 1912 says, well, this is how you go about terminating

- 1 parental rights, right?
- 2 But then your argument suggests that one of
- 3 these clauses applies to him and the other one doesn't,
- 4 even though he's a parent. But you're saying he only
- 5 gets some of the protections, that there are really two
- 6 classes of parents, custodial parents and non.
- 7 So where does that come from?
- 8 MR. KNEEDLER: I think it's not two classes
- 9 of parents. It comes from the text of (f) itself, which
- 10 talks about continued custody, which we -- we think
- 11 means that (f) applies -- it presupposes that there is
- 12 custody to continue. And that's just a condition on the
- 13 termination of parental rights.
- JUSTICE SCALIA: That's a very strange way
- 15 to put it. I mean, just -- just in passing in the
- 16 sentence, that "the continued custody." I mean, you
- 17 would think if that's what they meant, they would say,
- 18 "where the child" is -- "is within the custody of a
- 19 parent, comma, no termination of parental rights may be
- 20 ordered, in the absence of a determination, "blah, blah,
- 21 blah, blah, blah.
- It doesn't say that. It says, "No
- 23 termination may be ordered in absence of a
- 24 determination, including testimony of a qualified
- 25 expert, that the continued custody of the child by the

- 1 parent or Indian custodian is likely to result in
- 2 serious emotional."
- When it's -- when it's framed that way, I
- 4 am -- I am inclined to believe that the "continued
- 5 custody" means looks to the future, the continuing
- 6 custody by this person in the future. To read into it
- 7 the fact that -- that the whole provision only applies
- 8 to someone who is then in custody of the child, that's
- 9 very strange. That's -- that's not the way somebody
- 10 would write a provision like that.
- 11 MR. KNEEDLER: I -- I grant you it is
- 12 somewhat awkwardly written, but we think the sense of it
- is -- is that because this is -- as this Court noted in
- 14 the Santosky decision, this is a very unusual statutory
- 15 provision with respect to the burden of proof.
- 16 And there is some logic for Congress
- 17 applying this -- this -- where there is a custodial --
- 18 JUSTICE BREYER: But doesn't it happen, in
- 19 your interpretation, unlike the two parties who have an
- 20 interpretation I can understand, that -- remember my
- 21 hypothetical, which I deliberately made dramatic. We
- 22 can think of a whole range of things short of that where
- 23 the father has seen the mother never, perhaps, or sperm
- 24 donors for very short periods of time, and under your
- 25 interpretation where there is an ongoing relationship,

- 1 even a short one, at least they can't give the child to
- 2 the father where it would be very harmful to the -- to
- 3 the child.
- But under your interpretation, the one
- 5 category of people who is exempt from that are the
- 6 category of fathers who've never seen the mother.
- 7 Who've seen the mother a very short time. Who may be in
- 8 -- they're not even subject to looking to see if it's
- 9 very harmful to the child.
- 10 So I just -- am I right about your
- 11 interpretation having that effect? And if it does have
- 12 that effect, what's the justification for it?
- 13 MR. KNEEDLER: Well, the -- there's
- 14 several -- several things about that with respect to the
- 15 rapist and the sperm donor. In the 35-year history of
- 16 this statute --
- 17 JUSTICE BREYER: All right. So you can say,
- 18 oh, there's no such thing as a parent, a father who only
- 19 sees the mother --
- MR. KNEEDLER: No, no, no.
- JUSTICE BREYER: All right. Okay. All
- 22 right.
- Now, let's suppose there is such a thing.
- 24 As long as there is such a thing, the anomaly that I
- 25 mentioned seems to me to exist. And am I wrong or right

- 1 about that? And if it exists, what's the basis for your
- 2 creating an interpretation of the statute that would
- 3 produce it?
- 4 MR. KNEEDLER: It's -- it's not as anomalous
- 5 as you're suggesting because state law standards still
- 6 apply, and under state law standard under Santosky,
- 7 there has to be clear and convincing evidence to
- 8 terminate -- to apply the State termination of parental
- 9 rights provisions, which is what the family court did in
- 10 this case.
- 11 This is -- this is a Federal overlay, an
- 12 additional requirement.
- If I could, though, move on to --
- 14 JUSTICE KAGAN: But as a Federal overlay,
- 15 Mr. Kneedler, I mean, does it make sense to sort of
- 16 split apart (d) and (f) in this way? Because (d) is the
- 17 curing provision that says you have to take steps to try
- 18 to cure this parent and, you know, to try to make him or
- 19 her a better parent. And then (f) says here's the
- 20 standard for terminating parental rights if those
- 21 curative efforts have failed. Right?
- 22 So to -- to use -- to have the curative
- 23 provision but not the standard just seems to -- to make
- 24 a -- a mess of the statute.
- 25 MR. KNEEDLER: Well, with respect, I don't

- 1 think so because custody is in the one and -- and not in
- 2 the other. (D) speaks of breakup of -- of the family
- 3 relationship. And I think there, the family
- 4 relationship because it -- it speaks of termination of
- 5 parental rights, which is in turn defined in the Act as
- 6 anything that terminates the parent-child relationship,
- 7 which -- which can be much broader than -- than whether
- 8 the parent actually has custody, which is the word
- 9 that --
- 10 JUSTICE GINSBURG: But the whole thrust of
- 11 it, you -- this is directed to providing remedial
- 12 services, which it -- it seems that it fits a situation
- where someone has custody but is having problems getting
- 14 his or her act together so needs the help of a social
- 15 worker, but it makes no sense to talk about remedial
- 16 services for someone who has never had custody.
- 17 MR. KNEEDLER: Not -- with -- with respect,
- 18 Justice Ginsburg, I don't agree. Remedial services here
- 19 would entail -- the remedial services have to be tied to
- 20 whatever the problem is. And here the problem was the
- 21 father had not shown sufficient interest in the child.
- 22 Remedial services would have been efforts to interest
- 23 the father in the child.
- Here that wasn't necessary because as soon
- 25 as the father found out about the adoption proceeding,

- 1 he acknowledged and established his paternity and said,
- 2 I want that child.
- 3 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: But he didn't want
- 4 anything to do with the child if the mother had kept the
- 5 child in her care. It was only when she wanted to put
- 6 it up for adoption that he had developed this interest
- 7 in the child.
- 8 MR. KNEEDLER: And that's -- that is
- 9 precisely the point when ICWA kicks in. ICWA does not
- 10 try to regulate the relationship between the mother and
- 11 the father. That is -- that is left to State law or
- 12 tribal law. ICWA kicks in only when there's going to be
- 13 an adoption or a termination of rights and the child is
- 14 going to be placed outside of -- of the relationship.
- 15 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: But what's -- is --
- 16 is -- are the would-be adoptive parents required to
- 17 provide remedial services and rehabilitative programs
- 18 under (d)?
- 19 MR. KNEEDLER: No, their burden is to
- 20 demonstrate that that has happened. The remedial --
- 21 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: So that it's a
- 22 tribe -- if the tribe wants to defeat the adoption, all
- 23 they have to do is do nothing with respect to the
- 24 father's --
- 25 MR. KNEEDLER: Well, I -- I think the -- the

- 1 family court could direct that remedial service --
- 2 this -- this happens, I think, frequently in family
- 3 court, is the remedial services -- this is not an
- 4 unusual provision. Much State family law provides for
- 5 this. The State court can oversee the -- the remedial
- 6 services and that could have been done in this -- in
- 7 this case.
- 8 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you,
- 9 Mr. Kneedler.
- 10 Ms. Blatt, you have three minutes remaining.
- 11 REBUTTAL ARGUMENT OF LISA S. BLATT
- 12 ON BEHALF OF THE PETITIONERS
- 13 MS. BLATT: Thank you, Mr. Chief Justice,
- 14 and may it please the Court:
- 15 If you affirm below, you're basically
- 16 banning the interracial adoption of abandoned Indian
- 17 children. There's not a single adoptive parent in their
- 18 right mind who is going to do what the court below said,
- 19 which is go through these Kafkaesque hoops of making
- 20 sure an absentee father's desire to be a parent has been
- 21 stimulated.
- 22 This is a private adoption. This is absurd
- 23 that an adoptive parent would beg the family court to go
- 24 provide parenting classes. And I wanted to --
- JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Counsel, this Act, in

- 1 terms of voluntary surrender of Indian children by
- 2 parents, says that it's not final for an adoptive parent
- 3 until the court does the adoption decree. It gives the
- 4 mother the right -- or father -- to rescind the
- 5 voluntary adoption till the very last minute. Has that
- 6 stopped adopt -- voluntary adoptions?
- 7 MS. BLATT: No, but this -- first of all --
- 8 I mean, I love that about this case, the irony here. He
- 9 had no -- we didn't need his consent under State law, so
- 10 the application of 1913, which allowed this withdrawal
- of consent, mandates the return of the child.
- 12 Well, there was no way to return this child
- 13 to anybody other than the mother. And I want you to
- 14 keep in mind about this case, is your decision is going
- 15 to apply to the next case and to a apartment in New York
- 16 City where a tribal member impregnates someone who's
- 17 African-American or Jewish or Asian Indian, and in that
- 18 view, even though the father is a completely absentee
- 19 father, you are rendering these women second-class
- 20 citizens with inferior rights to direct their
- 21 reproductive rights and their -- who raises their child.
- 22 You are relegating adoptive parents to go to
- 23 the back of the bus and wait in line if they can adopt.
- 24 And you're basically relegating the child, the child to
- 25 a piece of property with a sign that says, "Indian, keep

- 1 off. Do not disturb."
- 2 This case is going to affect any interracial
- 3 adoption of children.
- 4 JUSTICE SCALIA: That was its intent.
- 5 MS. BLATT: No.
- 6 JUSTICE SCALIA: You don't think that that's
- 7 what its intent was?
- 8 MS. BLATT: No.
- 9 JUSTICE SCALIA: It only applies to children
- 10 of -- to tribal children. And -- and the purpose was to
- 11 establish much more difficult standards for the adoption
- 12 of -- of a child --
- MS. BLATT: No, no, Justice Scalia.
- JUSTICE SCALIA: Now, maybe you -- you
- 15 disagree with that policy, but that's clearly a policy
- 16 behind the law.
- MS. BLATT: No, I think the policy is
- 18 fantastic. It was talking about Indian families who
- 19 were being ripped away because of cultural biases and
- 20 insensitivity. This case didn't involve cultural
- 21 biases.
- JUSTICE SCALIA: It didn't say that. It --
- 23 its definition of --
- MS. BLATT: There's 30,000 pages of
- 25 legislative history that's talking about the removal.

