1

1	IN THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES		
2	x		
3	MIGUEL ANGEL PENA-RODRIGUEZ, :		
4	Petitioner : No. 15-606		
5	v. :		
6	COLORADO, :		
7	Respondent. :		
8	x		
9	Washington, D.C.		
10	Tuesday, October 11, 2016		
11			
12	The above-entitled matter came on for oral		
13	argument before the Supreme Court of the United States		
14	at 11:08 a.m.		
15	APPEARANCES:		
16	JEFFREY L. FISHER, ESQ., Stanford, Cal.; on behalf of		
17	the Petitioner.		
18	FREDERICK R. YARGER, ESQ., Solicitor General, Denver,		
19	Colorado; on behalf of the Respondent.		
20	RACHEL P. KOVNER, ESQ., Assistant to the Solicitor		
21	General, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.; for		
22	United States, as amicus curiae, supporting the		
23	Respondent.		
24			
25			

2

1	CONTENTS	
2	ORAL ARGUMENT OF	PAGE
3	JEFFREY L. FISHER, ESQ.	
4	On behalf of the Petitioner	3
5	ORAL ARGUMENT OF	
6	FREDERICK R. YARGER, ESQ.	
7	On behalf of the Respondent	28
8	ORAL ARGUMENT OF	
9	RACHEL P. KOVNER, ESQ.	
10	For United States, as amicus curiae,	supporting the
11	Respondent	43
12	REBUTTAL ARGUMENT OF	
13	JEFFREY L. FISHER, ESQ.	
14	On behalf of the Petitioner	53
15		
16		
17		
18		
19		
20		
21		
22		
23		
24		
25		

1	PROCEEDINGS	
2	(11:08 a.m.)	
3	CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: We'll hear argument	
4	next in Case 15-606, Pena-Rodriguez v. Colorado.	
5	Mr. Fisher.	
6	ORAL ARGUMENT OF JEFFREY L. FISHER	
7	ON BEHALF OF THE PETITIONER	
8	MR. FISHER: Mr. Chief Justice, and may it	
9	please the Court:	
10	Roughly half the trials in this country from	
11	New York to California to South Carolina are already	
12	conducted under the rule we seek today: Mainly, a	
13	requirement that judges consider evidence of racial bias	
14	when it's offered to prove a violation of the Sixth	
15	Amendment right to an impartial jury.	
16	This Court should require Colorado to follow	
17	the same rule. Indeed, Colorado already has a turnkey	
18	system for implementing an exception to racial bias.	
19	Like every other jurisdiction across the land, Colorado	
20	already has multiple exceptions to the principle of jury	
21	secrecy. So all Colorado has to do is use that same	
22	system already in place to administer an exception for	
23	racial bias.	
24	CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: What about religious	
25	bias? Same thing in this case, except it's not, you	

- 1 know, this is how Mexicans act. It's this is how
- 2 Catholics or Jews act, so they're obviously guilty.
- 3 Wouldn't that also come under your exception?
- 4 MR. FISHER: Well, there's obviously,
- 5 Mr. Chief Justice, frequently an overlap between race
- 6 and religion. And so for that reason, religion might be
- 7 viewed very similarly --
- 8 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: All right. Well,
- 9 that seems to be avoiding the question. Let's say there
- 10 isn't Catholics.
- 11 MR. FISHER: All the Court needs to decide
- 12 in this case today is race. That --
- 13 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: No, I don't think
- 14 that's fair. Once we decide race -- this is not an
- 15 equal protection case; it's a Sixth Amendment case. So
- 16 a recent invocation of race is an impermissible --
- 17 impermissible enough, I guess, that we will pierce the
- 18 jury confidentiality. Well, the next case is going to
- 19 be religion. So whatever we say on race is going to
- 20 have to have either a limiting principle that makes
- 21 sense, or it's going to open up a broad category of
- 22 cases.
- 23 MR. FISHER: I don't deny that there may be
- 24 subsequent cases if you decide this one in my favor.
- 25 But I'm saying two things to the Court.

1 First of all, you can and should do what the 2 Court's done in previous situations like this, which is 3 start with race. And the reason why is because the Court has said time and again, in cases like Rose v. 4 Mitchell, in cases like Ham v. South Carolina, that race 5 6 is different, race is unique. It is a unique --7 JUSTICE ALITO: Suppose we start with race. You're not being very helpful to the Court 8 9 in your answers. 10 Suppose we start with race, and the next case involves religion. Now, how would you distinguish 11 12 religion from race if we were to reach an opposite 13 conclusion in the religious case? MR. FISHER: What you would do in that case, 14 Justice Alito, is conduct the same analysis you're being 15 16 asked to conduct here, which is look at the Tanner 17 factors and ask how effective other safeguards are at 18 rooting out --19 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Mr. Fisher, why? 20 MR. FISHER: Pardon me? 21 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Why? 22 MR. FISHER: Why would you ask that --23 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Why? I mean, you know, the Chief says this is not an equal protection case, but 24

the Sixth Amendment applies to the States through the

25

- 1 Fourteenth Amendment; correct?
- 2 MR. FISHER: Yes.
- 3 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: I always thought the
- 4 most pernicious and odious discrimination in our law is
- 5 based on race.
- 6 MR. FISHER: I agree with that.
- 7 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: All right. So why is a
- 8 rule that says, given the exceptions we've recognized
- 9 since the 1800s that have said that race is the most
- 10 pernicious thing in our justice system, why can't we
- 11 limit this just to race using principles of the
- 12 Fourteenth Amendment as well?
- 13 MR. FISHER: I'm not denying that you can.
- 14 And of course, the Constitution needs to be read
- 15 structurally. So not only --
- 16 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: You think it's
- 17 odious to have the same sort of discrimination against
- 18 someone because he's a Muslim or practices Islamic
- 19 faith? You're saying, he's a Muslim. Of course, you
- 20 know, given this, I know how Muslims behave; he
- 21 committed this crime. Is that not sufficiently like
- 22 racial discrimination that it should be carved out?
- 23 MR. FISHER: It may well be, Your Honor. It
- 24 certainly is odious. And so --
- 25 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: What about sexual

- 1 orientation? Somebody gives, you know, a bigoted speech
- 2 in the jury room about sexual orientation and how
- 3 particular types of people are more likely to commit
- 4 crimes like the one before them? Is that sufficiently
- 5 odious?
- 6 MR. FISHER: It's quite odious. But whether
- 7 it would satisfy the balancing test we're setting forth
- 8 today would be needed to decide --
- 9 JUSTICE BREYER: You have to have an answer
- 10 for this reason. No one on the other side thinks
- 11 anything but this is terrible jury misbehavior. That's
- 12 a given across the case. It is not a question of the
- 13 validity of the behavior. It's invalid. The question
- 14 is the timing of when somebody has to object.
- 15 And their point is they have to object
- 16 before the verdict comes in. Because if you don't have
- 17 that rule, you will, in fact, open the door to all kinds
- 18 of evils which they mention. All right? That's their
- 19 argument.
- 20 So what we're really asking for is your
- 21 reply to that argument. And it doesn't really reply to
- 22 say maybe you're going to have a bunch of other things
- 23 too, 'cause then that strengthens their argument. And
- 24 on the other hand, maybe that's what you think. I mean,
- 25 the whole question is that inevitably, opening the door

- 1 to these other things, which will mean tell the jury,
- 2 Jury, if somebody says a racist comment, write me a
- 3 note, the judge says, before you reach a verdict.
- 4 Do you get the point? That's why the
- 5 question is being asked.
- 6 MR. FISHER: I --
- JUSTICE BREYER: And so that's why I, too,
- 8 would like an answer.
- 9 MR. FISHER: So I think you've asked a more
- 10 specific question about objecting, and then the more
- 11 general question that we've been talking about, about
- 12 drawing lines.
- So for objecting, let me just say, it's
- 14 impossible for the defendant to object to the misconduct
- in this case because the defendant is not in the jury
- 16 room to hear it. There's never been a right that
- 17 depends on the jurors themselves.
- JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Mr. -- please, please
- 19 concentrate on the question Justice Breyer --
- MR. FISHER: I'm sorry. Okay. Okay.
- JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: -- has asked you, which
- 22 is answer his question, he's talking about the general
- 23 principle. He says everybody is afraid to open the
- 24 door. All right? And to the extent that your answer is
- 25 simply the door is open once you rule for me, 'cause

- 1 other bias is going to be viewed the same, it's going to
- 2 hurt you. That's what Justice Breyer said. So tell me
- 3 why that fear is not valid.
- 4 MR. FISHER: I think there's two reasons
- 5 why.
- One is you can look at the Court's cases
- 7 that I've described already, things like Rose v.
- 8 Mitchell, Ham v. South Carolina, where we have
- 9 race-specific rules that have never been extended beyond
- 10 race.
- 11 And the second reason is because, I know
- 12 this isn't, strictly speaking, an equal protection case,
- 13 but the same values of the Fourteenth Amendment infuse
- 14 the Sixth Amendment. And I think a helpful analogy can
- 15 be drawn to the tiers of scrutiny.
- JUSTICE GINSBURG: Why isn't this national
- 17 origin? I mean, you -- you're trying to isolate race.
- 18 But this was a case of a Mexican American. So why
- 19 doesn't it belong under national origin rather than
- 20 race?
- MR. FISHER: Well, I think the Court's case
- 22 law has fused the two concepts, particularly when it
- 23 comes to people with Hispanic origin. And so like the
- 24 parties, and I think the government and everybody
- 25 agrees, race and ethnicity is interchangeable in this

- 1 case.
- 2 But if I could continue my answer about the
- 3 analogy to the tiers of scrutiny. It's not that --
- 4 JUSTICE ALITO: Well, is it true with
- 5 respect to other ethnic groups, or only true with
- 6 respect to Hispanics?
- 7 MR. FISHER: Oh, it's most true with respect
- 8 to Hispanics in this Court's cases, which is why we've
- 9 used the term "race," and every other party in court in
- 10 the case has used the term "race."
- 11 And I think the tiers of scrutiny provide a
- 12 helpful analogy.
- JUSTICE KAGAN: Can you -- you keep on being
- 14 cut off before you get to the tiers of scrutiny, but --
- 15 (Laughter.)
- 16 JUSTICE KAGAN: -- the cases where the court
- 17 has said that a lawyer has to be allowed to ask on voir
- 18 dire about bias, does that -- is that only true of
- 19 racial bias, or is that true of any other kind of bias
- 20 as well?
- 21 MR. FISHER: Under this Court's cases, only
- 22 race. And remember, Ham was decided in 1973. So there
- 23 have been plenty of times for that issue to percolate,
- 24 and I don't of any lower court decisions that --
- JUSTICE KAGAN: I think it's --

- 1 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: And then gender.
- 2 JUSTICE KAGAN: I'm sorry. Is that -- is
- 3 that right?
- 4 MR. FISHER: I'm sorry?
- 5 JUSTICE KAGAN: It's just race you're
- 6 saying?
- 7 MR. FISHER: I believe so.
- JUSTICE KAGAN: It's just race.
- 9 And then Batson would be race and gender; is
- 10 that right.
- 11 MR. FISHER: That's right. And I think
- 12 Batson is another helpful analogy.
- 13 First of all, in Batson itself, you wrote an
- 14 opinion about race. And of course the question of
- 15 gender came back several years later. There were three
- 16 dissenters in that case. It didn't automatically follow
- 17 from the first.
- 18 And there is a different analysis that I
- 19 suggest you conduct here as well. You ask about the
- 20 Tanner factors and the other factors the State has
- 21 pointed out, things like the composition of ordinary
- 22 juries look very different when you're talking about sex
- 23 than race.
- JUSTICE GINSBURG: Well, suppose --
- 25 MR. FISHER: Things like --

- 1 JUSTICE GINSBURG: Is it so different?
- 2 Suppose somebody in the jury room, say it's an
- 3 automobile accident, says, what do you expect of women
- 4 drivers? Women shouldn't be allowed to drive cars.
- 5 Every woman I know is a terrible driver. Suppose that's
- 6 what was said.
- 7 MR. FISHER: Well, you would ask the same
- 8 questions we're asking today, but you'd ask it through a
- 9 different record and a different set of balancing. You
- 10 might conclude -- and I'm not going to deny this -- the
- 11 Court might conclude, as it did in Batson, that you
- 12 should extend to sex. But you might not conclude that,
- 13 and that would be a separate case.
- 14 And -- and maybe now I can make my tiers of
- 15 scrutiny point, because remember, sex discrimination is
- 16 treated differently under the Equal Protection Clause
- 17 than race discrimination.
- And under a similar analogy, it's not that
- 19 one is more odious than the other, or one is better, or
- 20 one doesn't -- one doesn't violate the amendment; it's
- 21 that different tools must be available to root out
- 22 different kinds of discrimination. And that's the whole
- 23 point of strict scrutiny is we do not leave any stones
- 24 unturned when it comes to race. It's racial bias.
- 25 JUSTICE GINSBURG: Isn't it a fact that in

- 1 the decisions of this Court, those tiers are not what
- 2 they once were; that is, strict scrutiny is no longer
- 3 fatal in fact, and for gender discrimination you must
- 4 have an exceedingly persuasive justification for it?
- 5 MR. FISHER: Of course, Justice Ginsburg;
- 6 that's correct. And I'm just trying to give this Court
- 7 an analogy that it might use to think about the problem
- 8 of how to apply the Sixth Amendment to different kinds
- 9 of alleged bias.
- 10 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: No. It's not just
- 11 alleged bias. It's bias based on innate characteristics
- 12 of the offensive remarks. But the question is: What is
- 13 most likely to -- or a significant risk of depriving the
- 14 defendant of a fair trial? And it seems to me there are
- 15 statements that have nothing to do with race or gender
- 16 or sexual orientation or anything that might have a far
- 17 greater impact. And I'm wondering why we -- we don't
- 18 allow impeachment of the jury verdict in those cases?
- 19 Someone, I don't know, comes in and says, I
- 20 know that witness. That witness lies all the time.
- 21 Believe me, you can't take anything he says. I mean
- 22 that, in a certain -- in a particular case, could have a
- 23 greater impact.
- So why don't we allow impeachment of the
- 25 jury processes in that case?