1	JUSTICE GINSBURG: That, Ms. Blatt, is what
2	provoked the Act that Indian children were being removed
3	from their families, but the Act is written in much
4	broader terms.
5	MS. BLATT: I agree. 1915 is extraordinary,
6	if you read it the way the tribe does, which is and
7	the government does.
8	And a little bit about the membership
9	criteria. The tribe's view is any child born Indian is
10	automatically a member. So even if the parents withdrew
11	their tribal membership, this child would be covered.
12	CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you, counsel.
13	The case is submitted.
14	(Whereupon, at 11:15 a.m., the case in the
15	above-entitled matter was submitted.)
16	
17	
18	
19	
20	
21	
22	
23	
24	
25	

	l	l	I	l
A	addition 34:2	53:8,16	14:24,25 32:13	assumes 9:3
abandoned	additional 58:12	allocation 36:12	33:21,22 34:2	16:1 18:15
61:16	address 32:15	allotting 36:7	35:6 37:1 44:3	28:11
aboveentitled	addressed 45:13	allow 45:16	55:3,11 56:7	assuming 11:4
1:12 64:15	45:14	allowances 47:1	63:9	11:24 12:16
absence 55:20	addresses 31:14	allowed 62:10	apply 4:19 13:13	14:19
55:23	44:9	allows 26:15	18:11 28:22	assumption
absentee 61:20	adopt 15:12	ambiguity 46:25	32:17 33:5,7	19:20
62:18	16:3 17:6	americans 42:8	33:17,20 34:6	attention 45:24
absolute 16:15	26:24 62:6,23	amicus 1:25	38:16 39:5	attentive 22:1
absolutely 16:22	adopted 7:14	3:14 51:21	44:5 46:9 58:6	attorney 29:1
21:2 26:1,8	adoption 7:21	53:19	58:8 62:15	attracted 45:24
37:4 46:10	8:3 11:14	amount 16:8	applying 26:20	automatic 26:3
50:18	15:22 17:14,22	analysis 32:8	56:17	automatically
absurd 61:22	18:3,5 23:16	ancestors 40:24	appoint 48:5	64:10
abuse 8:12	37:3 38:6,8,12	ancestry 43:4,10	appropriate	available 43:9
accept 12:19	39:12 49:9,16	anomalous 58:4	23:7	avoid 41:13
41:4	49:16 51:15	anomaly 57:24	approvals 42:7	avoidance 26:13
acceptable	59:25 60:6,13	answer 6:17,19	april 1:10	26:17 27:9
43:23	60:22 61:16,22	14:24 30:1,2	arent 42:6	award 12:7
accepted 26:12	62:3,5 63:3,11	39:19 41:17	arguing 40:16	15:24
35:11 39:7	adoptions 14:21	answering 14:15	argument 1:13	awarded 33:3
accommodate	62:6	answers 44:16	3:2,5,9,12,16	awarding 4:13
54:10	adoptive 1:3 4:4	ante 28:14,15	4:3,7 9:2 19:21	14:13
account 24:24	7:15 8:17	anxiety 22:17	20:20 26:23	awkwardly
25:25 48:16	15:21,23 16:12 16:18 23:17	anybody 26:2 43:9 62:13	30:16 32:6	56:12
accretion 19:16			34:10,19,21,23	В
acknowledged	60:16 61:17,23	apart 58:16	35:4,25 40:7 51:20 53:9	b 29:7 40:18
11:5 52:5,7	62:2,22 affect 63:2	apartment 62:15	55:2 61:11	baby 1:6 4:5
53:22 54:3	affirm 61:15	apparent 30:22	arose 31:21	21:3 22:18
60:1	africanameric	appearances		back 10:22 14:8
acknowledges	62:17	1:15	arrangement 28:19	19:13 23:18,25
53:6	age 1:7	appears 40:23	asian 62:17	26:6 28:24
acquire 6:25	agree 4:11 5:18	appendix 21:22	aside 4:21	35:9 62:23
act 4:12 8:9	5:24 18:24	applicable 26:22	asked 39:17	backhanded
12:20 13:6	26:21 37:5	application	50:14	20:7
14:17,20 17:24	48:13,14 59:18	20:25 22:25	asking 5:7,10	banning 61:16
19:15 23:14	64:5	31:17 41:20	assert 11:15	bare 12:4 30:7
31:6,6 52:1,2 54:23,24 59:5	agreement 5:23	46:1 62:10	15:18	30:10
59:14 61:25	agrees 12:3 19:1	applications	asserted 24:2,10	based 19:18
64:2,3	aimed 38:7	29:3	assertions 47:9	23:21 25:1
action 6:22	al 1:7,22 2:1	applied 18:3	assessing 48:23	26:3 29:10
active 44:12	3:11,15 30:17	25:14,17 31:23	assign 31:13	30:9 43:16,17
ad 1:19 3:8	51:22	32:10 45:16	assistant 29:1	basically 61:15
20:22	alito 43:8,15	49:11,14	assume 8:25	62:24
add 33:16	45:11 51:10	applies 9:4	34:7	basis 6:1 8:9,20
auu 55.10		^ ^		
L	•	•	•	•

	1	-		
12:6,23 14:12	37:18 40:2,11	branch 45:14	49:24 50:4	41:18 42:19,21
15:23 18:13	40:14 52:3,8	branches 43:25	51:5,11,14	42:22 45:11
27:23,25 29:5	52:14,16,18,23	break 9:8,19	case 4:4 8:15	47:14,20 50:22
39:22 40:20	53:1 54:23	23:20	11:7 15:15	51:16,19,23
43:6,14 45:9	biology 9:18	breakup 6:6 7:2	18:10 19:14	60:3,15,21
58:1	29:9,9	7:17 9:4,16,20	20:14 30:23	61:8,13 64:12
beg 61:23	birth 1:22 2:1	10:17,19 14:12	31:10 32:4	chiefs 44:9
began 35:5	3:11,15 4:11	19:4 22:22	33:5 40:18,23	child 1:6 4:12
52:13	6:24 7:5,23	59:2	41:2 42:4 44:3	5:1 6:11,21 7:5
behalf 1:16,18	11:7,17 13:16	breyer 14:23	44:16 45:15	7:14,20,23
1:21 3:4,7,11	16:12 17:20	15:1,4,7,14	46:20 50:20,25	8:18 9:10,13
3:18 4:8 20:21	20:14 21:1,14	29:21 33:4,8	51:10 58:10	12:12 14:8
30:17 61:12	22:7 24:13	33:12,19,23	61:7 62:8,14	15:12 16:3,7
believe 18:6	26:23 28:7	36:3,16,17,22	62:15 63:2,20	16:13,18 17:3
56:4	29:18 30:17	37:6 40:22	64:13,14	20:11,16 21:13
benefits 47:13	47:11,16 51:22	56:18 57:17,21	cases 17:21	21:19 22:2
best 12:7 16:17	bit 64:8	brief 6:3 10:22	54:11	23:5,10,15,18
17:3 20:16	blah 55:20,20,21	53:19	casey 53:19	23:23 24:11,13
21:5,9,13,15	55:21,21	bring 6:22	category 15:22	24:16,17 25:22
21:20 23:4,11	blatt 1:16 3:3,17	broad 9:8	57:5,6	26:3,12,16
23:22,25 24:11	4:6,7,9 5:6,9	broader 59:7	cause 15:10	28:10,18 29:8
24:15,20,23	5:12,20,22	64:4	16:10,23 17:2	29:8,9 31:4,16
25:22,23 26:11	6:12,18 7:9,14	broadly 34:14	22:17 26:25	31:22 32:1,13
26:16 27:1,5	8:6,8 9:11,14	broke 7:21	27:4 36:4	32:18 33:3
27:14,16 28:20	9:17 10:2,8,12	46:21	caveat 33:16	34:11,24 35:3
29:17 30:21	10:18 11:4,16	broken 8:13	central 38:18	35:10,14,18,19
31:3 32:4,17	11:23 12:1,15	46:7	certainly 36:15	35:23 36:5,24
33:9,17,19,24	12:25 13:6,14	brought 24:18	44:20	37:2,21 39:2,2
36:5,24 37:1	13:21 14:3,6	burden 36:7,13	changed 17:11	39:10,10,25
37:20 45:18	14:19,25 15:3	56:15 60:19	17:18	40:1,2,9,10,14
48:11,15,23	15:6,11,17,25	bus 62:23	changes 29:16	40:14,15 41:7
49:10,21 50:8	16:21 17:3,13	$\overline{\mathbf{C}}$	29:16,17	41:25 45:3,17
better 32:22	17:16,19,25		changing 25:12	45:18 46:14
58:19	18:9,12,20,23	c 1:9,16,18,21	30:4	47:11,17 48:16
beyond 22:8	19:1,19 20:5,9	1:24 3:1 4:1	charles 1:21	48:17,24 49:10
23:22 28:4	35:6 45:25	calculus 21:9	3:10 30:16	49:24 51:4
29:18 35:11	46:8 61:10,11	23:25 25:24	cherokee 28:23	52:3,4,9,10
36:12 41:9	61:13 62:7	call 39:1 42:8	31:10 39:6	55:18,25 56:8
45:1	63:5,8,13,17	cant 17:21 48:7	40:24 43:3	57:1,3,9 59:21
biases 63:19,21	63:24 64:1,5	57:1 care 19:5 24:17	44:18 45:6	59:23 60:2,4,5
binding 27:8	blood 16:8 28:23	44:6 54:20	chief 4:3,9 6:16	60:7,13 62:11
biological 9:19	29:12 31:10	60:5	16:14 20:18,23	62:12,21,24,24
9:21,24 10:8	39:4 40:8,13	carefully 50:25	30:2,14,18	63:12 64:9,11
10:13,23 11:1	42:12,25 43:16	carefully 50:25	31:5 35:8,17	children 8:1
11:2,4,6 12:5	43:17 44:10	26:6 32:8	37:8,11,22	19:17 21:10,10
12:12,20 18:8	blue 6:3	38:15 49:5,8	38:5,25 39:9	21:25 22:1
19:18 21:10	born 64:9	J0.13 1 7.3,0	39:16 40:5,12	54:1,20 61:17
	l		I	l