- 1 MR. FISHER: I think it's a very important
- 2 question that goes to the heart of the case, because I
- 3 think you could have also used the hypotheticals from
- 4 cases like McDonald v. Pless and Tanner and Warger. And
- 5 the reason why is because the Court has said time and
- 6 again that race is different.
- 7 There's a difference between a bias, harmful
- 8 though it may be, that affects only a private litigant,
- 9 compared to racial bias which is a stain on the entire
- 10 judicial system and the integrity that it's built upon.
- 11 And that is the difference, the Court said, in Rose v.
- 12 Mitchell. It's the difference, the Court said, in
- 13 Ham v. South Carolina. It's what the Court has talked
- 14 about in its Batson line of cases. It's that stain on
- 15 the system --
- 16 JUSTICE BREYER: What did the -- what did
- 17 the 20 States do?
- MR. FISHER: Pardon me?
- 19 JUSTICE BREYER: What did the 20 States do?
- 20 MR. FISHER: The 20 -- it's actually 18
- 21 States and two Federal jurisdictions. But those
- 22 jurisdictions have all limited their -- their exception
- 23 to race. That's what you're asking.
- And remember, some of those exceptions have
- 25 been around -- in New York, it's been around since the

- 1 '60s. In Minnesota, it's been around since the '70s.
- 2 So we have vast experience in the States. And when all
- 3 the arguments are made on the other side, which I would
- 4 respectfully say are all theoretical arguments about the
- 5 harm that would come from adopting a rule, I stress to
- 6 the Court, this is not a theoretical question. There's
- 7 an empirical answer that is available to the Court based
- 8 on the experience across the country, multiple
- 9 jurisdictions.
- 10 JUSTICE ALITO: Race is -- race is different
- 11 for some purposes. But why is it different from other
- 12 things for Sixth Amendment purposes? What the Sixth
- 13 Amendment protects is the right to a fair trial -- to an
- 14 impartial jury. And if we allow the exception that you
- 15 are advocating, what do you say to the defendant who --
- 16 the prisoner who is going to be spending the rest of his
- 17 life in prison as a result of the jury verdict that was
- 18 determined by flipping a coin?
- 19 MR. FISHER: I think I can give you the same
- 20 answer I gave to the Chief Justice earlier, which is
- 21 that is woefully unfair. But when the Court does its
- 22 balancing of the harm to -- on the one side to the
- 23 judicial system of the defendant against the State
- 24 interest, the balance is different when it comes to
- 25 race.

- 1 JUSTICE ALITO: How does that --
- 2 MR. FISHER: As bad as --
- 3 JUSTICE ALITO: How does that connect with
- 4 the right to an impartial jury? A jury can be partial
- 5 for racial reasons. It can be --
- 6 MR. FISHER: Right.
- 7 JUSTICE ALITO: -- partial for some other
- 8 reason.
- 9 MR. FISHER: Because the values of the
- 10 Fourteenth Amendment are read into the Sixth Amendment
- 11 as well. And if I can give the Court an analogy, think
- 12 of Bolling v. Sharpe, where the Court asked whether the
- 13 Due Process Clause applies to the Federal government --
- 14 I'm sorry -- the Equal Protection Clause applies to the
- 15 Federal government, which it doesn't, by its terms. But
- 16 the Court said, you know what, the Due Process Clause in
- 17 the Fifth Amendment does, and that should be infused
- 18 with the values of the Equal Protection. And the
- 19 particular harms of racial discrimination should be read
- 20 into that amendment as well. That's all we're asking
- 21 here.
- 22 JUSTICE GINSBURG: Has -- has there been any
- 23 case, other than Bolling v. Sharpe? In Bolling v.
- 24 Sharpe, the conspicuous absence was any equal protection
- 25 principle operative v. the Federal government. And I

- 1 don't know of any case other than Bolling v. Sharpe
- 2 where you have that kind of reverse incorporation.
- MR. FISHER: No. I think, Justice Ginsburg,
- 4 another example would just be Ham. Remember that the
- 5 voir dire line of cases are all due process cases.
- 6 There's nothing in the Due Process Clause that singles
- 7 out race, but this Court's opinion does. And it says
- 8 that the structure of the Constitution and the unique
- 9 problem of race in our history and our society requires
- 10 special medicine.
- 11 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Do you think the
- 12 entire body of law that we have developed in connection
- 13 with racial discrimination or the Equal Protection
- 14 Clause is the issue and apply that to your case? For
- 15 example, here, you have a very obviously offensive and
- 16 direct appeal to -- to race. What if it's, oh, you
- 17 know, he's from that neighborhood; I know people from
- 18 that -- people from that neighborhood always commit
- 19 crimes like this.
- Now, obviously, that could well be
- 21 challenged as based on race, or -- I mean, is that also,
- 22 do you impeach the jury's -- the secrecy of the jury
- 23 proceedings for something like that?
- MR. FISHER: Well, I think the analysis
- 25 would be similar to what you do under the Equal

- 1 Protection Clause, but it wouldn't have to be lockstep.
- 2 So the question that's asked in the 20
- 3 jurisdictions that already do this is, would a
- 4 reasonable juror have understood the comments to be
- 5 about race? Would the -- would the jurors have
- 6 understood the juror who spoke to be asking them to
- 7 decide the case or view the evidence based on racial
- 8 bias?
- 9 And remember, too, Mr. Chief Justice --
- 10 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: The second is very
- 11 different from the first. That second --
- 12 MR. FISHER: I'm sorry if I miss -- if I
- 13 confused the Court, but the key, when you're talking
- 14 about people such as from that neighborhood or whether
- or not it would be understood as race-based comments as
- 16 opposed to something else.
- So a similar question --
- 18 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: I like the second better
- 19 because what -- otherwise, you're going to have an
- 20 evidentiary hearing in every allegation, and 20
- 21 jurisdictions don't, right?
- MR. FISHER: Right.
- 23 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: There has to be a test
- 24 that tells you when, what's the difference between a
- 25 stray remark --

- 1 MR. FISHER: Right.
- JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: -- and something that
- 3 has impact.
- 4 MR. FISHER: Right. And so both are
- 5 required, Justice Sotomayor, and I'm sorry if I was
- 6 confusing about that.
- 7 First, you asked whether or not it was
- 8 racial bias as opposed to some other kind of bias.
- 9 Second, you asked whether it went to the
- 10 evidence in the case and the defendant's guilt, or
- 11 whether it was an off-color joke made during a break or
- 12 something like that.
- And let me stress two things. One is, the
- 14 jurisdictions that exist already do this, and even
- 15 jurisdictions like Colorado already do this.
- Go back to the first -- I think -- go back
- 17 to Justice Breyer's question. If a juror had sent a
- 18 note out five minutes before the verdict, in this case
- 19 or any other, describing racial bias, the judge would
- 20 make all the same inquiries --
- JUSTICE BREYER: I don't see the problem
- 22 there. What -- what's actually worrying me about it, if
- 23 I had to write this on paper, somebody could say, well,
- 24 you know, on -- on request the defense attorney can get
- 25 an instruction, send us a note before you reach the

- 1 jury. That could be happen.
- 2 But you want to go beyond that and impeach
- 3 the verdict.
- 4 The real reason, I suspect, is even though
- 5 we can imagine cases that are just as unfair, flipping a
- 6 coin, et cetera, that part of the purpose of these
- 7 amendments is to create a judicial system that is seen
- 8 as fair beyond the individual case, and indeed, being
- 9 seen as fair beyond the individual case means that it is
- 10 more likely to be fair in other cases as well.
- Now, if I'm really honest, I think, yeah,
- 12 that's probably right. And then the history and
- 13 everything become relevant. But have you found any
- 14 support for that?
- 15 MR. FISHER: For what exactly, Justice
- 16 Breyer?
- 17 JUSTICE BREYER: That what we're doing here
- 18 in creating the exception, despite the fact that we can
- 19 think of Justice Alito's case which is just as unfair,
- 20 though it doesn't involve race, is we're trying to
- 21 create a fairer system in general and one that will be
- 22 perceived as such, and there race is a special problem.
- MR. FISHER: Right. So --
- JUSTICE BREYER: So I wonder if you, and --
- 25 and I -- if I could write it right, I think it would

- 1 make sense, but I'm asking you is there support for such
- 2 a thing.
- 3 MR. FISHER: Yes. You almost spoke verbatim
- 4 out of the Rosales-Lopez opinion, which draws from the
- 5 Aldridge v. United States opinion in 1931. So this is a
- 6 principle that goes quite a ways back in the Court's
- 7 jurisprudence, which is the perception of fairness when
- 8 it comes to racial bias and racial discrimination is
- 9 paramount.
- 10 And, Justice Breyer, if I could add
- 11 something -- if I could add two points about your
- 12 question, which we return to, about what if the jury
- 13 could be instructed to send a note out.
- 14 Well, there's two problems with that. First
- is, remember the jurors are always instructed, as they
- 16 were in this case, to use their common-sense experience
- in the jury room, to draw on that. And remember how
- 18 these comments are couched, as is often the case, as
- 19 Juror H.C.'s personal experience that Mexican men blah,
- 20 blah, blah, blah, blah.
- 21 And so a jury instruction at best is going
- 22 to be cross-cutting v. another jury instruction and not
- 23 always work.
- And even in the much easier case of
- 25 extraneous evidence and improper influence, which are

- 1 exceptions that Colorado recognizes, as does the Federal
- 2 system and everyone else, jurors are always instructed
- 3 not to do those things, and yet they do sometimes. And
- 4 the system demands that we give a remedy when jurors
- 5 don't follow those instructions.
- 6 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: What is it that the
- 7 proceeding that you would have, I mean, if we accept
- 8 your proposal and -- and interview the jurors, subject
- 9 them to the -- what do you -- what do you ask them?
- 10 MR. FISHER: So there's two -- there's two
- 11 steps, Mr. Chief Justice.
- 12 First is a threshold showing that I
- 13 described earlier, that there was a statement that was
- 14 racially --
- 15 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Okay. But the facts
- 16 are as alleged here, I guess. What do you do once you
- 17 have that in -- in the record? What's next?
- 18 MR. FISHER: So the judge asks exactly the
- 19 same question the judge would ask with other kinds of
- 20 jury misconduct like extraneous evidence. The judge
- 21 asks, is there a reasonable possibility that the verdict
- 22 was influenced by that bias?
- 23 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: So if the other
- 24 jurors come in and they testify, there's testimony and
- everybody says, yes, that's what he said, and they say,

- 1 well, what would you -- but of course the guy was
- 2 guilty, no doubt about it, and the other 11 said, of
- 3 course he was guilty, it was very offensive what, you
- 4 know, HC or whatever it was said, but, of course, he was
- 5 guilty. Everybody -- we agreed to -- you know, in five
- 6 minutes. Does that make a difference?
- 7 MR. FISHER: Right. So I think you've asked
- 8 two questions there.
- 9 The first is, is one juror enough, and the
- 10 second is, do you look at the strength of the
- 11 government's case.
- On the first question, whether one biased
- 13 juror is enough, the Court's Parker v. Gladden decision
- 14 in 1966 quite clearly says yes, which, of course, is in
- 15 line with the way you treated a multimember
- 16 decision-making body last term in Williams.
- 17 Now, the question on whether you look at the
- 18 strength of the government's case as to whether to grant
- 19 relief, I would tell this Court that's the one issue on
- 20 which the 20 jurisdictions across the country are
- 21 divided.
- 22 Some say the mere fact that a single
- 23 racially biased juror took that into account in -- in
- 24 issuing his verdict is enough for relief. And some
- 25 other States will look at the overall strength of the

- 1 government's case. For, I think, obvious reasons, the
- 2 Court need not resolve that here in this case and could
- 3 come out on that question however it wished.
- 4 JUSTICE GINSBURG: Right. But you -- and
- 5 specifically what happens next? The Chief asked the
- 6 question.
- 7 MR. FISHER: So -- so --
- 8 JUSTICE GINSBURG: Do you have to poll -- do
- 9 all the jurors have to come back and each one testify?
- 10 First of all, did HC say what the two jurors said he
- 11 said? There may be doubt about that. And then whether
- 12 any of them were influenced by it.
- MR. FISHER: So -- so there's two questions,
- 14 Justice Ginsburg.
- 15 The first one is, what does the evidence
- 16 show, and so some juror testimony is required to bring
- 17 out who said what and in what context. Once that's
- 18 determined, the judge asks whether there's a reasonable
- 19 probability that the verdict was infected by racial
- 20 bias, and that question, Justice Ginsburg, is purely
- 21 objective.
- 22 It's very much like what courts do every day
- 23 when there's a bad jury instruction. They don't bring
- 24 all the jurors in and have them testify how they -- how
- 25 they interpreted the jury instruction and the like.