	1	Ī	l	1
62:1 63:3,9,10	comma 55:19	considerations	counsel 12:21	crucial 37:15
64:2	competence	48:2	13:14,17 20:18	crystal 21:1
childs 23:11	45:1	considered 6:11	30:14 44:1	cultural 63:19
24:16 25:5	competing	8:2 16:16	51:16 61:25	63:20
30:20	54:10	34:18 36:6	64:12	culturally 39:5
choice 10:23	complete 12:9	39:10 40:9	couple 1:3 4:5	curative 58:21
16:24	completely	consistently	16:19 26:19	58:22
choose 16:12	20:10 62:18	39:21	46:21	cure 58:18
choosing 37:20	concede 38:9	constitutes 17:1	course 40:18	curiae 1:25 3:14
citizens 54:8,13	concededly 4:16	43:22	50:8	51:21
62:20	concedes 7:3	constitution	court 1:1,13	curing 58:17
citizenship 43:7	19:6 32:12	21:3	4:10,13 8:20	current 24:24
53:22 54:3,3	concern 44:9	constitutional	20:24 21:12,22	custodial 4:15
54:14	concerned 53:25	16:4 26:13,17	22:6,15,18	5:13,14,18 7:2
city 62:16	concerns 16:5	27:9 28:25	24:4,22 25:13	7:18,22 8:12
claim 38:20	48:16	contemplate	26:7 27:23	11:9 18:12,13
classes 19:22	concession 4:20	27:20	28:14,15 29:23	19:7 20:14
20:3 55:6,8	48:20	contemplates	29:24,25 30:19	21:2,4 22:8,21
61:24	concluded 17:15	23:14	30:23 31:22	22:22 23:10,15
classic 54:15	conclusion 42:1	contemplating	32:9,10 38:15	24:18 25:12,16
classification	conclusions	25:15	39:20 44:17	28:19 55:6
29:11	45:21	context 22:4,5	47:8,9 50:2	56:17
clauses 55:3	condition 42:12	34:16 35:21	51:24 54:11	custodian 4:24
clear 17:21 21:1	55:12	continuation	56:13 58:9	23:19 56:1
27:15 29:19	conditions 42:12	35:2	61:1,3,5,14,18	custody 4:13 5:3
36:10 47:5	conduct 41:24	continue 19:11	61:23 62:3	5:21 6:8,9,20
50:5 58:7	confident 41:20	55:12	courts 21:6,8,24	6:23 8:10,18
clearly 25:14	confusion 31:12	continued 5:19	26:13 30:24	8:21 9:5 12:7
31:19 45:21	congress 9:6	18:16 19:9	31:12,16,16	12:23,24 14:13
63:15	16:6 19:14	27:21 34:7,20	44:22 45:15,17	17:11 18:16
clement 1:18 3:6	27:14 29:2	35:18 55:10,16	45:21 48:12	19:8,11 20:11
20:19,20,23	34:24 35:22	55:25 56:4	50:25 52:7	23:8,20 24:5,6
21:17 22:3,15	38:22 45:13	continuing	covered 64:11	25:1,16,19
23:6,24 24:14	48:15,17 53:25	12:24 19:19	covers 35:10	26:3 27:14,16
25:7,11 26:1,8	54:10 56:16	28:4 56:5	crazy 28:10	27:21,24 28:1
26:19 27:6	congresss 54:16	contrary 15:10	create 4:15 19:6	28:2,4 30:21
29:23 30:3	conscripting	conversions	20:12 24:9	31:14,25 32:1
36:4	19:16	39:7	25:18	33:3,18 34:7,8
client 48:20	consent 13:15	convincing	created 51:3	34:12,21,24,24
close 42:23,23	13:17 62:9,11	36:10 58:7	52:10	35:7,9,10,14
closely 30:25	consequence	core 54:18	creates 20:3,13	35:18,18,23
colleague 21:15	52:8	correct 29:23,24	creating 13:7	37:24 38:6,19
combined 29:9	consequences	29:25 31:6	58:2	38:20 41:23
come 5:1 51:11	30:5	34:1 40:4	criteria 42:4	50:12 55:10,12
55:7	consider 31:7	45:22 46:16,20	43:21 45:6	55:16,18,25
comes 51:14	considerable	correctly 31:17	64:9	56:5,6,8 59:1,8
55:9	15:5	44:23 49:18	criterion 43:3	59:13,16
1				

	1	I	I	I
	42:25 44:5	developed 60:6	doing 36:6	40:2 54:14
d 1:9,16,18,18	46:3 51:25	devoted 31:1	domestic 48:2,3	emotional 23:3
1:21,24 3:6 4:1	63:23	45:20 51:2	48:6	24:3 36:23
4:15,20,25 5:4	definitional 13:3	didnt 11:11 13:7	donor 10:9,12	41:25 56:2
5:17,22,25 6:2	34:11 35:22	15:11 20:3	10:21 57:15	encourage 24:8
8:24 12:23	definitions 8:3	28:9,14 47:21	donors 56:24	enforce 7:12
19:2 20:15,20	42:7	49:24 54:2	dont 4:18 6:7	engaged 41:24
25:14 27:19,23	deliberately	60:3 62:9	7:25 8:1 9:5,5	46:21 47:5
27:25 28:6,11	56:21	63:20,22	13:13 18:24	50:8
30:11 31:18	demonstrate	difference 10:20	20:1 23:11,20	engagement
32:16 33:7	60:20	different 23:4	25:9 32:6	46:22
35:6,6 38:1,11	denied 38:20	32:23 34:20,22	36:11,15,20	enrollment 40:8
38:23 46:1,4	depart 43:21	38:13 39:15,17	41:2,9 42:17	enrolls 40:13
58:16,16 59:2	department	41:1 43:15	44:10,13,24	ensure 21:10
60:18	1:24 27:7	53:12	47:3 48:19	entail 59:19
dad 6:24 8:17,18	28:24	differently 29:5	58:25 59:18	entire 14:19
8:18,20 9:17	depletion 19:15	difficult 48:4	63:6	20:10
11:17,17 12:8	depression	63:11	door 14:7,8 30:9	entitled 21:4
18:2 19:12	22:17	difficulty 42:1	doubt 21:21	26:2 27:8
dads 14:20,21	deprived 48:20	direct 61:1	22:9 23:22	40:16
damage 23:3	48:22	62:20	28:5 29:19	entitlement
36:23 41:25	depriving 23:8	directed 59:11	36:12 41:10	26:24
danger 29:19	deputy 1:23	directly 44:3	47:15	environment
date 17:10	described 29:7	disagree 21:15	dramatic 56:21	51:4
dawes 43:5	designed 6:5	44:24 50:1	drop 42:25	equal 29:3
day 27:10 48:4	23:1 25:14	63:15	drug 8:12,19	equivalent 10:9
decide 15:8 41:2	28:2	discontinuance	due 27:24	esq 1:16,18,21
48:22	desire 61:20	7:3		1:23 3:3,6,10
deciding 24:5	despair 22:17	discussed 31:18		3:13,17
decision 4:13	despite 21:24	discussion 35:6	e 3:1 4:1,1,25 5:4,14 8:24	establish 42:3
56:14 62:14	determination	displaces 48:11	19:3,5 27:19	43:10 63:11
decisions 30:23	12:8 14:9	disputed 47:3	,	established 11:5
decree 62:3	20:16 21:4,8	disturb 63:1	27:21 30:11 32:15,16	12:5 52:5,7
defeat 60:22	24:19,23 26:9	disturbing	edwin 1:23 3:13	53:22 60:1
deference 27:9	28:20 30:22	41:12	51:20	establishes 53:6
27:10	32:5 37:16,20	dna 43:10	effect 17:18	establishing
defined 34:14	38:6 48:18	doctrine 44:2,3	57:11,12	43:7,14 45:9
59:5	54:19 55:20,24	44:5,8,14	efforts 46:5,6	establishment
defines 11:2,22	determinations	doesnt 4:19 5:17	58:21 59:22	52:24
defining 18:8	38:3 48:12	12:14 13:4	eifd 44:2,14,14	estoppel 24:7
definition 6:9	determine 33:18	14:1,7 15:20 18:11 19:10	either 5:24 7:19	et 1:7,22 2:1
7:15,17 10:13	38:22 39:23 45:1	22:21 24:17	16:8,9 30:3	3:11,15 30:17
11:20 12:2,2	45:1 determines		38:11 40:1	51:22
12:13,19 19:11	17:24,25 18:7	27:7 30:12 31:9 35:17	element 43:19	everybody 19:23
19:21 29:7	determining	52:25 55:3,22	eligibility 43:9	
30:4 35:12,14	40:20	56:18	eligible 29:13	everybodys 22:12
39:24 41:4	+0.20	JU.10		22.12
		<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>