- 1 They ask an objective test, saying with those improper
- 2 statements brought into the jury room, would the juror
- 3 have -- the reasonable probability the juror would have
- 4 erred in the way they decided.
- 5 JUSTICE KAGAN: So the idea would be the
- 6 judge would say, we'll look at all this other evidence
- 7 v. the defendant. I think that they would have found
- 8 him quilty regardless.
- 9 MR. FISHER: No, that -- well, that's the
- 10 issue I was talking about with the Chief Justice on
- 11 which courts are divided.
- We think the Court might hold in a future
- 13 case that it's enough to have a racially biased juror --
- 14 JUSTICE KAGAN: But that would be a kind of
- 15 structural error.
- 16 MR. FISHER: That would be a question the
- 17 Court would ask.
- 18 What I meant when I said, look at the other
- 19 facts, I meant the context in which a statement was made
- 20 during deliberations. So it might be that somebody said
- 21 something and then somebody immediately spoke up and
- 22 corrected that person. They said, oh, that's not what I
- 23 meant. I meant something else. And the judge, as they
- 24 do every day in jurisdictions across the country, would
- 25 hear this evidence and decide, oh, this jury wasn't

- 1 actually --
- 2 JUSTICE ALITO: But here we have -- in this
- 3 case, we have a very blatant statement, but let's
- 4 consider the standard that now applies on a lot of
- 5 college campuses as to statements that are considered by
- 6 some people to be racist.
- 7 What would happen if one of the jurors has
- 8 the sensibility of a lot of current college students,
- 9 and thinks that one of the -- something that's said in
- 10 the jury room that falls into one of those categories
- 11 was a racious -- was a racial comment?
- MR. FISHER: We're talking here, Justice
- 13 Alito, only about intentional racial bias. So --
- 14 JUSTICE ALITO: Even the first time a person
- 15 says something that is considered improper on a college
- 16 campus today and another juror thinks that that shows
- 17 intentional racial bias.
- 18 MR. FISHER: No, I think, as I said, it's an
- 19 objective test. Even under the Court's equal protection
- 20 jurisprudence, the Court hasn't --
- JUSTICE ALITO: Yeah. How will the judge
- 22 decide -- how will the judge decide whether the
- 23 statement is -- is racist?
- MR. FISHER: Well, I think it's the same
- 25 analysis the judge would conduct in an equal protection

- 1 case, which is, is the statement asking to decide
- 2 directly and intentionally on its face the case based on
- 3 race.
- 4 JUSTICE KAGAN: Presumably --
- 5 MR. FISHER: That's all you need to --
- 6 JUSTICE KAGAN: Presumably the judge faces
- 7 the same situation if a juror comes in during
- 8 proceedings, is that right, and then the judge has to
- 9 make whether this is something real or not.
- 10 MR. FISHER: Precisely right, Justice Kagan,
- or after proceedings. Remember, jurors can walk out to
- 12 the courthouse steps, as they were told in this case.
- 13 It's entirely proper to discuss the basis for your
- 14 verdict. So if that afternoon jurors are saying, this
- is how we decided the case, the judge might be asked to
- 16 make the exact same inquiries. So there's nothing new
- 17 about the inquiry we're asking. It's just --
- 18 JUSTICE GINSBURG: Does it make any
- 19 difference if it were not the jurors as here, but the --
- 20 the lawyer for the defense went around, contacted all
- 21 the jurors and elicited this testimony? So it wasn't
- the jurors volunteering, but the lawyer questioning the
- 23 jurors to see if he can come up with something that
- 24 would gain a new trial.
- 25 MR. FISHER: So long as what the lawyer was

- 1 doing comported with the local rules with respect to
- 2 contacting jurors, it would be the same case. In
- 3 Minnesota, which is the one place where I think there is
- 4 a case about a lawyer breaking the rules in terms of
- 5 talking to a juror, there's a situation where it's a
- 6 different case than this and the judge might deny
- 7 relief.
- If I could reserve the remainder of my time.
- 9 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you, counsel.
- 10 Mr. Yarger.
- 11 ORAL ARGUMENT OF FREDERICK R. YARGER
- 12 ON BEHALF OF THE RESPONDENT
- 13 MR. YARGER: Thank you, Mr. Chief Justice,
- 14 and may it please the Court:
- 15 Everyone, including Petitioner, agrees that
- 16 the citizen jury system requires safeguards to ensure
- 17 full and fair debate in the jury room and prevent
- 18 harassment and tampering after verdicts are handed down.
- 19 And the juror's alleged statements in this case are no
- 20 doubt reprehensible, but the vital interests that the
- 21 no-impeachment rule serves apply just as readily here as
- they do in other serious alleged cases of juror
- 23 misconduct and bias. And Petitioner has not shown --
- JUSTICE KAGAN: Mr. Yarger, let's -- let's
- 25 assume that that's true, that the State interests are

- 1 basically the same, and also let's assume that the
- 2 safeguards, voir dire, don't operate particularly
- 3 differently. All right?
- So I'll just give you what -- what I think
- 5 is the strongest argument on Mr. Fisher's side, which is
- 6 that the -- that the interests in preventing unfairness
- 7 of this kind are much greater; that that's really the
- 8 difference, is the fact that verdicts based on race
- 9 discrimination pose a harm that verdicts based on other
- 10 kinds of unfairnesses, which exist in the world, and --
- 11 and are terrible, but still, that it's just not the same
- 12 kind of harm.
- MR. YARGER: And we certainly don't dispute
- 14 that racial bias is a particular problem, and a
- 15 particular problem under the Constitution. But I don't
- 16 think it's -- it's correct that other forms of bias
- 17 won't cause the same types of institutional harms. Of
- 18 course, this Court's recognized that in JEB versus
- 19 Alabama when it extended Batson to claims of gender
- 20 bias. And certainly a verdict based on the fact that a
- 21 defendant is a Muslim or a Catholic or a Mormon or any
- 22 religious group would just as significantly call into
- 23 question --
- JUSTICE KAGAN: The one question is whether
- 25 identity-based harms are different than other kinds of

- 1 unfairnesses, as we've talked about in the Warger case,
- 2 for example, or the one before that.
- 3 And then another question is whether race --
- 4 racial bias is different from other identity-based bias,
- 5 right? But -- but would you -- would you concede that
- 6 identity-based bias is different from like, you know,
- 7 the kinds of bias that we've discussed in other cases?
- 8 MR. YARGER: I wouldn't concede that in this
- 9 specific context where you're dealing with an individual
- 10 defendant's Sixth Amendment right to an impartial jury
- 11 and a fair trial set v. the important and vital
- 12 interests that the no-impeachment rule serves to allow
- 13 the jury to do its job.
- 14 JUSTICE KAGAN: But it's true that this is a
- 15 Sixth Amendment case, but it seems artificial not to
- 16 think about the Sixth Amendment issue as informed by the
- 17 principles of the Equal Protection Clause. And in those
- 18 principles, as we've always understood them, says that
- 19 there's a special kind of harm in treating people worse
- 20 and, I mean, and certainly, in punishing people because
- 21 of their race. And maybe especially because race is so
- 22 associated with particular stereotypes respecting
- 23 criminality, that that's about the worst thing that you
- 24 can do to a person, and it's also the worst thing that
- 25 you can suggest about the criminal justice system, that

- 1 it allows that to happen.
- 2 So both of those two things, the harm to the
- 3 individual for being punished because of your race, and
- 4 the harm to society writ large. And that would, I
- 5 think, be the -- the fact, yes, you're right the State
- 6 interests are exactly the same, and voir dire functions
- 7 pretty similarly. But it's just a different kind of
- 8 harm.
- 9 MR. YARGER: I -- I think it would be
- 10 difficult in the context of the Sixth Amendment in the
- 11 same courthouse in Colorado to tell one defendant that
- 12 that defendant gets to impeach the verdict because the
- 13 error that happened to occur during deliberations is
- 14 racial, whereas across the hall it was religious, or it
- 15 was simply the jurors disrespecting the jury system
- 16 enough to flip a coin. And -- and that's the problem.
- 17 In all of these cases in which Rule 606(b)
- is going to apply, you're going to be putting the
- 19 individual defendant's Sixth Amendment right, which
- 20 Petitioner acknowledges can be implicated in a wide
- 21 range of cases, v. the interests that, Justice Kagan, I
- 22 think you acknowledge are weighty and important, and
- 23 precisely why Rule 606(b) has survived for so many
- 24 years.
- JUSTICE KENNEDY: Suppose this were a

- 1 capital case. Would the government of the United States
- 2 come and make this argument, that the person can be
- 3 executed despite what we know happened in the jury room?
- 4 MR. YARGER: Well, Your Honor, I think
- 5 the -- certainly, this isn't a capital case, and that
- 6 might raise different issues. There are cases set in
- 7 the briefing that are capital cases in which the --
- 8 JUSTICE KENNEDY: Well, it doesn't follow
- 9 from your position.
- 10 MR. YARGER: And -- and it does. And our
- 11 position is it -- it should apply there. If -- if the
- jury system is so important to be protected in these
- 13 other contexts, and is -- and this rule is necessary to
- 14 allow them to fully and fairly deliberate the issues, it
- 15 ought to apply in that context as well. But, again, I
- 16 don't think that question needs to be confronted or
- 17 answered in this case.
- JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Do you have any evidence
- 19 that in the 20 jurisdictions that permit this -- this
- 20 challenge that they've been overwhelmed with cases?
- MR. YARGER: Your Honor, there -- I think
- 22 there are two responses to that.
- 23 First of all, we -- we don't agree with that
- 24 count of jurisdictions or how it breaks down.
- 25 But second of all, Petitioner does -- does

- 1 point to jurisdictions in which this exception was made,
- 2 but he doesn't link that up with evidence that -- that
- 3 this is not occurring, that the harassment and the
- 4 effects on full and fair deliberation are not being
- 5 heard.
- 6 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Well, you can't prove a
- 7 negative. That's -- that's almost impossible. So I
- 8 want you to tell me the positive. Is there evidence of
- 9 some run-amuck sort of number of motions filed in any
- 10 particular case based on racial discrimination, rampant
- jury harassment, any of the evils that you are
- 12 predicting in your brief?
- MR. YARGER: Well, what we do have, Your
- 14 Honor, is specific examples in these particular cases
- where harassment is a very real problem, specifically
- 16 with respect to racial bias, where, after all 12 jurors
- 17 or a large number of jurors are pulled into the
- 18 courtroom, it's -- it's determined that the affidavit at
- 19 issue was manufactured by the attorney, and that the
- 20 allegations were -- were untrue. And an example to give
- 21 is the Greer case from Massachusetts.
- 22 The other thing I'd say is that the Iowa
- 23 rule, the most permissible version of the no-impeachment
- 24 rule, certainly was on the table in 1975 when this Court
- 25 and Congress considered adopting Rule 606(b). All of

- 1 those arguments were the same then. All of those
- 2 arguments were made in Tanner and made in Warger, and
- 3 what Congress and this Court decided, and the vast
- 4 majority of states decided, was that the strict version
- 5 of the no-impeachment rule best balances these -- these
- 6 interests. And it's a very difficult balance. We
- 7 certainly acknowledge that.
- 8 But as to Petitioner's count, six states
- 9 apply that Iowa rule, and certainly, that's their
- 10 judgment to make. But that doesn't mean that the
- 11 exception is limited only to racial bias. In six states
- 12 that acknowledge a Sixth Amendment exception, they don't
- 13 apply a categorical rule that allows evidence of racial
- 14 bias to come in, in every case in which it's alleged.
- 15 They apply it sort of an extreme-cases test, and most
- 16 often --
- 17 JUSTICE GINSBURG: Can you just clarify
- 18 something? This -- I think Mr. Fisher told -- told us
- 19 that in the states, whether the -- his number of 20,
- 20 yours of six, is right, that this is limited to race.
- 21 So it would not be applied to gender, sexual
- 22 orientation, and apparently, national origin other than
- 23 Hispanic.
- MR. YARGER: Justice Ginsburg, that -- that
- 25 is true, that the cases that we've seen do only deal