26.10	26 6 27 17 22	21 24 22 7	22 2 45 10	12.21
evidence 36:10	36:6 37:17,22	21:24 22:7	33:3 45:19	getting 12:21
58:7	37:25 38:1,11	25:5,23 28:7	51:2	59:13
exactly 31:12	38:23 41:20	29:18 30:17	fits 12:12 59:12	ginsburg 11:11
32:9,25 38:14	55:9,11 58:16	31:1,2,7 38:17	five 37:14	11:19,25 12:11
exchanges 45:25	58:19	39:11 40:15,25	fix 46:6	12:17 15:20
excited 47:10,14	fact 12:4 27:12	41:5,7 44:4,7	flow 30:5	16:11,25 25:21
47:20	29:10 30:11	44:11,17 45:3	flows 52:1	26:1 27:3
executive 45:14	41:6 48:18	45:16 46:2,12	focus 29:18	36:21 37:6
exempt 57:5	56:7	46:22 47:5,5	focused 21:4	39:24 46:24
exercise 31:25	factor 16:15,17	47:10,13 49:15	29:17	49:23 50:2,15
exercising 4:22	21:18	50:12 51:1,2,2	focuses 24:19	59:10,18 64:1
exhaustion 8:11	factors 21:8	51:15,22 53:5	follow 8:3	girl 1:6 4:5 21:3
20:15 28:12	36:6	53:5,6 54:23	footnote 53:20	22:9,18 25:2
exist 13:7,9	facts 47:3	56:23 57:2,18	forget 26:13	28:16 46:13
26:14 57:25	factual 31:3	59:21,23,25	forms 44:2	give 7:25 8:5
existing 7:3 8:25	48:18	60:11 62:4,18	forward 18:3	13:1 15:8 24:6
23:8 25:16	failed 58:21	62:19	38:9,12 47:10	44:15 51:15
44:2 52:21	failure 8:17	fathers 4:24	49:16	53:11 57:1
exists 34:8 42:17	14:11 20:15	7:25 10:24	foster 19:5	given 11:1 30:5
58:1	false 30:20	11:5 26:23	found 30:25	41:7
expansive 10:16	familial 7:18	41:21 47:7	31:2 39:12	gives 13:25
expert 22:16	families 16:6	50:6 52:6 57:6	45:15,17 47:8	26:25 62:3
55:25	63:18 64:3	60:24 61:20	47:9 50:2 51:1	giving 8:20
expressly 11:8	family 6:6,9,11	fault 24:17	52:7 59:25	go 15:7 23:24
31:2,3	7:15,20,22	favor 24:22	fourteen 1:7	35:8 38:9,12
extended 7:20	8:13 9:4,9,16	federal 5:11,12	framed 56:3	44:21 54:25
extra 50:22,23	9:23 10:6,17	8:5 10:16,25	freefloating	61:19,23 62:22
extraordinary	10:19 14:12	12:2,20 17:24	50:8	goes 26:6 29:16
8:15 12:6	44:2,17 46:6,9	18:7 21:9,14	freeze 25:3,4,7	going 6:14 9:25
16:10 17:5,5	46:11 47:7,9	21:18 32:5,10	25:11	10:22 18:18,21
30:13 43:1	50:2 53:8,10	38:22 42:6	frequently 61:2	24:6,8 25:3,4
49:2 64:5	58:9 59:2,3	43:19 48:10	front 30:9	33:17 38:15,16
eyes 10:14	61:1,2,4,23	52:10 53:10	full 4:20	47:3 49:13
\mathbf{F}	fantastic 63:18	54:16 58:11,14	fundamental	60:12,14 61:18
f 4:15,19 5:5,18	far 36:24 41:14	fight 36:15	39:21,21	62:14 63:2
5:25 8:24	43:21 51:1	fighting 36:3	fundamentally	good 15:10 16:9
12:23,24 18:14	father 1:22 2:1	final 62:2	39:6	16:22 17:1
18:15,18 19:2	3:11,15 4:12	find 41:11	further 44:21	26:25 27:4
19:3,4 22:6,20	4:14,15,20,22	finding 21:24	future 56:5,6	31:8 36:4
22:25 25:14	5:2,13,16 6:1	44:17	G	government
27:19,21 28:1	7:1,5,8,19 8:10	findings 22:4,5	g 4:1	4:19 18:22
28:1 30:11	9:5,9 10:5,6,10	finish 22:13,14	general 1:23	19:1,5 27:19
32:15,16 33:5	10:11,13,24	30:1,2 50:21	15:15 27:20	27:22,25 64:7
33:7,8,20,22	11:1,3,6,7	first 4:4 8:2 16:1	29:2	governments
33:23 34:6,16	15:17,18,24	44:16 48:6	genesis 46:20	17:4 18:25
35:3,4,9,17,24	17:10,21 18:8	53:19 62:7	george 40:24	grandparents
33.3,4,7,17,24	20:14 21:1,14	fit 10:24 31:1,24	gcui gc 40.24	46:13
	<u> </u>		<u> </u>	<u> </u>

	ī	•	•	
grant 56:11	55:4	54:15	26:9	32:6
granting 18:13	higher 36:8	implicated 16:9	insufficiency	isnt 7:10 10:15
grave 16:4	hinge 47:4	import 26:15	50:10	14:24 42:11
group 42:7	hint 27:15	importing 27:1	intact 31:23	issue 11:14 24:5
grow 19:17	hispanic 7:22	impregnates	intend 36:15	24:12 41:1,3
guardian 1:19	history 57:15	62:16	intent 63:4,7	44:13
3:8 20:21	63:25	inapposite 25:17	interest 12:8	ive 17:18
24:15	hold 11:17 24:8	inclined 56:4	20:16 21:9,13	
guardianship	honor 32:7	include 11:6	21:16,20 23:12	J
54:17	51:18	18:8 27:5	23:25 24:16,21	january 17:12
guess 44:15	hoops 61:19	includes 34:12	24:23 25:22,23	24:1,10
guidelines 17:1	hope 26:8	35:15	26:11 27:1,5	jewish 62:17
17:4 27:4,7	humanly 26:10	including 23:9	27:14 28:20	judge 25:10 29:2
guy 9:9	hypothesis	55:24	30:21 31:4	41:12 48:6
	24:25	indian 4:12 6:6	32:5,18 33:9	50:2
<u>H</u>	hypothetical	7:21 9:4,9,16	33:17,20,24	judges 48:3,4
halt 19:15	40:6,14 42:16	9:23 10:6,17	36:24 37:1,20	judicial 45:1
hang 9:25	56:21	10:18 12:12	39:11 48:12,15	justice 1:24 4:3
hanging 10:2,2	hypotheticals	14:12,20 16:6	48:24 49:10,21	4:9,17 5:7,10
happen 21:20	45:10	16:8 17:6,7,10	50:9 59:21,22	5:17,21 6:7,14
28:20 56:18	75.10	21:10,11 23:19	60:6	6:16 7:7,10,24
happened 28:21	I	29:8,9,12	interests 16:17	8:7 9:2,12,15
28:23 32:2	icwa 12:18	31:15 32:13	16:20 17:3	9:18,22 10:4
60:20	20:25 23:9,13	33:9 39:2,10	21:5 23:4,23	10:10,15,20,22
happens 23:16	28:21 31:13,13	39:25 40:1,3,9	24:11 26:16	11:11,19,25
24:5 28:3	31:14,14,17	40:13,15,21	27:17 29:17	12:11,17,25
31:21 54:20	32:10,13 34:11	43:10,20 44:2	36:5 45:18	13:10,19,22
61:2	35:14 38:16,23	44:10,11 45:2	54:11	14:4,6,15,23
harder 9:1 13:8	44:19 45:4,16	45:3,9 46:9	interpret 30:10	15:1,4,7,14,20
19:7	46:4 49:14,17	48:16,17 52:3	41:13 52:18	16:11,14,25
hardest 48:3	50:5 51:6,14	53:25 54:9,14	interpretation	17:9,14,17,23
harm 22:9,20,22	60:9,9,12	54:20 56:1	41:16 56:19,20	18:6,10,17,21
24:3,9	id 27:9		56:25 57:4,11	18:24 19:19
harmful 35:3	identifies 53:20	61:16 62:1,17	58:2	20:6,18,23
57:2,9	ignoring 22:12	62:25 63:18		21:7,17,23
hasnt 44:6	ill 44:15	64:2,9 indians 54:17	interpreted	22:3,11,13
health 47:12	illegitimate 45:8		35:21	23:2,24 24:14
hear 4:3 6:17	im 5:7,10 6:2,14	indicated 48:15	interracial 61:16 63:2	25:3,9,21 26:1
heard 24:3	10:2,2 13:23	inextricably		26:5,11,20
heightened	15:15 20:2	19:3	intertwined	27:3,7 28:24
13:15,17	24:14 36:17	inferior 62:20	19:3	29:21 30:2,14
held 8:20 31:17	42:15,21,22	initial 23:10	intervene 12:22	30:18 31:5
help 59:14	53:4 54:4	inquiry 29:16,17	involve 63:20	32:3,17,21,25
heres 58:19	imagine 45:10	48:16 49:22	involved 44:6	33:4,8,12,19
hes 6:20 10:4,10	imperative	50:9	46:14 49:19	33:23 34:6,19
10:10,13 12:25	27:18	insensitivity	involves 19:16	35:8,17 36:2,3
14:6 15:11,12		63:20	irony 62:8	36:16,17,21,21
14.0 13:11,12	implementation	instructions	irrelevant 22:19	30.10,17,21,21
	<u>l</u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u>l</u>

36:25 37:6,6,6	52:12,17,21	21:3 23:9	27:2,16,18	15:7 16:5
37:8,10,11,12	kept 60:4	28:16,18 33:1	29:25 38:16	30:13 32:21
37:18,22 38:5	kicks 60:9,12	49:5,8,24 50:4	40:23	33:13 36:9
38:18,25 39:9	kid 10:7	50:5 51:12,14	looked 21:19	37:24 39:9
39:16,24 40:5	kids 24:9 32:22	52:10 53:8,10	22:11,16 25:17	40:23 42:23
40:12,22 42:6	kind 11:18	53:10,13,17,23	27:14 30:24	47:25 48:20
42:11,15,19,21	14:10 20:4	54:12 58:5,6	50:25	55:15,16 58:15
42:22 43:8,13	30:13 41:15	60:11,12 61:4	looking 19:13	62:8
43:15 44:1,24	kinds 20:8	62:9 63:16	24:4,11 47:10	meaning 8:5
45:11,11,24,24	king 48:5	lead 41:21,24	57:8	12:5 53:11,12
46:10,16,24	kneedler 1:23	43:12	looks 56:5	53:13,17,17
47:14,20,23	3:13 51:19,20	leading 34:13	lose 17:10	means 12:11,18
48:1,9,19 49:2	51:23 52:15,20	35:15	lot 9:25,25 10:3	15:1 34:16,20
49:4,8,18,23	52:23 53:2,4	leads 43:18	27:1 32:22	34:21,24,25
50:2,7,13,15	53:14,18 54:4	learns 17:22	47:4 52:1	55:11 56:5
50:22 51:8,10	54:7,21 55:8	leave 14:8 18:21	love 62:8	meant 8:17 9:7
51:16,19,23	56:11 57:13,20	leaving 54:11	lover 21:25	54:4 55:17
52:12,17,21,25	58:4,15,25	left 60:11	loving 31:2	member 17:8
53:3,8,16 54:2	59:17 60:8,19	legal 6:25 7:1,4	45:20 51:2,3	29:13 40:1,3
54:6,21 55:14	60:25 61:9	7:4,18 15:23	lower 21:6,8,12	43:5 44:11,12
56:18 57:17,21	knit 46:15	23:8 25:1 26:3	21:22,24 24:22	62:16 64:10
58:14 59:10,18	know 4:18,18	52:9 53:7	25:13 27:23	membership
60:3,15,21	9:5 10:21	54:24	28:14,15 29:23	29:14 40:20
61:8,13,25	32:22 35:24	legally 22:19	29:24,25 30:23	42:3,13 43:3
63:4,6,9,13,14	36:11 37:1	legislative 63:25	45:21	43:21 45:6,9
63:22 64:1,12	39:5 41:9 47:9	legitimate 40:20		54:19 64:8,11
justices 31:18	48:19,21 58:18	43:6,14	M	mentioned
35:5 36:1		letting 54:11	m 1:14 4:2 64:14	57:25
41:18	L	life 46:14	majority 44:22	mess 58:24
justification	labeled 19:23	light 21:14	making 13:2,8	miles 23:6
57:12	labeling 13:11	line 62:23	61:19	military 47:12
	14:16	lineal 43:4	man 19:20 54:22	mind 17:11,18
K	lack 18:5	link 10:8 12:5	mandates 62:11	19:14 24:1
kafkaesque	language 8:22	19:18	manipulative	35:22 61:18
61:19	20:13 26:16	lisa 1:16 3:3,17	42:3	62:14
kagan 12:25	34:21,22	4:7 61:11	married 21:25	minimum 54:12
13:10,19,22	late 11:16	listed 16:25 17:4	marry 46:17,23	minor 1:6
14:4,6,15	laughter 36:19	litem 1:19 3:8	47:1,6,11,24	minute 50:23
19:19 20:6	37:9 39:18	20:22	master 48:6	62:5
34:6,19 37:12	47:22	little 46:13 64:8	matter 1:12	minutes 61:10
54:21 58:14	law 4:16 5:6,8	logic 56:16	28:17 31:3,9	misunderstan
keep 62:14,25	5:11,12,14	logically 9:19	39:20 43:10	25:1
kennedy 17:9,14	6:13,15,21	long 57:24	50:4,4 64:15	months 16:23
17:17,23 23:2	10:9,14,15	look 12:3 16:5	matters 31:9	24:13,25 25:23
26:5,11,20	11:17,21 12:2	21:21 22:4,7	mean 9:23 10:4	morning 4:4
32:3 48:1,9	12:4,14 17:19	22:20,21 23:11	10:21 11:11	mother 5:2 7:23
49:4,8 50:13	17:23,25 18:3	23:13,22 24:1	13:23 14:7,10	10:5,6,23
		ĺ		, ,
	1	·	1	•