- 1 with racial bias. But we've seen extreme instances of
- 2 other types of bias, religious bias v. Jews and Muslims.
- 3 And certainly, I think, those courts would have a hard
- 4 time not extending whatever particular rule they've
- 5 adopted to those settings. But, yes, we do acknowledge
- 6 that -- that to date, the exceptions have been racial
- 7 bias.
- 8 In those jurisdictions, the six
- 9 jurisdictions that adopt the extreme-cases rule, though,
- 10 even when there is a very disturbing statement and
- 11 surfaces post trial, the courts still say, well, the
- importance of the no-impeachment rule still applies
- 13 here, and we're not going to create an exception. And,
- 14 of course, that's exactly what the Seventh Circuit did.
- JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: What -- what exception
- 16 would you recognize? As far back as Reed we have
- 17 said -- qualified 606(b)'s -- predecessors in 606(b).
- 18 Wagner said it: There might be a case so extreme that
- 19 we would not apply this rule.
- If race is not so extreme, what, in your
- 21 judgment, would be?
- 22 MR. YARGER: Your Honor, I think the line
- 23 that -- that can be drawn consistent with that footnote
- 24 would be whether or not the other safeguards that are
- 25 necessary to assure a fair trial were made available in

- 1 that particular case. So, for example, there are cases
- 2 in which voir dire on race or religious bias was not
- 3 made available. That would be a case in which, if
- 4 evidence surfaced post-trial that that kind of
- 5 misconduct influenced the deliberations, an exception
- 6 might be necessary. The same, if a court was given some
- 7 hint that bias crept in to the jury deliberations and
- 8 didn't do anything about it. That would be possibly a
- 9 situation in which the no-impeachment rule should yield.
- 10 But it's -- if we're focused on that balance between --
- 11 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Well, right now, we
- 12 don't permit or require questioning on bias except for
- 13 race in voir dire, so where does your exception work?
- MR. YARGER: Well, it --
- JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Because things do creep
- in. We don't make exceptions for those things.
- 17 MR. YARGER: Well, I think that's precisely
- 18 right. We don't make exceptions, and we expect counsel
- 19 in voir dire to be the mechanism through which we
- 20 explore all of these biases. And so when it is not
- 21 taken advantage of when it could have been taken
- 22 advantage of in this case and the trial court --
- JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: The problem is it
- 24 assumes that if the question is asked that every juror
- 25 is going to be truthful. You know, different people can

- 1 have different experiences. But, you know, it is more
- 2 rare than common that when a question is asked is anyone
- 3 biased that most jurors won't raise their hand.
- 4 MR. YARGER: And, Your Honor, I think the
- 5 same challenges arises with regard to nearly any bias
- 6 that is crucial to a defendant's Sixth Amendment rights,
- 7 which is precisely why the practice guides the defendant
- 8 himself cites or Petitioner himself cites say, asking
- 9 the general question is generally not the best way to
- 10 expose those types of biases during voir dire. And
- 11 here, not even the general question was asked about the
- 12 race of the defendant in this case.
- 13 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: But what other types
- 14 of questions would -- what types of questions would you
- 15 propound if you were trying to elicit whether there was
- 16 bias on the part of a prospective juror?
- 17 MR. YARGER: I would propound the same types
- 18 of questions that Petitioner's counsel used below as to
- 19 other issues: People's experiences on the subject,
- 20 whether they believe racial issues still persist in this
- 21 country, and what their attitudes are.
- 22 JUSTICE GINSBURG: But there are -- isn't it
- 23 so that many lawyers won't ask that question even if
- 24 they could? Because just by asking the question, you're
- 25 putting race in the minds of the jurors, and you'd

- 1 rather not do that.
- 2 MR. YARGER: That's certainly the argument
- 3 the Petitioner makes here. But what experience has
- 4 shown is that a careful and mature voir dire on race is
- 5 not likely to infuse racism into jurors. In fact, quite
- 6 the opposite has been observed to happen. When jurors
- 7 are respectfully confronted with racial issues at the
- 8 outset of a trial, they tend to counter any racial bias,
- 9 whether explicit or implicit, that might come up during
- 10 the thought process.
- 11 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: How do you know
- 12 that?
- 13 MR. YARGER: That's the research that we
- 14 cited for Professor Sommers in the briefing. Courts
- 15 have looked at that research. The McCowen case from
- 16 Massachusetts, they said precisely the same thing. Voir
- 17 dire is a good time and a good mechanism to raise these
- 18 issues to ensure that they don't --
- 19 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Well, that's one of
- 20 the --
- MR. YARGER: -- crop up.
- 22 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: But that's one of
- 23 the problems here. It may be a good time to alert
- 24 people who have this bias not to talk about it. It
- 25 seems to me that's a very hard thing to measure, this

- 1 sort of bias. And, I mean, one question, I quess, is
- 2 whether impeaching the verdict in this way will cause
- 3 people with biases like that to keep quiet about it and
- 4 yet still have the same sort of pernicious effect on the
- 5 verdict.
- 6 MR. YARGER: Well, and that's one of our
- 7 concerns, Mr. Chief Justice. And Petitioner
- 8 acknowledges, I think it's page 16 of his reply brief,
- 9 that allowing this type of inquiry only on issues of
- 10 racial bias might, in fact, drive racial bias
- 11 underground.
- Now, he says that's unlikely. The Florida
- 13 Supreme Court said it might happen. And it strikes us
- 14 and it strikes Colorado that if the effect of a
- 15 racial-bias-only exception to the no-impeachment rule
- 16 drives racism underground where it can't be confronted
- 17 and can't be reported to the judge, the balance that
- 18 Colorado strikes by not carving out subject matter
- 19 exceptions to the no-impeachment rule is a good one.
- JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Well, why? Isn't -- you
- 21 know, there's a lot of talk about political correctness
- 22 or not. And some people think it's a negative thing,
- 23 and others think it's a positive thing. But if an
- 24 individual is harboring racial bias, isn't it better to
- 25 harbor it than infect everyone else's deliberations on

- 1 the basis of it?
- I mean, if you're not saying every Mexican
- 3 commits this kind of crime, but you're forced to argue
- 4 the evidence to convince your jurors, isn't that exactly
- 5 what we want? Don't we want deliberations on evidence
- 6 and not deliberations on someone's stereotypes and
- 7 feelings about the race of a defendant?
- 8 MR. YARGER: That is absolutely what we
- 9 want.
- JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: So why shouldn't we try
- 11 to drive it underground?
- MR. YARGER: Well, Your Honor, with respect,
- 13 I think that if the juror harbors that bias and is on
- 14 the jury, that's going to influence the verdict one way
- 15 or the other.
- JUSTICE GINSBURG: Do jurors --
- 17 MR. YARGER: I don't think it's --
- 18 JUSTICE GINSBURG: Do jurors even know about
- 19 the existence of a -- a de la rel rule -- rule -- I
- 20 mean, that jurors can't impeach their verdict?
- MR. YARGER: Justice Ginsburg, what jurors
- 22 do know when they enter the deliberation room is that
- 23 that's a secret proceeding. And they're told after they
- leave that they can talk to people as much or as little
- 25 as they want about what goes on in the jury room.

- 1 So calling them back in and calling multiple
- 2 jurors back in to take the stand under penalty of
- 3 perjury and cross-examination to be examined about what
- 4 was said during those deliberations will have a
- 5 significant effect on the deliberative climate in the
- 6 jury room.
- 7 JUSTICE KENNEDY: Can you please tell me,
- 8 just as a matter of what goes on in the bar in your
- 9 State, in Colorado, particularly, I take it that in
- 10 civil cases, lawyers who may be trying a similar case
- 11 all the time questioned jurors after the fact, after the
- 12 verdict, in order to see how to improve their arguments,
- 13 et cetera, et cetera, in civil and criminal cases. Is
- 14 this a problem generally?
- 15 And a related question: Are there articles
- 16 and statistics about the prevalence of this and whether
- or not this is disruptive to the legal system?
- 18 MR. YARGER: The specific post-trial sort of
- 19 conversation between counsel and jurors?
- JUSTICE KENNEDY: Yes.
- 21 MR. YARGER: I haven't seen anything like
- 22 that. That is a common practice in the State of
- 23 Colorado. But one concern is that, certainly, a skilled
- lawyer in every case is going to present evidence of
- 25 alleged bias as if it were volunteered to that attorney.

- 1 And it's only after actually inquiring of the jurors,
- 2 putting multiple jurors on the stand to get to the
- 3 bottom of those allegations of what was said, when it
- 4 was said, and what it was meant in context, will we get
- 5 to whether this actually exposed racial bias on the part
- of a juror or whether it was something else.
- 7 And by that point, you have done exactly
- 8 what Rule 606(b) seeks to prevent courts from doing in
- 9 order to create the atmosphere of full and fair debate
- 10 in the jury room.
- 11 JUSTICE GINSBURG: Well, when this rule was
- 12 first pronounced, they were thinking about quotient
- 13 verdicts, coin-flipping, perhaps. And identity bias
- 14 didn't figure in back in England when this rule was
- 15 first articulated.
- MR. YARGER: Certainly, that might be true
- 17 at the time the common law rule was announced. But
- 18 Rule 606(b) was debated and adopted in the 1970s
- 19 recently. And since that time, no rule maker has
- 20 decided to draw lines within the rule based on the
- 21 subject matter of the misconduct of the juror.
- 22 And I think that reflects the tension that
- 23 we were talking about earlier, which is it doesn't
- 24 matter what kind of bias arises in the course of
- 25 proceedings. All of it has significant Sixth Amendment

- 1 concerns for individual defendants. And drawing the
- 2 right lines only as to racial bias, but to no other type
- 3 of misconduct, would disserve the rule and wouldn't give
- 4 an adequate reason not to draw further lines down the
- 5 road. And I think that would lead to the
- 6 constitutionalization of the most permissive form of the
- 7 rule, the Iowa rule, which this Court and Congress and
- 8 the vast majority of States have rejected.
- 9 Your Honors, if there are no further
- 10 questions.
- 11 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you, counsel.
- 12 Ms. Kovner.
- ORAL ARGUMENT OF RACHEL P. KOVNER
- 14 FOR UNITED STATES, AS AMICUS CURIAE,
- 15 SUPPORTING THE RESPONDENT
- 16 MS. KOVNER: Mr. Chief Justice, and may it
- 17 please the Court:
- 18 Racial bias is a real problem that the
- 19 United States is committed to eradicating. But there
- 20 are ways to address that problem without undermining
- 21 structural protections of the jury system that have
- 22 withstood legal challenges for hundreds of years.
- I take Petitioner's principal submission
- 24 here to be that a different rule should apply under the
- 25 Sixth Amendment when a particular form of bias is at

- 1 issue. And I just want to take a moment to underscore
- 2 how that's really without foundation in this Court's
- 3 cases.
- 4 JUSTICE KAGAN: Ms. Kovner, and it seems
- 5 there are two lines of cases which -- in which we've
- 6 recognized that racial bias in a jury room is an
- 7 especially important problem, and that there need to be
- 8 special rules to address that problem.
- 9 And the first line of cases is the ones that
- 10 on voir dire say that a lawyer who wants to ask about
- 11 racial bias on voir dire has to be able to ask about
- 12 racial bias, and that we've applied to nothing else
- 13 except for racial bias.
- 14 And the second is the Batson line of cases
- where we've said we're going to prevent lawyers from
- doing what we otherwise allow them to do when striking
- 17 jurors will lead to -- may lead to race bias in the jury
- 18 room.
- 19 Now, here, we have like a screaming race
- 20 bias in the jury room. We have the best smoking-gun
- 21 evidence you're ever going to see about race bias in the
- 22 jury room, and notwithstanding that in these two lines
- 23 of cases we've said there need to be special rules to
- 24 address this prevalent and toxic problem in our criminal
- 25 justice system, here, we're not going to do that.

- 1 And the question is, why would this category
- 2 of cases be different from those other two?
- MS. KOVNER: So, Your Honor, we think this
- 4 Court has never treated some Sixth Amendment violations
- 5 as more serious than others, and to talk about these two
- 6 lines of cases that Your Honor raises.
- 7 If Your Honor looks at what, I think, the
- 8 Court was doing in the voir dire cases, race was the
- 9 particular issue that it confronted there, but it was
- 10 indicating -- and I think it's indicated in other cases,
- 11 you have to conduct the kind of voir dire that's
- 12 reasonably calculated to detect the biases that may be
- 13 present in a particular case.
- 14 So those particular kinds of case involve
- 15 the high risk of racial bias, and that's what why the
- 16 Court said voir dire on race is required there. And
- 17 to -- to, I think, answer the question Your Honor asked
- 18 co-counsel, I think the Court has applied that principle
- 19 in other contexts.
- In the capital context, the Court has
- 21 indicated under the Sixth Amendment you sometimes need
- 22 to ask questions about ability to consider mitigation
- 23 evidence, and lower courts have said that same principle
- 24 requires voir dire on other topics.
- 25 And then the second area Your Honor raises

- 1 is the equal protection area, and we think even there,
- 2 the Court has not distinguished among different types of
- 3 constitutional violations and said we're going to treat
- 4 some violations of the Constitution as particularly
- 5 serious.
- 6 What the Court said in those cases, we
- 7 think, Your Honor, is that there has to be special care
- 8 taken when the government acts based on race, and so
- 9 some conduct that wouldn't be unconstitutional at all,
- 10 if it were taken based on some other criteria, is
- 11 unconstitutional when it's taken based on race.
- 12 JUSTICE BREYER: The reason I think would be
- 13 the Sixth Amendment says, in all criminal prosecutions
- 14 the accused shall enjoy the right to a trial by an
- 15 impartial jury.
- I agree with you that racial comments in the
- 17 room can be equivalent to other comments. But there may
- 18 be -- that's what I wanted to know, a prophylactic
- 19 aspect, that if you want impartial juries in general,
- 20 you have to deal with the problem of racial confidence
- 21 in the work of the jury. And that's a reason stemming
- 22 from the language of the amendment, to treat race
- 23 specially, and we have 20 states that have done so
- 24 without the reasons for limitation swamping the process.
- Now, that's what I understand is a textural

- 1 argument, and purposive, that would, in fact, allow
- 2 constitutional protection of the kind they're asking
- 3 for.
- 4 MS. KOVNER: So I think when considering --
- 5 I think, Your Honor, when considering a prophylactic
- 6 approach to preventing Sixth Amendment violations, it's
- 7 important to consider both the cost of this rule and the
- 8 other alternative mechanisms that are available, because
- 9 those are things that the Court has traditionally
- 10 considered under the Sixth Amendment.
- 11 So turning to that with respect to race, we
- 12 think the prophylactic mechanisms that the Court has
- 13 relied on are likely to be particularly available in
- 14 many cases with regard to race, and to talk about,
- 15 first, voir dire and then the in-trial mechanisms that
- 16 Your Honor mentioned.
- 17 So in voir dire, as Justice Kagan's
- 18 questions alluded to, there's a -- a well-settled
- 19 principle, and it's the law in Colorado that you are
- 20 going to have the opportunity to ask these questions
- 21 about race. And there's also been a lot of study and
- 22 thinking that's gone into how to effectively detect bias
- 23 with respect to race in particular.
- 24 And then Your Honor alludes to mid-trial
- 25 reporting. Now, things can be done to strengthen that

- 1 safequard. I think Your Honor alluded to some of the
- 2 things that can be done about particular instructions,
- 3 but in general, jurors are instructed that this kind --
- 4 that bias, in general, is impermissible. And they can
- 5 be instructed that racial bias, in particular, is
- 6 impermissible, and even to contact the judge.
- 7 On the cost side of the ledger, Your Honor,
- 8 this Court has always recognized that there's a very
- 9 high danger and a fair trial danger. If you are trying
- 10 to reconstruct, after the fact, jury deliberations with
- 11 a sort of he said/she said about what was said, that
- 12 that can really undermine confidence in the jury system.
- 13 And we think that that risk may be particularly acute
- 14 when you're talking about a very sensitive allegation
- 15 like that racial bias occurred.
- And I think we know, as time goes on, that
- 17 racial bias can be expressed in subtle ways, and
- 18 particularly after a jury verdict is rendered and
- 19 somebody goes back into the community where a sensitive
- 20 issue has been debated, and they're trying to recall
- 21 what was said, there's the real risk that there will be
- 22 these kinds of credibility --
- JUSTICE KENNEDY: So -- so the more
- 24 insidious the evil, the less reason we -- the more
- 25 caution we should have in -- in inquiring of the jury?

1 MS. KOVNER: No. We just think that the --2 JUSTICE KENNEDY: By them? 3 MS. KOVNER: No. We think that this is a really serious issue and that it ought to be addressed 4 through the kinds of safeguards this Court has always 5 applied. But we think that to the extent the Court has 6 7 recognized dangers, they are present here, and so to take, for instance, the danger of impeding full and fair 8 9 jury room deliberations, we think that's a particular 10 risk when you're talking about this kind of very allegation that contains a very high degree of social 11 12 opprobrium attached to it. 13 So, Your Honor, I mean, there may be cases 14 in which race is discussed in the jury room because it's appropriate, because the claim involves racial bias, 15 16 because there's allegations surrounding police 17 misconduct in which race is often discussed. And that's different from, for example, coin flipping or 18 19 intoxication, where there's really never going to be any 20 reason why those things should go on. 21 This is really the kind of allegation that's 22 most likely -- that opening the door to is most likely 23 to impede full and fair debate in the jury room. And 24 that's one of the --25 JUSTICE KAGAN: It does strike me, though,

- 1 that given that one of the rules is that a juror can,
- 2 during deliberations, say something appropriate --
- 3 something inappropriate is happening here, to the extent
- 4 that there is this chilling effect, and more -- why
- 5 doesn't that produce the exact same chilling effect?
- 6 MS. KOVNER: Yeah. I mean, I think --
- 7 JUSTICE KAGAN: I mean, it seems like it's
- 8 such on the margins, what you're saying.
- 9 MS. KOVNER: I think, you know, for hundreds
- 10 of years courts have treated the mid-trial context as
- 11 different. And I think a reason why is in that
- 12 mid-trial reporting, you're really talking about
- 13 something that sets off jurors' alarm bells at the time.
- 14 Once the trial is over, not only do you have
- other interests kick in, in finality and tampering and
- 16 harassment, but there's also just really the risk that
- 17 jurors regret their decision in the case. They start to
- 18 second-guess what they did, and as a result they start
- 19 to misremember, or they're subject to community
- 20 pressures that aren't present when the trial is
- 21 occurring.
- 22 Your Honor, we're not suggesting that this
- 23 is not a serious issue, and even one that jurisdictions,
- 24 including this Court when it sits as a rulemaking body,
- 25 can study and consider. It's a difficult balance. But

- 1 what this Court has generally said with respect to rules
- 2 of evidence is that states have a lot of flexibility
- 3 on -- to adopt different approaches. And we think this
- 4 is a case in which the interests that the rule serves
- 5 are fully present, and the safeguards that the rule has
- 6 relied on historically are fully present, and so the
- 7 Court --
- 8 JUSTICE KENNEDY: Like -- like the
- 9 government of the State of Colorado, the government of
- 10 the United States would make the same argument in a
- 11 capital case?
- MS. KOVNER: We think that capital cases do
- 13 present Eighth Amendment considerations that are not
- 14 present here. The Court has often suggested under the
- 15 Eighth Amendment different sets of rules apply, and
- 16 there may be different considerations in that context.
- 17 But, Your Honor, we think, to the extent the
- 18 Court regards the rule as problematic or as one that
- 19 deserves further study, the appropriate way to do that
- 20 is as a rulemaking body, which is another way in which
- 21 this Court considers and continually exercises oversight
- 22 as to the rules of evidence. But it shouldn't impose a
- 23 new constitutional rule that requires setting aside a
- 24 historic structural --
- 25 JUSTICE GINSBURG: In the states that allow

- 1 this kind of evidence, is it -- is it all done by
- 2 legislation, or by rule -- or by a rule of court? Or
- 3 has it come about by judicial decision?
- 4 MS. KOVNER: I think it's a mix. Some of
- 5 these jurisdictions are jurisdictions that employ,
- 6 basically, the Iowa rule, so they let in a lot of
- 7 evidence about what was said in jury deliberations.
- 8 They just have a broader rule.
- 9 Some have said, under our State law we think
- 10 this is an exception that has to exist to the rule. And
- 11 some of the decisions on which Petitioner relies are
- 12 constitutional decisions.
- 13 JUSTICE GINSBURG: But if I can -- I'm
- 14 sorry.
- 15 JUSTICE ALITO: The issue of -- of a capital
- 16 case could involve all sorts of misconduct in the jury
- 17 room. So suppose it -- it came out later that the
- 18 jurors at the penalty phase in the capital case said, we
- 19 don't really care what the law is. We just want to
- 20 impose capital punishment, or they flipped a coin.
- 21 Would you -- if there were a special rule
- 22 for capital cases. Would you draw the distinction based
- 23 on race?
- MS. KOVNER: I -- I don't think so, Your
- 25 Honor. I don't think that if there were -- if there

- 1 were a capital rule, we think it would go to whether
- 2 it's permissible to apply Rule 606(b) as a general
- 3 matter in this context.
- 4 Thank you, Your Honor.
- 5 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you, counsel.
- Five minutes, Mr. Fisher.
- 7 REBUTTAL ARGUMENT OF JEFFREY L. FISHER
- 8 ON BEHALF OF THE PETITIONER
- 9 MR. FISHER: Thank you. I'd like to make
- 10 four points, please.
- 11 First, just to pick up where that
- 12 conversation left off, to the extent my friends on the
- 13 other side are saying that in a capital case the Eighth
- 14 Amendment would become relevant, that's exactly the kind
- 15 of common-sense structural constitutional argument that
- 16 we're making and the other side is suggesting improper,
- 17 that when you look at the Sixth Amendment right to an
- 18 impartial jury, you also consider other elements of the
- 19 constitution, like the Fourteenth Amendment.
- 20 Secondly, with respect to the prophylactic
- 21 measures that the other side propounds, and specifically
- 22 voir dire, two points. First is, the studies they point
- 23 to are studies where race is already infused from -- in
- 24 the case from the outset. Cases like Ham v.
- 25 South Carolina, where the defense is all about the

- 1 person's race. And in those settings, questioning of
- 2 voir dire is almost incumbent on deference lawyers and
- 3 sometimes has good effect.
- But that's not what the question really
- 5 before the Court today is. If they are saying that voir
- 6 dire is a cure-all for this situation, what they are
- 7 saying is in every single criminal case, it's
- 8 shoplifting, whether it's white-collar crime, whether
- 9 it's a DUI, any case a defense lawyer is -- is really
- 10 required to interject race into the case from the
- 11 outset.
- 12 And so as between interjecting race into the
- 13 case from the outset, potentially offending jurors,
- 14 potentially suggesting race is relevant where it doesn't
- 15 exist, and our solution, which is just simply having a
- 16 constitutional failsafe for this once-in-a-blue-moon
- 17 where you have this grave problem. We think our
- 18 solution actually does a lot less upheaval to the system
- 19 than an opinion from this Court that says voir dire is
- 20 the answer here.
- Next, let me say something where we agree
- 22 with the other side. I think I heard both counsel for
- 23 the other side say this is a balance. And we agree
- 24 that's what the Court's cases dictate and that's what
- 25 606(b) itself strikes as a balance between the interest

- 1 of justice and the principle of jury secrecy.
- I would suggest to this Court, though, that
- 3 when you conduct that balance, where we disagree with
- 4 the other side -- let me use the line from the Solicitor
- 5 General's brief. They said the Court's duty here is to
- 6 choose the lesser of two evils. Racial bias is never
- 7 the lesser evil. The Court has never said that racial
- 8 bias is a lesser evil than something like the public
- 9 policy considerations here. And I know the Court is
- 10 concerned about line drawing. It's obvious in -- in a
- 11 situation like this where you announce a new rule as a
- 12 constitutional matter that you're wondering what cases
- 13 are going to come next.
- But I respectfully submit that the Court has
- 15 never refused to remedy intentional race discrimination
- 16 in the criminal justice system for fear of having to
- 17 address other questions down the line. And if you look
- 18 at the Court's cases, whether they're the Ham line of
- 19 cases, whether the Batson line of cases or anything
- 20 else, the Court will have ample tools and ample time to
- 21 decide down the road whether other situations are the
- 22 same or whether they are different.
- Our submission here, though, is that race is
- 24 unique, race is a particular poison, and that the
- 25 experience of the 20 jurisdictions that have this rule

- 1 shows that implementing the rule we're asking will not
- 2 create any significant problems with respect to the
- 3 State interests or the administrators --
- 4 JUSTICE ALITO: Well, Mr. Fisher, it's not a
- 5 fear of confronting issues down the road. It's a
- 6 question of understanding the scope of the rule that you
- 7 are asking us to adopt. And I'll give you one last
- 8 chance. You will not tell us today whether your rule
- 9 applies to discrimination on the basis of -- of religion
- 10 or gender or sexual orientation or to add another one,
- 11 political affiliation.
- So if the jurors -- if it came out the
- 13 jurors said this person is a Democrat, send him to jail,
- 14 that would be a different result. You will not tell us
- 15 whether the same -- whether the rule would apply in
- 16 those situations.
- 17 MR. FISHER: I think it's easy to say,
- 18 Justice Alito, that categories covered in the Equal
- 19 Protection Clause case by rational basis analysis would
- 20 not require the rule we're seeking today. I'm trying to
- 21 be forthright with the Court by saying I acknowledge
- 22 there will be other hard questions about identity, as
- 23 Justice Kagan put it. I'm not representing somebody
- 24 today that has that case. And I think the Court would
- 25 want full briefing on it.