11:13 13:15,16 13:14,17,24 14:5 notwithstandi 14:5 notwithstandi 24:24 notwithstandi 24:24 notwithstandi 24:24 number 39:6 number 39:6 53:20 notwithstandi notwithstandi notwithstandi 24:24 number 39:6 number 39:6 53:20 number 39:6 53:20 notwithstandi number 39:6 53:20 notwithstandi number 39:6 53:20 notwithstandi number 39:6 number 39:6 number 39:6 number 39:6 number 39:6 notwithstandi notwithstandi number 39:6 numbe
A6:21,23 47:6
47:12,17 56:23 24:24 oversee 61:5 50:15 51:6,7 person 41:12 43:4 45:2 56:6 perspective 24:16 24:16 24:
57:6,7,19 60:4 null 42:16 number 39:6 p 43:4 45:2 56:6 perspective 24:16 24:12 24:12 24:12
60:10 62:4,13 mothers 16:12 number 39:6 p y 4:1 55:1,13,19 58:8,20 59:5 parentchild 24:16 petition 6:23 21:21 page 3:2 12:1 21:21 page 3:2 12:1 21:21 page 3:2 12:1 21:21 page 3:2 12:1 21:22 petition 6:23 21:22 22:22 23:4:8 23:17 23:23 48:12 11:22 22:11,12 12:20:21 11:20:21 11:20:21 11:22 12:11,12 12:22:21 12:21 12:21 12:21 12:21 12:21 12:22:21 12:22:21 12:22:21 12:22:21 12:22:21 12:22:21 12:22:21 12:22:21 12:23:17 12:23:17
Mothers 16:12 53:20 p4:1 page 3:2 12:1 58:8,20 59:5 parentchild 24:16 petition 6:23 21:12 21:12 petition 6:23 21:12 21:12 21:12 parentchild 33:1,14;17 35:1 35:1,14;17 35:1 35:1,14;17 35:1 35:1,14;17 35:1 35:1,14;17 35:1 35:1,14;17 35:1 35:1,14;17 35:1 35:1,14;17 35:1 35:1,14;17 35:1 35:1,14;17 35:1 35:1,14;17 35:1 35:1,14;17 35:1 35:1,14;17 35:1 35:1,14;17 35:1 35:1,14;17 35:1 35:1,14;17 35:1 35:1,14;17 35:1 35:1,14;17 35:1 35:1,15;21,23 35:1,15;21,23 35:1,15;21,23 35:1,15;21,23 35:1,15;21,23 35:1,15;21,23 35:1,15;21,23 35:1,15;21,23 35:1,15;21,23 35:1,15;21,23 35:1,15;21,23 35:1,15;21,23 35:1,15;21,23 35:1,1,11 35:1,1,11 35:1,1,11 35:1,1,11 35:1,1,11 35:1,1,11 35:1,1,1,16 35:1,1,11 35:1,1,11 35:1,1,1,16 35:1,1,1,16 35:1,1,1,16 35:1,1,1,16
Table 24
move 58:13 O 21:21 pages 63:24 pate 42:15 pate 42:18 pate 42:18 pate 42:11 pate 43:11 pate 43:11 pate 43:11 pate 43:12 pate 43:12 pate 43:12 pate 43:12
move 58:13 O 21:21 pages 63:24 paid 47:15 pages 63:24 paid 47:15 pagent 4:12 5:3 59:6 petitioner 1:4 petitioner 1:4 petitioner 1:4 petitioner 1:4 petitioner 1:4 petitioner 1:4 petitioner 1:4 petitioner 1:4 petitioner 1:4 petitioner 1:4 petitioner 1:4 petitioner 1:4 petitioner 1:4 petitioner 1:4 petitioner 1:4 petitioner 1:4 petition
Diget 18:5
Detitioners 1:17 Parent 4:12 5:3 Paid 47:15 Parent 4:12 5:3 Parent 5:19 Pa
A9:15 51:15 parent 4:12 5:3 parents 7:19 8:17 15:21,23 16:12 19:22,24 16:12 19:22,24 19:25 20:3,8 21:11,12 22:18 19:25 20:3,8 21:11,12 22:18 19:25 20:3,8 21:11,12 22:18 10:1,16 physical 23:3 24:9 36:23 24:9
N n 3:1,1 4:1 nail 45:5objecting 15:23 obligation 7:86:8,9,10,13,19 8:12 11:2,208:17 15:21,23 16:12 19:22,24 19:25 20:3,8 21:11,12 22:18 19:25 20:3,8 21:11,12 22:18 19:25 20:3,8 21:11,12 22:18 10:1,16 10:1,16nation 44:18 45:6 native 42:8 natural 31:22,25 33:2,2 38:17 38:19 45:16,19 49:19,19 51:8obvious 18:15 occur 40:1912:16,17,18 13:1,3,11,16 14:7,17,18 19:20,23 20:12 30:4,6,12 31:8 31:15,23,25,25 32:11 33:2,3 32:13 33:2,340:11 49:21 55:6,6,9 60:16 62:2,22 64:10 part 35:4 44:14 44:19 48:15 particular 18:2 45:2,5 particularly 8:16physical 23:3 24:9 36:23offered 46:17 30:4,6,12 31:8 31:15,23,25,25 57:1830:4,6,12 31:8 31:15,23,25,25 32:11 33:2,3 33:10 34:3,4 31:7 62:957:18 54:6 57:21 54:6 57:21 54:6 57:21 53:5,532:11 33:2,3 33:10 34:3,4 44:5 45:19,19 44:5 45:19,19particularly 8:16placed 23:15 60:14needed 28:1053:5,545:20 46:3parties 4:11,1823:10 26:21
n 3:1,1 4:1 obligation 7:8 8:12 11:2,20 16:12 19:22,24 26:22 61:12 nail 45:5 8:11,11 11:22 12:11,12 19:25 20:3,8 21:11,12 22:18 26:22 61:12 nation 44:18 obvious 18:15 12:16,17,18 23:17 32:23 phrase 9:3,8 native 42:8 obviously 41:11 14:7,17,18 23:17 32:23 40:11 49:21 24:9 36:23 natural 31:22,25 offer 47:24 19:20,23 20:12 62:2,22 64:10 pick 37:13 pick 37:13 38:19 45:16,19 oh 9:22 40:25 31:15,23,25,25 32:11 33:2,3 particular 18:2 place 62:25 49:19,19 51:8 okay 5:22 9:14 33:10 34:3,4 45:2,5 particularly 60:14 31:7 62:9 once 14:5 51:6 45:20 46:3 45:20 46:3 particularly 8:16 particularly 23:10 26:21
nail 45:5 8:11,11 11:22 12:11,12 19:25 20:3,8 phrase 9:3,8 nation 44:18 obvious 18:15 13:1,3,11,16 23:17 32:23 physical 23:3 native 42:8 occur 40:19 16:7 18:8 19:8 55:6,6,9 60:16 physical 23:3 natural 31:22,25 offer 47:24 19:20,23 20:12 62:2,22 64:10 part 35:4 44:14 pick 37:13 38:19 45:16,19 oh 9:22 40:25 31:15,23,25,25 32:11 33:2,3 particular 18:2 place 62:25 need 5:24 12:16 54:6 57:21 37:18 38:19 45:20 46:3 particularly 8:16 particularly needed 28:10 53:5,5 45:20 46:3 45:20 46:3 parties 4:11,18 23:10 26:21
narrowly 9:7 obligations 4:23 12:16,17,18 21:11,12 22:18 10:1,16 nation 44:18 obvious 18:15 13:1,3,11,16 23:17 32:23 physical 23:3 45:6 obviously 41:11 14:7,17,18 40:11 49:21 24:9 36:23 native 42:8 occur 40:19 16:7 18:8 19:8 55:6,6,9 60:16 62:2,22 64:10 pick 37:13 33:2,2 38:17 offered 46:17 30:4,6,12 31:8 part 35:4 44:14 pick 37:13 49:19,19 51:8 57:18 32:11 33:2,3 particular 18:2 place 38:13,23 need 5:24 12:16 54:6 57:21 37:18 38:19 45:20 46:3 particularly 8:16 placement 16:18 31:7 62:9 53:5,5 45:20 46:3 parties 4:11,18 23:10 26:21
nation 44:18 obvious 18:15 13:1,3,11,16 23:17 32:23 physical 23:3 45:6 obviously 41:11 45:6 occur 40:19 14:7,17,18 40:11 49:21 24:9 36:23 native 42:8 offer 47:24 16:7 18:8 19:8 55:6,6,9 60:16 62:2,22 64:10 pick 37:13 33:2,2 38:17 offered 46:17 30:4,6,12 31:8 part 35:4 44:14 pick 37:13 49:19,19 51:8 57:18 32:11 33:2,3 particular 18:2 place 38:13,23 need 5:24 12:16 54:6 57:21 37:18 38:19 45:2,5 particularly 60:14 31:7 62:9 once 14:5 51:6 45:20 46:3 45:20 46:3 parties 4:11,18 placement 16:18 needed 28:10 53:5,5 45:20 46:3 parties 4:11,18 23:10 26:21
45:6 obviously 41:11 14:7,17,18 40:11 49:21 24:9 36:23 native 42:8 occur 40:19 16:7 18:8 19:8 55:6,6,9 60:16 41:25 natural 31:22,25 offer 47:24 19:20,23 20:12 62:2,22 64:10 pick 37:13 38:19 45:16,19 oh 9:22 40:25 31:15,23,25,25 part 35:4 44:14 picture 41:22 49:19,19 51:8 57:18 32:11 33:2,3 particular 18:2 place 38:13,23 need 5:24 12:16 54:6 57:21 37:18 38:19 45:20 46:3 particularly 8:16 placement 16:18 needed 28:10 53:5,5 45:20 46:3 parties 4:11,18 23:10 26:21
native 42:8 occur 40:19 16:7 18:8 19:8 55:6,6,9 60:16 41:25 natural 31:22,25 offer 47:24 19:20,23 20:12 55:6,6,9 60:16 41:25 33:2,2 38:17 offered 46:17 30:4,6,12 31:8 part 35:4 44:14 pick 37:13 38:19 45:16,19 oh 9:22 40:25 31:15,23,25,25 particular 18:2 picc 62:25 49:19,19 51:8 okay 5:22 9:14 33:10 34:3,4 45:2,5 particularly particularly 31:7 62:9 once 14:5 51:6 45:20 46:3 particularly 8:16 parties 4:11,18 23:10 26:21
natural 31:22,25 offer 47:24 19:20,23 20:12 62:2,22 64:10 pick 37:13 33:2,2 38:17 offered 46:17 30:4,6,12 31:8 part 35:4 44:14 picture 41:22 38:19 45:16,19 57:18 31:15,23,25,25 particular 18:2 piece 62:25 49:19,19 51:8 okay 5:22 9:14 33:10 34:3,4 45:2,5 particularly need 5:24 12:16 54:6 57:21 37:18 38:19 60:14 particularly 31:7 62:9 once 14:5 51:6 45:20 46:3 parties 4:11,18 23:10 26:21
33:2,2 38:17 offered 46:17 30:4,6,12 31:8 part 35:4 44:14 picture 41:22 38:19 45:16,19 49:19,19 51:8 57:18 31:15,23,25,25 particular 18:2 place 62:25 49:19,19 51:8 okay 5:22 9:14 33:10 34:3,4 45:2,5 particular 18:2 place 38:13,23 need 5:24 12:16 54:6 57:21 37:18 38:19 particularly 60:14 31:7 62:9 once 14:5 51:6 45:20 46:3 parties 4:11,18 23:10 26:21
38:19 45:16,19 49:19,19 51:8 necessary 59:24 131:7 62:9 oh 9:22 40:25 57:18 31:15,23,25,25 32:11 33:2,3 33:10 34:3,4 37:18 38:19 44:5 45:19,19 44:5 45:19,19 45:20 46:3 44:19 48:15 particular 18:2 45:2,5 particularly 8:16 parties 4:11,18 piece 62:25 place 38:13,23 placed 23:15 piece 62:25 place 38:13,23 placed 23:15 placed 23:15 60:14 place 42:11,18
49:19,19 51:8 57:18 32:11 33:2,3 particular 18:2 place 38:13,23 necessary 59:24 okay 5:22 9:14 33:10 34:3,4 45:2,5 place 23:15 need 5:24 12:16 54:6 57:21 37:18 38:19 particular 18:2 60:14 31:7 62:9 once 14:5 51:6 45:20 46:3 8:16 parties 4:11,18 23:10 26:21
necessary 59:24 okay 5:22 9:14 33:10 34:3,4 45:2,5 placed 23:15 need 5:24 12:16 54:6 57:21 37:18 38:19 particularly 60:14 31:7 62:9 once 14:5 51:6 45:20 46:3 parties 4:11,18 23:10 26:21
need 5:24 12:16 54:6 57:21 37:18 38:19 particularly 60:14 31:7 62:9 once 14:5 51:6 44:5 45:19,19 8:16 placement 16:18 needed 28:10 53:5,5 45:20 46:3 parties 4:11,18 23:10 26:21
31:7 62:9 once 14:5 51:6 44:5 45:19,19 8:16 placement 16:18 53:5,5 45:20 46:3 parties 4:11,18 23:10 26:21
needed 28:10 53:5,5 45:20 46:3 parties 4:11,18 23:10 26:21
7 (0) (0) (1) (1) (1) (1) (1) (1) (1) (1) (1) (1
needs 6:24 12:17 ones 5:2 48:22 49:19,20 15:13 56:19 plain 31:17
59:14 ongoing 8:1 50:16 51:8 party 6:3 15:18 play 51:14
neglect 50:10 56:25 52:1,2,2,3,4 passed 19:15 please 4:10 6:17
neither 19:6 open 39:4 53:1,1,11,21 passing 55:15 20:24 22:13
never 35:10 41:5 opinion 33:5,6 54:22,24 55:4 paternity 6:22 26:9 30:19
41:8,22 56:23 opponents 45:7 55:19 56:1 12:5 30:7,10 51:24 61:14
57:6 59:16 opposed 37:3 57:18 58:18,19 52:4,6,13,15 plenary 54:16
new 22:8,21 oral 1:12 3:2,5,9 59:8 61:17,20 52:18 53:6 point 4:21 8:9
23:10,15,21 3:12 4:7 20:20 61:23 62:2 54:5 60:1 10:23 13:2,10
25:18 28:19 30:16 51:20 parental 6:4 7:2 paths 29:24 14:16 17:10,17
62:15 ordered 28:15 7:11,11,18 patricia 29:2 25:4 26:20
non 55:6 55:20,23 11:8,15 12:9 paul 1:18 3:6 29:7 37:15
noncustodial ordinarily 49:21 13:11 18:1,7 20:20 60:9
6:10 ordinary 33:1 19:12 21:2 pay 47:1 pointed 29:6
nonindian 14:21 37:19 46:11 24:2 31:15,19 paying 6:21 points 12:17
16:7 48:11 50:7 31:23 32:11,14 people 24:8 29:4 policy 21:9,14
normal 34:20,22 51:5 32:19 34:4,13 37:21 39:5 63:15,15,17
49:3 original 23:18 34:13 35:16,16 54:8,13 57:5 political 43:25
noted 56:13 ornaments 10:1 37:2,17,23 peoples 19:17 45:13
notice 12:21 outside 60:14 38:1,2,8,10,10 percent 29:12 poor 28:15
Poor 20:13
i i i i