- 1 And if I could just return to the --
- 2 JUSTICE KAGAN: Maybe you could put the
- 3 question a little bit differently, because I understand
- 4 why you don't want to say, well, it wouldn't apply to
- 5 this or it wouldn't apply to that. But in what ways is
- 6 race unique?
- 7 MR. FISHER: Race, this is unique in terms
- 8 of our history and constitutional structure and in terms
- 9 of the more practical considerations of rooting it out
- 10 with the prophylactic measures we've discussed. The
- 11 briefing is filled with citations and examples of why
- 12 race is particularly hard to get at through the Tanner
- 13 factors as compared to even something like other kinds
- 14 of discrimination.
- And the tiers of scrutiny analysis I think
- is a good place for the Court to look, because it's not
- 17 that we're saying other forms of discrimination are okay
- 18 under the constitution whereas race discrimination is
- 19 unconstitutional.
- 20 We're saying that different tools need to be
- 21 available, more searching inquiries need to be done,
- 22 when it comes to race. And that's why we think the rule
- 23 of evidence here gives way in a situation where it might
- 24 not in other cases.
- 25 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you, counsel.

1	The case is submitted.
2	(Whereupon, at 12:07 p.m., the case in the
3	above-entitled matter was submitted.)
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	
9	
10	
11	
12	
13	
14	
15	
16	
17	
18	
19	
20	
21	
22	
23	
24	
25	

	0.25	A 0.10		15.7.25.25
A	agrees 9:25	American 9:18	argument 1:13	15:7 35:25
a.m 1:14 3:2	28:15	amicus 1:22	2:2,5,8,12 3:3	36:3 47:8,13
ability 45:22	Alabama 29:19	2:10 43:14	3:6 7:19,21,23	57:21
able 44:11	alarm 50:13	ample 55:20,20	28:11 29:5	avoiding 4:9
above-entitled	Aldridge 21:5	analogy 9:14	32:2 38:2	В
1:12 58:3	alert 38:23	10:3,12 11:12	43:13 47:1	back 11:15
absence 16:24	Alito 5:7,15 10:4	12:18 13:7	51:10 53:7,15	19:16,16 21:6
absolutely 40:8	15:10 16:1,3,7	16:11	arguments 15:3	24:9 35:16
accept 22:7	26:2,13,14,21	analysis 5:15	15:4 34:1,2	41:1,2 42:14
accident 12:3	52:15 56:4,18	11:18 17:24	41:12	48:19
account 23:23	Alito's 20:19	26:25 56:19	arises 37:5	
accused 46:14	allegation 18:20	57:15	42:24	bad 16:2 24:23
acknowledge	48:14 49:11,21	ANGEL 1:3	articles 41:15	balance 15:24
31:22 34:7,12	allegations	announce 55:11	articulated	34:6 36:10
35:5 56:21	33:20 42:3	announced	42:15	39:17 50:25
acknowledges	49:16	42:17	artificial 30:15	54:23,25 55:3
31:20 39:8	alleged 13:9,11	answer 7:9 8:8	aside 51:23	balances 34:5
act 4:1,2	22:16 28:19,22	8:22,24 10:2	asked 5:16 8:5,9	balancing 7:7
acts 46:8	34:14 41:25	15:7,20 45:17	8:21 16:12	12:9 15:22
acute 48:13	allow 13:18,24	54:20	18:2 19:7,9	bar 41:8
add 21:10,11	15:14 30:12	answered 32:17	23:7 24:5	based 6:5 13:11
56:10	32:14 44:16	answers 5:9	27:15 36:24	15:7 17:21
address 43:20	47:1 51:25	apparently	37:2,11 45:17	18:7 27:2 29:8
44:8,24 55:17	allowed 10:17	34:22	asking 7:20 12:8	29:9,20 33:10
addressed 49:4	12:4	appeal 17:16	14:23 16:20	42:20 46:8,10
adequate 43:4	allowing 39:9	APPEARAN	18:6 21:1 27:1	46:11 52:22
administer 3:22	allows 31:1	1:15	27:17 37:8,24	basically 29:1
administrators	34:13	applied 34:21	47:2 56:1,7	52:6
56:3	alluded 47:18	44:12 45:18	asks 22:18,21	basis 27:13 40:1
adopt 35:9 51:3	48:1	49:6	24:18	56:9,19
56:7	alludes 47:24	applies 5:25	aspect 46:19	Batson 11:9,12
adopted 35:5	alternative 47:8	16:13,14 26:4	Assistant 1:20	11:13 12:11
42:18	amendment	35:12 56:9	associated 30:22	14:14 29:19
adopting 15:5	3:15 4:15 5:25	apply 13:8 17:14	assume 28:25	44:14 55:19
33:25	6:1,12 9:13,14	28:21 31:18	29:1	behalf 1:16,19
advantage 36:21	12:20 13:8	32:11,15 34:9	assumes 36:24	2:4,7,14 3:7
36:22	15:12,13 16:10	34:13,15 35:19	assure 35:25	28:12 53:8
advocating	16:10,17,20	43:24 51:15	atmosphere	behave 6:20
15:15	30:10,15,16	53:2 56:15	42:9	behavior 7:13
affidavit 33:18	31:10,19 34:12	57:4,5	attached 49:12	believe 11:7
affiliation 56:11	37:6 42:25	approach 47:6	attitudes 37:21	13:21 37:20
afraid 8:23	43:25 45:4,21	approaches 51:3	attorney 19:24	bells 50:13
afternoon 27:14	46:13,22 47:6	appropriate	33:19 41:25	belong 9:19
agree 6:6 32:23	47:10 51:13,15	49:15 50:2	automatically	best 21:21 34:5
46:16 54:21,23	53:14,17,19	51:19	11:16	37:9 44:20
agreed 23:5	amendments	area 45:25 46:1	automobile 12:3	better 12:19
	20:7	argue 40:3	available 12:21	18:18 39:24
	l ————————————————————————————————————	I	I	I

				00
beyond 9:9 20:2	20:16,17,24	21:18,24 23:11	32:5 33:24	42:13
20:8,9	21:10 46:12	23:18 24:1,2	34:7,9 35:3	college 26:5,8,15
bias 3:13,18,23	Brever's 19:17	25:13 26:3	38:2 41:23	Colorado 1:6,19
3:25 9:1 10:18	brief 33:12 39:8	27:1,2,12,15	42:16	3:4,16,17,19
10:19,19 12:24	55:5	28:2,4,6,19	cetera 20:6	3:21 19:15
13:9,11,11	briefing 32:7	30:1,15 32:1,5	41:13,13	22:1 31:11
14:7,9 18:8	38:14 56:25	32:17 33:10,21	challenge 32:20	39:14,18 41:9
19:8,8,19 21:8	57:11	34:14 35:18	challenged	41:23 47:19
22:22 24:20	bring 24:16,23	36:1,3,22	17:21	51:9
26:13,17 28:23	broad 4:21	37:12 38:15	challenges 37:5	come 4:3 15:5
29:14,16,20	broader 52:8	41:10,24 45:13	43:22	22:24 24:3,9
30:4,4,6,7	brought 25:2	45:14 50:17	chance 56:8	27:23 32:2
33:16 34:11,14	built 14:10	51:4,11 52:16	characteristics	34:14 38:9
35:1,2,2,7 36:2	bunch 7:22	52:18 53:13,24	13:11	52:3 55:13
36:7,12 37:5		54:7,9,10,13	Chief 3:3,8,24	comes 7:16 9:23
37:16 38:8,24	C	56:19,24 58:1	4:5,8,13 5:24	12:24 13:19
39:1,10,10,24	C 2:1 3:1	58:2	6:16,25 13:10	15:24 21:8
40:13 41:25	Cal 1:16	cases 4:22,24 5:4	15:20 17:11	27:7 57:22
42:5,13,24	calculated 45:12	5:5 9:6 10:8,16	18:9 22:6,11	comment 8:2
43:2,18,25	California 3:11	10:21 13:18	22:15,23 24:5	26:11
44:6,11,12,13	call 29:22	14:4,14 17:5,5	25:10 28:9,13	comments 18:4
44:17,20,21	calling 41:1,1	20:5,10 28:22	37:13 38:11,19	18:15 21:18
45:15 47:22	campus 26:16	30:7 31:17,21	38:22 39:7	46:16,17
48:4,5,15,17	campuses 26:5	32:6,7,20	43:11,16 53:5	commit 7:3
49:15 55:6,8	capital 32:1,5,7	33:14 34:25	57:25	17:18
biased 23:12,23	45:20 51:11,12	36:1 41:10,13	chilling 50:4,5	commits 40:3
25:13 37:3	52:15,18,20,22	44:3,5,9,14,23	choose 55:6	committed 6:21
biases 36:20	53:1,13	45:2,6,8,10	Circuit 35:14	43:19
37:10 39:3	care 46:7 52:19	46:6 47:14	citations 57:11	common 37:2
45:12	careful 38:4	49:13 51:12	cited 38:14	41:22 42:17
bigoted 7:1	Carolina 3:11	52:22 53:24	cites 37:8,8	common-sense
bit 57:3	5:5 9:8 14:13	54:24 55:12,18	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	21:16 53:15
blah 21:19,20,20	53:25	55:19,19 57:24	civil 41:10,13	community
21:20,20	cars 12:4	categorical	claim 49:15	48:19 50:19
blatant 26:3	carved 6:22	34:13	claims 29:19	compared 14:9
body 17:12	carving 39:18	categories 26:10	clarify 34:17	57:13
23:16 50:24	case 3:4,25 4:12	56:18	Clause 12:16	comported 28:1
51:20	4:15,15,18	category 4:21	16:13,14,16	composition
Bolling 16:12,23	5:11,13,14,24	45:1	17:6,14 18:1	11:21
16:23 17:1	7:12 8:15 9:12	Catholic 29:21	30:17 56:19	concede 30:5,8
bottom 42:3	9:18,21 10:1	Catholics 4:2,10	clearly 23:14	concentrate
break 19:11	10:10 11:16	cause 7:23 8:25	climate 41:5	8:19
breaking 28:4	12:13 13:22,25	29:17 39:2	co-counsel 45:18	concepts 9:22
breaks 32:24	14:2 16:23	caution 48:25	coin 15:18 20:6	concern 41:23
Breyer 7:9 8:7	17:1,14 18:7	certain 13:22	31:16 49:18	concerned 55:10
8:19 9:2 14:16	19:10,18 20:8	certainly 6:24	52:20	concerns 39:7
14:19 19:21	20:9,19 21:16	29:13,20 30:20	coin-flipping	43:1
	<u> </u>			

		•		
conclude 12:10	53:15 54:16	10:24 12:11	55:16	29:21 31:11,12
12:11,12	55:12 57:8	13:1,6 14:5,11	criminality	37:7,12 40:7
conclusion 5:13	constitutionali	14:12,13 15:6	30:23	defendant's
conduct 5:15,16	43:6	15:7,21 16:11	criteria 46:10	19:10 30:10
11:19 26:25	contact 48:6	16:12,16 18:13	crop 38:21	31:19 37:6
45:11 46:9	contacted 27:20	23:19 24:2	cross-cutting	defendants 43:1
55:3	contacting 28:2	25:12,17 26:20	21:22	defense 19:24
conducted 3:12	contains 49:11	28:14 33:24	cross-examina	27:20 53:25
confidence	context 24:17	34:3 36:6,22	41:3	54:9
46:20 48:12	25:19 30:9	39:13 43:7,17	crucial 37:6	deference 54:2
confidentiality	31:10 32:15	45:4,8,16,18	cure-all 54:6	degree 49:11
4:18	42:4 45:20	45:20 46:2,6	curiae 1:22 2:10	deliberate 32:14
confronted	50:10 51:16	47:9,12 48:8	43:14	deliberation
32:16 38:7	53:3	49:5,6 50:24	current 26:8	33:4 40:22
39:16 45:9	contexts 32:13	51:1,7,14,18	cut 10:14	deliberations
confronting	45:19	51:21 52:2		25:20 31:13
56:5	continually	54:5,19 55:2,7	<u>D</u>	36:5,7 39:25
confused 18:13	51:21	55:9,14,20	D 3:1	40:5,6 41:4
confusing 19:6	continue 10:2	56:21,24 57:16	D.C 1:9,21	48:10 49:9
Congress 33:25	conversation	Court's 5:2 9:6	danger 48:9,9	50:2 52:7
34:3 43:7	41:19 53:12	9:21 10:8,21	49:8	deliberative
connect 16:3	convince 40:4	17:7 21:6	dangers 49:7	41:5
connection	correct 6:1 13:6	23:13 26:19	date 35:6	demands 22:4
17:12	29:16	29:18 44:2	day 24:22 25:24	Democrat 56:13
consider 3:13	corrected 25:22	54:24 55:5,18	de 40:19	Denver 1:18
26:4 45:22	correctness	courthouse	deal 34:25 46:20	deny 4:23 12:10
47:7 50:25	39:21	27:12 31:11	dealing 30:9	28:6
53:18	cost 47:7 48:7	courtroom	debate 28:17	denying 6:13
considerations	couched 21:18	33:18	42:9 49:23	Department
51:13,16 55:9	counsel 28:9	courts 24:22	debated 42:18	1:21
57:9	36:18 37:18	25:11 35:3,11	48:20	depends 8:17
considered 26:5	41:19 43:11	38:14 42:8	decide 4:11,14	depriving 13:13
26:15 33:25	53:5 54:22	45:23 50:10	4:24 7:8 18:7	described 9:7
47:10	57:25	covered 56:18	25:25 26:22,22	22:13
considering 47:4	count 32:24 34:8	create 20:7,21	27:1 55:21	describing 19:19
47:5	counter 38:8	35:13 42:9	decided 10:22	deserves 51:19
considers 51:21	country 3:10	56:2	25:4 27:15	despite 20:18
consistent 35:23	15:8 23:20	creating 20:18	34:3,4 42:20	32:3
conspicuous	25:24 37:21	credibility 48:22	decision 23:13	detect 45:12
16:24	course 6:14,19	creep 36:15	50:17 52:3	47:22
constitution	11:14 13:5	crept 36:7	decision-maki	determined
6:14 17:8	23:1,3,4,14	crime 6:21 40:3	23:16	15:18 24:18
29:15 46:4	29:18 35:14	54:8	decisions 10:24	33:18
53:19 57:18	42:24	crimes 7:4 17:19	13:1 52:11,12	developed 17:12
constitutional	court 1:1,13 3:9	criminal 30:25	defendant 8:14	dictate 54:24
46:3 47:2	3:16 4:11,25	41:13 44:24	8:15 13:14	difference 14:7
51:23 52:12	5:4,8 10:9,16	46:13 54:7	15:15,23 25:7	14:11,12 18:24
	<u> </u>	l	<u> </u>	ı

				. 02
23:6 27:19	dissenters 11:16	effects 33:4	44:21 45:23	exposed 42:5
29:8	disserve 43:3	Eighth 51:13,15	51:2,22 52:1,7	expressed 48:17
different 5:6	distinction	53:13	57:23	extend 12:12
11:18,22 12:1	52:22	either 4:20	evidentiary	extended 9:9
12:9,9,21,22	distinguish 5:11	elements 53:18	18:20	29:19
13:8 14:6	distinguished	elicit 37:15	evil 48:24 55:7,8	extending 35:4
15:10,11,24	46:2	elicited 27:21	evils 7:18 33:11	extent 8:24 49:6
18:11 28:6	disturbing	else's 39:25	55:6	50:3 51:17
29:25 30:4,6	35:10	empirical 15:7	exact 27:16 50:5	53:12
31:7 32:6	divided 23:21	employ 52:5	exactly 20:15	extraneous
36:25 37:1	25:11	England 42:14	22:18 31:6	21:25 22:20
43:24 45:2	doing 20:17 28:1	enjoy 46:14	35:14 40:4	extreme 35:1,18
46:2 49:18	42:8 44:16	ensure 28:16	42:7 53:14	35:20
50:11 51:3,15	45:8	38:18	examined 41:3	extreme-cases
51:16 55:22	door 7:17,25	enter 40:22	example 17:4,15	34:15 35:9
56:14 57:20	8:24,25 49:22	entire 14:9	30:2 33:20	
differently	doubt 23:2	17:12	36:1 49:18	F
12:16 29:3	24:11 28:20	entirely 27:13	examples 33:14	face 27:2
57:3	draw 21:17	equal 4:15 5:24	57:11	faces 27:6
difficult 31:10	42:20 43:4	9:12 12:16	exceedingly 13:4	fact 7:17 12:25
34:6 50:25	52:22	16:14,18,24	exception 3:18	13:3 20:18
dire 10:18 17:5	drawing 8:12	17:13,25 26:19	3:22 4:3 14:22	23:22 29:8,20
29:2 31:6 36:2	43:1 55:10	26:25 30:17	15:14 20:18	31:5 38:5
36:13,19 37:10	drawn 9:15	46:1 56:18	33:1 34:11,12	39:10 41:11
38:4,17 44:10	35:23	equivalent 46:17	35:13,15 36:5	47:1 48:10
44:11 45:8,11	draws 21:4	eradicating	36:13 39:15	factors 5:17
45:16,24 47:15	drive 12:4 39:10	43:19	52:10	11:20,20 57:13
47:17 53:22	40:11	erred 25:4	exceptions 3:20	facts 22:15
54:2,6,19	driver 12:5	error 25:15	6:8 14:24 22:1	25:19
direct 17:16	drivers 12:4	31:13	35:6 36:16,18	failsafe 54:16
directly 27:2	drives 39:16	especially 30:21	39:19	fair 4:14 13:14
disagree 55:3	due 16:13,16	44:7	executed 32:3	15:13 20:8,9
discrimination	17:5,6	ESQ 1:16,18,20	exercises 51:21	20:10 28:17
6:4,17,22	DUI 54:9	2:3,6,9,13	exist 19:14	30:11 33:4
12:15,17,22	duty 55:5	et 20:6 41:13,13	29:10 52:10	35:25 42:9
13:3 16:19		ethnic 10:5	54:15	48:9 49:8,23
17:13 21:8	E	ethnicity 9:25	existence 40:19	fairer 20:21
29:9 33:10	E 2:1 3:1,1	everybody 8:23	expect 12:3	fairly 32:14
55:15 56:9	earlier 15:20	9:24 22:25	36:18	fairness 21:7
57:14,17,18	22:13 42:23	23:5	experience 15:2	faith 6:19
discuss 27:13	easier 21:24	evidence 3:13	15:8 21:16,19	falls 26:10
discussed 30:7	easy 56:17	18:7 19:10	38:3 55:25	far 13:16 35:16
49:14,17 57:10	effect 39:4,14	21:25 22:20	experiences 37:1	fatal 13:3
dispute 29:13	41:5 50:4,5	24:15 25:6,25	37:19	favor 4:24
disrespecting	54:3	32:18 33:2,8	explicit 38:9	fear 9:3 55:16
31:15	effective 5:17	34:13 36:4	explore 36:20	56:5
disruptive 41:17	effectively 47:22	40:4,5 41:24	expose 37:10	Federal 14:21
aisi upure 11.17	•	10.1,5 71.27	CAPUSE 57.10	

	_	_		
16:13,15,25	follow 3:16	13:5 16:22	39:1	high 45:15 48:9
22:1	11:16 22:5	17:3 24:4,8,14	guides 37:7	49:11
feelings 40:7	32:8	24:20 27:18	guilt 19:10	hint 36:7
Fifth 16:17	footnote 35:23	34:17,24 37:22	guilty 4:2 23:2,3	Hispanic 9:23
figure 42:14	forced 40:3	40:16,18,21	23:5 25:8	34:23
filed 33:9	form 43:6,25	42:11 51:25	guy 23:1	Hispanics 10:6,8
filled 57:11	forms 29:16	52:13		historic 51:24
finality 50:15	57:17	give 13:6 15:19	H	historically 51:6
first 5:1 11:13	forth 7:7	16:11 22:4	H.C.'s 21:19	history 17:9
11:17 18:11	forthright 56:21	29:4 33:20	half 3:10	20:12 57:8
19:7,16 21:14	found 20:13	43:3 56:7	hall 31:14	hold 25:12
22:12 23:9,12	25:7	given 6:8,20	Ham 5:5 9:8	honest 20:11
24:10,15 26:14	foundation 44:2	7:12 36:6 50:1	10:22 14:13	Honor 6:23 32:4
32:23 42:12,15	four 53:10	gives 7:1 57:23	17:4 53:24	32:21 33:14
44:9 47:15	Fourteenth 6:1	Gladden 23:13	55:18	35:22 37:4
53:11,22	6:12 9:13	go 19:16,16 20:2	hand 7:24 37:3	40:12 45:3,6,7
Fisher 1:16 2:3	16:10 53:19	49:20 53:1	handed 28:18	45:17,25 46:7
2:13 3:5,6,8	FREDERICK	goes 14:2 21:6	happen 20:1	47:5,16,24
4:4,11,23 5:14	1:18 2:6 28:11	40:25 41:8	26:7 31:1 38:6	48:1,7 49:13
5:19,20,22 6:2	frequently 4:5	48:16,19	39:13	50:22 51:17
6:6,13,23 7:6	friends 53:12	going 4:18,19,21	happened 31:13	52:25 53:4
8:6,9,20 9:4,21	full 28:17 33:4	7:22 9:1,1	32:3	Honors 43:9
10:7,21 11:4,7	42:9 49:8,23	12:10 15:16	happening 50:3	hundreds 43:22
11:11,25 12:7	56:25	18:19 21:21	happens 24:5	50:9
13:5 14:1,18	fully 32:14 51:5	31:18,18 35:13	harassment	hurt 9:2
14:20 15:19	51:6	36:25 40:14	28:18 33:3,11	hypotheticals
16:2,6,9 17:3	functions 31:6	41:24 44:15,21	33:15 50:16	14:3
17:24 18:12,22	further 43:4,9	44:25 46:3	harbor 39:25	
19:1,4 20:15	51:19	47:20 49:19	harboring 39:24	<u> </u>
20:23 21:3	fused 9:22	55:13	harbors 40:13	idea 25:5
22:10,18 23:7	future 25:12	good 38:17,17	hard 35:3 38:25	identity 42:13
24:7,13 25:9		38:23 39:19	56:22 57:12	56:22
25:16 26:12,18	G	54:3 57:16	harm 15:5,22	identity-based
26:24 27:5,10	G 3:1	government	29:9,12 30:19	29:25 30:4,6
27:25 34:18	gain 27:24	9:24 16:13,15	31:2,4,8	imagine 20:5
53:6,7,9 56:4	gender 11:1,9,15	16:25 32:1	harmful 14:7	immediately
56:17 57:7	13:3,15 29:19	46:8 51:9,9	harms 16:19	25:21
Fisher's 29:5	34:21 56:10	government's	29:17,25	impact 13:17,23
five 19:18 23:5	general 1:18,21	23:11,18 24:1	HC 23:4 24:10	19:3
53:6	8:11,22 20:21	grant 23:18	hear 3:3 8:16	impartial 3:15
flexibility 51:2	37:9,11 46:19	grave 54:17	25:25	15:14 16:4
flip 31:16	48:3,4 53:2	greater 13:17,23	heard 33:5	30:10 46:15,19
flipped 52:20	General's 55:5	29:7	54:22	53:18
flipping 15:18	generally 37:9	Greer 33:21	hearing 18:20	impeach 17:22
20:5 49:18	41:14 51:1	group 29:22	heart 14:2	20:2 31:12
Florida 39:12	Ginsburg 9:16	groups 10:5	helpful 5:8 9:14	40:20
focused 36:10	11:24 12:1,25	guess 4:17 22:16	10:12 11:12	impeaching 39:2
	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	1	1