	17.01	., ,,	40.25.40.1	22 10 20 0
population	pretty 17:21	provides 13:4	48:25 49:1	23:19 30:8
19:16,17	18:15	14:18 40:7	50:5,17	recollection
portion 29:7	prevail 26:7	52:2 61:4	quo 28:14,15	46:16
35:25	prevent 6:6 9:3	providing 7:16	quote 6:4	reference 11:20
pose 22:9 48:2	9:8,20 14:11	59:11	R	12:14
posed 43:13	41:15	province 53:9	$\frac{\mathbf{r}}{\mathbf{r}4:1}$	references 20:11
position 4:23	previous 22:22	provision 8:24		referred 35:23
8:16 16:14,24	prior 21:25	13:1 16:1	race 29:5	refers 35:11
18:25 28:7	prison 41:8	19:25 23:14	racial 29:10	regulate 60:10
possible 26:10	private 61:22	34:11 35:22	raise 10:21 16:4	rehabilitative
41:22	probably 41:8	56:7,10,15	16:7 22:1	6:5 28:8 46:6
power 11:18	problem 8:12,19	58:17,23 61:4	45:17	60:17
practicality	11:9 40:22	provisions 13:12	raised 7:23	rejected 44:23
28:17	59:20,20	19:6 30:10	21:11 24:12	46:18 47:24
precisely 32:25	problems 26:14	58:9	29:3 45:18	relations 48:2,3
60:9	28:25 29:4	provoked 64:2	raises 62:21	48:6
preclude 15:20	48:3,5 53:24	purely 51:11	range 56:22	relationship 7:4
precludes 15:22	59:13	purpose 14:22	rape 41:5,19	7:4,18 8:2 9:17
preexisting	proceeding	63:10	rapist 57:15	9:19,21,24
18:16	13:25 19:4,5	purposes 22:7	reach 44:13	22:8,21,23
preference 15:9	34:12,12,25	43:23	reaching 42:1	25:16,25 34:15
16:15,19 17:7	35:14,15,18,23	put 9:7 27:11	read 19:2 20:7	34:17 35:1,2
21:18	38:5,6,7,9 49:9	38:22 55:15	20:12 33:13	52:9,9,22 53:7
preferences	59:25	60:5	56:6 64:6	56:25 59:3,4,6
26:21	proceedings	putting 4:21	reading 6:2 9:23	60:10,14
preferred 15:12	17:14		9:23 16:10	relatives 7:6
15:18,21	produce 58:3	Q	30:12,22 31:8	relegating 62:22
pregnancy	profound 28:25	qualified 55:24	really 19:10,22	62:24
17:20 44:6	50:10	qualify 45:2 47:12	20:8 24:17	relevant 24:20
47:10,15 49:25	programs 6:5		26:18 55:5	rely 26:17
prepared 11:12	60:17	question 12:22	reason 23:17	remaining 61:10
preponderance	proof 36:7 56:15	14:16 15:16	46:25 51:13	remand 24:22
36:11	property 62:25	18:2 31:14,21	reasonable 22:9	remedial 6:5
present 29:19	protect 5:13	32:11,14,16	23:22 28:5 29:19 36:12	9:20 28:8,9
45:12,13	6:24 54:13	34:2 35:2,7	41:9	46:5 59:11,15
presented 28:8	protected 6:20	39:15,17 40:6	* *	59:18,19,22
preserve 28:13	protecting 13:8	41:18,18,23 42:2,24 43:13	rebuttal 3:16 61:11	60:17,20 61:1
28:14	protection 29:4	·		61:3,5
presumably	protections 4:25	43:19,24 46:15 48:10	recognition 43:20	remediate 8:13
28:10	5:4 8:25 13:4			8:17 14:11
presumed 16:6	14:17 19:24	questioned 43:6	recognize 30:5 53:21	remember
presumption	40:16 55:5	questions 45:13 quickly 26:10		56:20
31:24 33:2	prove 30:6	35:4	recognized 28:25	remotely 8:23
presumptively	provide 6:4 7:12			14:22
16:6	9:20 14:1	quite 36:22 42:10,15 45:21	recognizes 27:20	removal 19:4
presupposes	60:17 61:24	42:10,13 43:21		20:11 63:25
55:11	provided 28:13	40.1747.4	recognizing	removed 64:2
	<u> </u>	<u>l</u>	<u>l</u>	<u> </u>

rendering 62:19	return 20:11	48:23 49:20	22:25 51:20	11:21,23 12:13
renounced	35:25 40:5	50:3,11,16	61:11	13:3 31:18
39:11	62:11,12	51:6,8 53:21	safe 51:3	41:20 46:1,4
representing	reversed 4:14	55:1,13,19	santosky 56:14	sections 4:14
24:15	rewrite 26:18	58:9,20 59:5	58:6	32:15
represents	right 5:9,20 7:11	60:13 62:20,21	satisfactory	see 9:22 11:21
24:15	8:2 9:25 10:18	rightscreating	51:3	28:18 36:3,6
reproductive	12:15,21,22	8:23	satisfied 38:24	38:16 41:2
62:21	13:14,16,17	ripped 63:19	44:20	57:8
repudiated 11:8	14:3 15:2,3,5	risk 41:6,16	satisfies 46:3	seek 15:11
require 40:8	15:25 16:12	roberts 4:3 6:16	satisfy 28:6	seeking 6:3
required 60:16	17:11,16 18:5	16:14 20:18	41:10	seen 41:5,8
requirement	19:23 27:6	30:2,14 31:5	saying 53:4 55:4	56:23 57:6,7
28:12 39:4	32:9,25 33:12	35:8,17 37:8	says 6:3 12:11	sees 57:19
40:8 58:12	33:15,25 36:15	37:22 38:5,25	27:23 33:1	selfdetermina
requirements	36:18 37:8,24	39:9,16 40:5	34:7,11 35:6	54:18
13:15,18	40:25 41:9	40:12 42:19,22	35:18 36:22	send 23:18,21
requires 5:13	42:10,16 46:10	47:14,20 50:22	37:18 38:18	sense 22:24 23:3
6:3 10:25	47:16 49:15	51:16,19 60:3	43:16 46:4	27:25 30:6
12:24 50:16	50:6,19 51:15	60:15,21 61:8	49:18 50:7	33:17 45:8
rescind 62:4	54:22 55:1	64:12	51:8 52:25	46:11 52:14,16
resolved 16:9	57:10,17,21,22	rolls 43:5	53:3 54:25	52:19,23 56:12
43:24	57:25 58:21	rothfeld 1:21	55:22 58:17,19	58:15 59:15
resources 22:1	61:18 62:4	3:10 30:15,16	62:2,25	sensitivity 30:11
respect 14:9	rights 4:15,22	30:18 31:11	scalia 9:2,12,15	sent 28:16
27:24 46:7	5:4,13,14,18	32:7,20,24	9:18,22 10:4	sentence 12:14
49:7 53:25	6:4,11,20,23	33:6,11,15,22	10:10,15 18:6	55:16
56:15 57:14	6:25 7:1,11	34:1,9,23	18:10,17,21,24	separate 44:13
58:25 59:17	8:25 9:1 11:8,9	35:13,20 36:14	22:13 31:19	54:9
60:23	11:12,15 12:9	36:20 37:4,10	32:17,21,25	serious 22:9
respondent 1:19	12:20 13:2,5,7	37:14,25 38:7	35:5 36:25	23:3 24:3,9
3:7 20:21	13:8,9,11 14:1	39:8,14,19	37:6,18 38:18	36:23 41:24
respondents	14:2 17:24	40:4,10,17	42:6,11,15	56:2
1:22,25 3:11	18:1,4,7,12,13	41:17 42:10,14	43:13 45:24	served 16:18
3:15 5:23	19:6,8,12,25	42:18,20 43:2	46:10,16 47:23	service 61:1
30:17 51:22	20:12,14 21:2	43:12,18 44:15	48:19 49:2,18	services 6:5 9:20
response 34:10	23:17 24:2,10	44:25 46:19	50:7 51:8	28:8,9,13
50:13	30:13 31:15,19	47:2,18,25	52:25 53:3	59:12,16,18,19
responses 16:1	31:23 32:11,15	48:8,14 49:1,6	54:2,6 55:14	59:22 60:17
41:19	32:19 34:3,4	49:12 50:1,18	63:4,6,9,13,14	61:3,6
responsibility	34:13,14 35:16	50:24 51:13,17	63:22	set 15:8 42:16
47:21 54:16	35:16 37:2,17	rule 24:22 26:4	scalias 10:22	setting 23:10,15
responsible 5:3	37:18,23 38:2	31:24	second 16:4 21:3	23:21
result 29:15	38:2,8,10,11	S	27:11	short 56:22,24
43:9 56:1	38:17,21 39:13		secondclass	57:1,7
results 36:23	41:21 43:1	s 1:16,23 3:1,3	62:19	shouldnt 8:4
41:13	46:2,4 48:21	3:13,17 4:1,7	section 5:25 6:2	showing 50:10
			l	

50:16,19	44:25 45:11	10:9,14,15	straight 39:25	25:24 26:5
shown 38:4	51:7 58:15	11:17,21 12:2	strange 20:6	27:9 47:21
59:21	sotomayor 4:17	12:4,14 17:19	55:14 56:9	53:10 58:17
shows 28:11	5:7,10,17,21	17:23,25 18:2	stranger 10:24	taken 22:18 41:4
side 7:3 11:9	6:7,14 7:7,10	21:2 26:12	11:1,7,13 12:9	41:7
19:10 44:8	7:24 8:7 10:20	28:16 30:24	28:17	takes 24:23
sides 34:10	21:7,17,23	31:12 33:1	strangers 37:21	48:16
sign 62:25	22:4,11 23:24	37:1 44:22	strike 53:16	talk 5:17,22,25
significant	24:14 25:3,9	45:15 48:12	strong 31:24	18:14,17 59:15
13:21,23 42:4	31:19 35:5	50:24 53:9,13	subject 54:12,12	talking 19:3
44:18	36:2 37:10	53:17,22 54:10	57:8	22:25 25:8,12
similar 41:19	44:1,24 45:25	54:11,12 58:5	submitted 64:13	27:15 37:16
simply 16:15	61:25	58:6,8 60:11	64:15	47:8 63:18,25
30:20 40:8	south 8:3 26:6	61:4,5 62:9	sue 6:22	talks 5:18 23:15
47:8 52:8	32:8 38:15	states 1:1,13,25	sufficient 59:21	55:10
single 11:17	49:5,8,24 50:4	3:14 7:12,25	suggest 45:7	tell 36:2 41:15
61:17	51:5,11,14	8:4,16 14:13	suggested 45:7	tells 27:12
situation 23:19	sovereign 54:9	36:8,9,10,11	45:12	term 53:10
24:18,24 25:12	sovereigns 54:9	43:24 51:21	suggesting 4:17	terminate 9:1
25:15 30:25	sovereignty	53:19,20	19:21 58:5	13:5,9 19:7
51:1,7 53:5	39:22	status 28:14,15	suggests 8:23	23:17 38:17
59:12	speaks 59:2,4	44:4 48:17	16:17 46:8	50:11 58:8
situations 22:25	special 48:6	54:24	55:2	terminated 18:4
28:22	specifically 22:6	statute 8:22 9:3	support 1:19 3:8	31:16,20 32:12
skidmore 27:8	22:15,19 23:14	10:16,25 11:2	4:23 6:22 7:7	32:15 34:3,5
27:10	sperm 10:9,12	13:12,25 14:1	7:13,16 8:1	37:19 38:2,10
slight 43:11	10:21 56:23	14:7 16:2,11	17:20 20:22	38:11,21 46:5
social 59:14	57:15	18:7 19:23	47:16 49:24	49:20 50:3,6
socks 46:15	split 58:16	20:2,7,10,13	supporting 1:25	51:7
sole 7:22	squarely 26:22	26:15,18 29:1	3:15 51:22	terminates 59:6
solely 19:18 29:5	standard 23:7	29:3 30:6,9	suppose 57:23	terminating
solicitor 1:23	26:12,25 27:14	32:5,10 39:2	supposed 13:19	14:2 37:23
25:20 27:20	28:2,6 32:4,18	39:25 40:6	14:4	38:1 54:25
solomon 48:5	33:1,9,18,20	41:6,13,16	supreme 1:1,13	58:20
somebody 16:2	33:24 36:22,24	48:10 49:10	32:8 38:15	termination 6:4
23:7,21 25:18	37:2 41:10	52:18 57:16	sure 14:20 36:25	13:12 19:25
28:16 29:11	49:10 58:6,20	58:2,24	42:15 61:20	32:18 34:13,17
30:9 40:13	58:23	statutory 19:20	surrender 11:12	34:25 35:15
56:9	standards 14:1	23:5 26:16	62:1	37:2 38:8
somebodys 25:8	25:18 27:1	56:14	survival 54:19	41:21 50:15
25:12	38:23 51:5	stay 21:13	sweep 19:11	55:13,19,23
somewhat 56:12	54:13 58:5	step 19:13	swept 11:5	58:8 59:4
soon 59:24	63:11	stepped 16:2		60:13
sorry 42:21 54:4	start 51:25	steps 58:17	t 3:1,1	terms 19:13
54:5	state 4:13,16 5:1	stimulated	table 27:12	23:5 28:22
sort 12:3 20:7	5:6,8,14 6:12	61:21	table 27:12 take 5:1 7:16,16	32:9 42:24
37:19 40:20	6:14,21 8:13	stopped 62:6	iake 3.1 /.10,10	54:22 62:1
		<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>

64:4	29:6 49:13	56:24 57:7	35:20 40:17	usual 31:23
test 21:19 43:10	53:14,18 56:22	timeframes 24:1	47:18 49:4	
44:19	57:14	today 25:4	trump 16:19	V
testimony 22:16	think 5:9,23 6:7	told 29:2	trust 54:16	v 1:5 4:5
47:7 55:24	6:8 10:25 12:2	tough 33:13,23	try 26:2 37:5	variant 36:5
text 55:9	14:10,15 15:15	trace 43:4	58:17,18 60:10	varies 53:23
thank 4:9 20:18	18:14 20:9	traditional	trying 13:23	vast 44:22
30:14,18 51:16	24:4,21 25:2	43:22 45:8	41:13 42:20	vehicle 27:1
51:17 61:8,13	26:14,25 27:2	48:22 53:10,12	tuesday 1:10	version 33:23
64:12	27:12,18 31:5	53:16	turn 45:23 59:5	veto 11:18 14:21
thats 6:1,23 8:20	31:11 32:8	traditionally	turns 27:22	victim 41:5,19
9:6 10:5,6	33:11,15 34:16	53:9	two 10:3 19:22	view 10:14
12:15 14:12,13	35:1,9,21,24	tragic 25:13	20:3,8,25	14:13 16:21,21
14:22 15:2	36:14,16,21	transfer 12:7	23:25 29:24	17:9 33:19
18:10,13 23:23	37:5,15,15,25	25:18 27:24	37:21 44:1,16	41:3 62:18
24:10 27:6,15	38:14 39:5,20	28:2,3,3	54:8 55:5,8	64:9
28:10 29:8	40:21 41:18,25	transferred	56:19	virtue 18:4
31:5 33:15	42:16,17,18	28:19 30:21	type 42:3	visitation 4:22
35:20 36:14	43:12,18,20	transferring		5:14 6:10,19
38:14 39:16	44:9,19,22	8:10 12:23	<u>U</u>	6:23
40:17,17 41:1	46:9,20 47:4	25:15 27:13,16	understand	visiting 5:4
41:11,14 42:15	49:12 50:5	28:1	13:23 32:6	voluntary 42:13
42:20,23,24	52:1 55:8,10	trauma 22:17	48:11 54:2,6	62:1,5,6
53:3 55:12,14	55:17 56:12,22	treated 29:4	56:20	\mathbf{W}
55:17 56:8,9,9	59:1,3 60:25	treatment 8:19	understanding	wait 14:23,23,23
60:8 63:6,15	61:2 63:6,17	45:3	6:12 43:22	17:21 54:2
63:25	thinking 15:14	trial 24:3	unfit 5:2 16:7	62:23
thenassistant	15:15 27:13	tribal 17:8 19:15	50:16 51:2	wald 29:2
29:1	41:3	19:17 29:13,13	uniformly 26:12	walked 20:15
theory 40:18	thinks 29:11	29:13 39:22	united 1:1,13,24	want 7:12 11:14
44:23	thought 21:12	43:7,21 54:18	3:14 8:16	12:19 19:13
theres 4:20 8:6,8	31:8 39:24	54:18,19 60:12	14:13 43:24	24:19 25:9
8:22 11:16	46:24	62:16 63:10	51:21	32:3 39:5
12:7 18:2	three 15:25	64:11	unprecedented 14:10	41:15 47:4,21
23:20,25 24:3	40:24 49:12	tribe 12:21	unquestionably	60:2,3 62:13
29:24 46:15,24	61:10	29:10 39:1,3,3	46:3,11	wanted 18:17
57:13,18 60:12	threshold 23:4	39:22 40:2,3,7	unusual 56:14	46:14,22,22,23
61:17 63:24	39:1,20	40:14,21 42:2	61:4	46:25 47:5,11
theyll 15:7	thrust 59:10	42:9 43:8,20	unwed 7:8,25	60:5 61:24
theyre 5:2 9:12	tied 59:19	43:22 44:11	14:20 44:4	wants 9:13
15:21 26:22	ties 44:18	45:9 54:9,14	53:5	31:25 38:19
39:4,6 57:8	till 17:21 62:5 tilted 33:9	60:22,22 64:6 tribes 16:24	upfront 20:4	60:22
thing 20:6 27:11 36:4,7 57:18	time 14:21 24:5	42:7 64:9	uprooting 25:25	washington 1:9
57:23,24	24:12,20,20	42:7 64:9 tried 54:10	upside 20:10	1:16,18,21,24
things 10:3	25:7,11 27:13	triggers 42:25	use 52:13 58:22	washingtons
20:25 26:19	40:24 47:13,16	true 9:6 21:18	uses 10:16	40:25
20.23 20.13	70.24 47.13,10	11 uc 7.0 21.10		
	<u> </u>	I	<u> </u>	<u> </u>

			-	
wasnt 21:15	Y	1916 23:13		
59:24	yeah 17:13	27:12		
way 19:2 20:4,7	years 1:7 24:2	1958 36:5		
24:21 25:10	25:6	1978 28:24		
29:25 51:11	york 62:15			
55:14 56:3,9	youll 26:6	2		
58:16 62:12	youn 20.0 youre 6:21 9:22	2 24:2 25:5		
64:6	•	20 3:8 20:10		
welfare 4:12	9:23,25 12:18 14:15,19 15:14	2013 1:10		
whats 10:20		24 20:11		
13:2,10 14:16	23:7 25:15	256ths 28:23		
24:20 27:4	37:20 40:16	39:2 42:23		
44:3 57:12	54:22 55:4	27 16:23		
58:1 60:15	58:5 61:15			
whatsoever 4:25	62:24	3		
7:1 12:10	youve 12:3	3 16:5 28:23		
whos 12:8 44:11	44:10	31:10 39:2		
62:16	$\overline{\mathbf{z}}$	42:23		
whove 57:6,7	zero 39:4 42:23	30 3:11 63:24		
wild 45:10	Zero 39.4 42.23	325 29:11		
win 5:24 12:16	0	35year 57:15		
withdrawal	000 63:24			
62:10	000 03.24	4		
withdrew 64:10	1	4 3:4 24:12		
woman 11:18	129:12	40a 21:21		
41:4	10 1:14 4:2	4a 12:1		
womans 10:5	11 64:14			
women 62:19	12 1:14 4:2	5		
	28:11	5 24:12		
wondering 20:2	12399 1:4 4:4	51 3:15		
42:22	128ths 31:10	5day 17:12		
word 7:2 59:8	15 24:25 25:23			
words 5:15 13:2	64:14	6		
16:16 31:1	16 1:10	61 3:18		
45:20	19 15:6	7		
worker 59:15	1903 11:23			
world 29:15	1912 4:15 13:1,4	7 53:20		
wouldbe 60:16	22:6,20 25:14	8		
wouldnt 6:10	27:19 31:18	8a 6:3		
13:1	32:15 41:20	0a 0.3		
write 32:4 56:10	46:1,4 54:25	9		
written 56:12	1913 62:10	9 11:23		
64:3	1915 5:25 14:24	912 22:25		
wrong 28:3	14:25 15:1,18	/ 12 22.23		
36:22 57:25	15:19,20,22			
X	16:19,20,22			
	64:5			
x 1:2,8	04.5			