				64
impeachment	36:5	invalid 7:13	14:21,22 15:9	41:6 42:10
13:18,24	informed 30:16	invalu 7.13	18:3,21 19:14	43:21 44:6,17
,	infuse 9:13 38:5	involve 20:20	19:15 23:20	44:20,22 46:15
impede 49:23				,
impeding 49:8	infused 16:17	45:14 52:16	25:24 32:19,24	46:21 48:10,12
impermissible	53:23	involves 5:11	33:1 35:8,9	48:18,25 49:9
4:16,17 48:4,6	innate 13:11	49:15	50:23 52:5,5	49:14,23 52:7
implementing	inquiries 19:20	Iowa 33:22 34:9	55:25	52:16 53:18
3:18 56:1	27:16 57:21	43:7 52:6	jurisprudence	55:1
implicated	inquiring 42:1	Islamic 6:18	21:7 26:20	jury's 17:22
31:20	48:25	isolate 9:17	juror 18:4,6	justice 1:21 3:3
implicit 38:9	inquiry 27:17	issue 10:23	19:17 21:19	3:8,24 4:5,8,13
importance	39:9	17:14 23:19	23:9,13,23	5:7,15,19,21
35:12	insidious 48:24	25:10 30:16	24:16 25:2,3	5:23 6:3,7,10
important 14:1	instance 49:8	33:19 44:1	25:13 26:16	6:16,25 7:9 8:7
30:11 31:22	instances 35:1	45:9 48:20	27:7 28:5,22	8:18,19,21 9:2
32:12 44:7	institutional	49:4 50:23	36:24 37:16	9:16 10:4,13
47:7	29:17	52:15	40:13 42:6,21	10:16,25 11:1
impose 51:22	instructed 21:13	issues 32:6,14	50:1	11:2,5,8,24
52:20	21:15 22:2	37:19,20 38:7	juror's 28:19	12:1,25 13:5
impossible 8:14	48:3,5	38:18 39:9	jurors 8:17 18:5	13:10 14:16,19
33:7	instruction	56:5	21:15 22:2,4,8	15:10,20 16:1
improper 21:25	19:25 21:21,22	issuing 23:24	22:24 24:9,10	16:3,7,22 17:3
25:1 26:15	24:23,25		24:24 26:7	17:11 18:9,10
53:16	instructions	J	27:11,14,19,21	18:18,23 19:2
improve 41:12	22:5 48:2	jail 56:13	27:22,23 28:2	19:5,17,21
in-trial 47:15	integrity 14:10	JEB 29:18	31:15 33:16,17	20:15,17,19,24
inappropriate	intentional	JEFFREY 1:16	37:3,25 38:5,6	21:10 22:6,11
50:3	26:13,17 55:15	2:3,13 3:6 53:7	40:4,16,18,20	22:15,23 24:4
including 28:15	intentionally	Jews 4:2 35:2	40:21 41:2,11	24:8,14,20
50:24	27:2	job 30:13	41:19 42:1,2	25:5,10,14
incorporation	interchangeable	joke 19:11	44:17 48:3	26:2,12,14,21
17:2	9:25	judge 8:3 19:19	50:17 52:18	27:4,6,10,18
incumbent 54:2	interest 15:24	22:18,19,20	54:13 56:12,13	28:9,13,24
indicated 45:10	54:25	24:18 25:6,23	jurors' 50:13	29:24 30:14,25
45:21	interests 28:20	26:21,22,25	jury 3:15,20	31:21,25 32:8
indicating 45:10	28:25 29:6	27:6,8,15 28:6	4:18 7:2,11 8:1	32:18 33:6
individual 20:8	30:12 31:6,21	39:17 48:6	8:2,15 12:2	34:17,24 35:15
20:9 30:9 31:3	34:6 50:15	judges 3:13	13:18,25 15:14	36:11,15,23
31:19 39:24	51:4 56:3	judgment 34:10	15:17 16:4,4	37:13,22 38:11
43:1	interject 54:10	35:21	17:22 20:1	38:19,22 39:7
inevitably 7:25	interjecting	judicial 14:10	21:12,17,21,22	39:20 40:10,16
infect 39:25	54:12	15:23 20:7	22:20 24:23,25	40:18,21 41:7
infected 24:19	interpreted	52:3	25:2,25 26:10	41:20 42:11
influence 21:25	24:25	juries 11:22	28:16,17 30:10	43:11,16 44:4
40:14	interview 22:8	46:19	30:13 31:15	44:25 46:12
influenced	intoxication	jurisdiction 3:19	32:3,12 33:11	47:17 48:23
22:22 24:12	49:19	jurisdictions	36:7 40:14,25	49:2,25 50:7
,	17.17	١	30.7 10.17,23	17.2,23 30.7

	1 40 40 22 46 40		1	<u> </u>
51:8,25 52:13	40:18,22 46:18	23:15 35:22	39:1 40:2,20	multiple 3:20
52:15 53:5	48:16 50:9	44:9,14 55:4	49:13 50:6,7	15:8 41:1 42:2
55:1,16 56:4	55:9	55:10,17,18,19	means 20:9	Muslim 6:18,19
56:18,23 57:2	Kovner 1:20 2:9	lines 8:12 42:20	meant 25:18,19	29:21
57:25	43:12,13,16	43:2,4 44:5,22	25:23,23 42:4	Muslims 6:20
justification	44:4 45:3 47:4	45:6	measure 38:25	35:2
13:4	49:1,3 50:6,9	link 33:2	measures 53:21	
	51:12 52:4,24	litigant 14:8	57:10	N
K		little 40:24 57:3	mechanism	N 2:1,1 3:1
Kagan 10:13,16	<u> </u>	local 28:1	36:19 38:17	national 9:16,19
10:25 11:2,5,8	L 1:16 2:3,13	lockstep 18:1	mechanisms	34:22
25:5,14 27:4,6	3:6 53:7	long 27:25	47:8,12,15	nearly 37:5
27:10 28:24	la 40:19	longer 13:2	medicine 17:10	necessary 32:13
29:24 30:14	land 3:19	look 5:16 9:6	men 21:19	35:25 36:6
31:21 44:4	language 46:22	11:22 23:10,17	mention 7:18	need 24:2 27:5
49:25 50:7	large 31:4 33:17	23:25 25:6,18	mentioned	44:7,23 45:21
56:23 57:2	Laughter 10:15	53:17 55:17	47:16	57:20,21
Kagan's 47:17	law 6:4 9:22	57:16	mere 23:22	needed 7:8
keep 10:13 39:3	17:12 42:17	looked 38:15	Mexican 9:18	needs 4:11 6:14
KENNEDY	47:19 52:9,19	looks 45:7	21:19 40:2	32:16
31:25 32:8	lawyer 10:17	lot 26:4,8 39:21	Mexicans 4:1	negative 33:7
41:7,20 48:23	27:20,22,25	47:21 51:2	mid-trial 47:24	39:22
49:2 51:8	28:4 41:24	52:6 54:18	50:10,12	neighborhood
key 18:13	44:10 54:9	lower 10:24	MIGUEL 1:3	17:17,18 18:14
kick 50:15	lawyers 37:23	45:23	minds 37:25	never 8:16 9:9
kind 10:19 17:2	41:10 44:15		Minnesota 15:1	45:4 49:19
19:8 25:14	54:2	M	28:3	55:6,7,15
29:7,12 30:19	lead 43:5 44:17	majority 34:4	minutes 19:18	new 3:11 14:25
31:7 36:4 40:3	44:17	43:8	23:6 53:6	27:16,24 51:23
42:24 45:11	leave 12:23	maker 42:19	misbehavior	55:11
47:2 48:3	40:24	making 53:16	7:11	no-impeachm
49:10,21 52:1	ledger 48:7	manufactured	misconduct 8:14	28:21 30:12
53:14	left 53:12	33:19	22:20 28:23	33:23 34:5
kinds 7:17 12:22	legal 41:17	margins 50:8	36:5 42:21	35:12 36:9
13:8 22:19	43:22	Massachusetts	43:3 49:17	39:15,19
29:10,25 30:7	legislation 52:2	33:21 38:16	52:16	note 8:3 19:18
45:14 48:22	lesser 55:6,7,8	matter 1:12	misremember	19:25 21:13
49:5 57:13	let's 4:9 26:3	39:18 41:8	50:19	notwithstandi
know 4:1 5:23	28:24,24 29:1	42:21,24 53:3	Mitchell 5:5 9:8	44:22
6:20,20 7:1	lies 13:20	55:12 58:3	14:12	number 33:9,17
9:11 12:5	life 15:17	mature 38:4	mitigation 45:22	34:19
13:19,20 16:16	limit 6:11	McCowen 38:15	mix 52:4	
17:1,17,17	limitation 46:24	McDonald 14:4	moment 44:1	0
19:24 23:4,5	limited 14:22	mean 5:23 7:24	Mormon 29:21	O 2:1 3:1
30:6 32:3	34:11,20	8:1 9:17 13:21	motions 33:9	object 7:14,15
36:25 37:1	limiting 4:20	17:21 22:7	multimember	8:14
38:11 39:21	line 14:14 17:5	30:20 34:10	23:15	objecting 8:10
			23.13	_

2.12		 		
8:13	oral 1:12 2:2,5,8	Pena-Rodriguez	point 7:15 8:4	47:6
objective 24:21	3:6 28:11	1:3 3:4	12:15,23 33:1	previous 5:2
25:1 26:19	43:13	penalty 41:2	42:7 53:22	principal 43:23
observed 38:6	order 41:12 42:9	52:18	pointed 11:21	principle 3:20
obvious 24:1	ordinary 11:21	people 7:3 9:23	points 21:11	4:20 8:23
55:10	orientation 7:1	17:17,18 18:14	53:10,22	16:25 21:6
obviously 4:2,4	7:2 13:16	26:6 30:19,20	poison 55:24	45:18,23 47:19
17:15,20	34:22 56:10	36:25 38:24	police 49:16	55:1
occur 31:13	origin 9:17,19	39:3,22 40:24	policy 55:9	principles 6:11
occurred 48:15	9:23 34:22	People's 37:19	political 39:21	30:17,18
occurring 33:3	ought 32:15	perceived 20:22	56:11	prison 15:17
50:21	49:4	perception 21:7	poll 24:8	prisoner 15:16
October 1:10	outset 38:8	percolate 10:23	pose 29:9	private 14:8
odious 6:4,17,24	53:24 54:11,13	perjury 41:3	position 32:9,11	probability
7:5,6 12:19	overall 23:25	permissible	positive 33:8	24:19 25:3
off-color 19:11	overlap 4:5	33:23 53:2	39:23	probably 20:12
offending 54:13	oversight 51:21	permissive 43:6	possibility 22:21	problem 13:7
offensive 13:12	overwhelmed	permit 32:19	possibly 36:8	17:9 19:21
17:15 23:3	32:20	36:12	post 35:11	20:22 29:14,15
offered 3:14		pernicious 6:4	post-trial 36:4	31:16 33:15
oh 10:7 17:16	<u>P</u>	6:10 39:4	41:18	36:23 41:14
25:22,25	P 1:20 2:9 3:1	persist 37:20	potentially	43:18,20 44:7
okay 8:20,20	43:13	person 25:22	54:13,14	44:8,24 46:20
22:15 57:17	p.m 58:2	26:14 30:24	practical 57:9	54:17
once 4:14 8:25	page 2:2 39:8	32:2 56:13	practice 37:7	problematic
13:2 22:16	paper 19:23	person's 54:1	41:22	51:18
24:17 50:14	paramount 21:9	personal 21:19	practices 6:18	problems 21:14
once-in-a-blue	Pardon 5:20	persuasive 13:4	precisely 27:10	38:23 56:2
54:16	14:18	Petitioner 1:4,17	31:23 36:17	proceeding 22:7
ones 44:9	Parker 23:13	2:4,14 3:7	37:7 38:16	40:23
open 4:21 7:17	part 20:6 37:16	28:15,23 31:20	predecessors	proceedings
8:23,25	42:5	32:25 37:8	35:17	17:23 27:8,11
opening 7:25	partial 16:4,7	38:3 39:7	predicting 33:12	42:25
49:22	particular 7:3	52:11 53:8	present 41:24	process 16:13,16
operate 29:2	13:22 16:19	Petitioner's 34:8	45:13 49:7	17:5,6 38:10
operative 16:25	29:14,15 30:22	37:18 43:23	50:20 51:5,6	46:24
opinion 11:14	33:10,14 35:4	phase 52:18	51:13,14	processes 13:25
17:7 21:4,5	36:1 43:25	pick 53:11	pressures 50:20	produce 50:5
54:19	45:9,13,14	pierce 4:17	Presumably	Professor 38:14
opportunity	47:23 48:2,5	place 3:22 28:3	27:4,6	pronounced
47:20	49:9 55:24	57:16	pretty 31:7	42:12
opposed 18:16	particularly	please 3:9 8:18	prevalence	proper 27:13
19:8	9:22 29:2 41:9	8:18 28:14	41:16	prophylactic
opposite 5:12	46:4 47:13	41:7 43:17	prevalent 44:24	46:18 47:5,12
38:6	48:13,18 57:12	53:10	prevent 28:17	53:20 57:10
opprobrium	parties 9:24	plenty 10:23	42:8 44:15	proposal 22:8
49:12	party 10:9	Pless 14:4	preventing 29:6	propound 37:15
		<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>

37:17	32:16 36:24	54:12,14 55:15	real 20:4 27:9	51:6
propounds	37:2,9,11,23	55:23,24 57:6	33:15 43:18	relief 23:19,24
53:21	37:24 39:1	57:7,12,18,22	48:21	28:7
prosecutions	41:15 45:1,17	race-based	really 7:20,21	relies 52:11
46:13	54:4 56:6 57:3	18:15	20:11 29:7	religion 4:6,6,19
prospective	questioned	race-specific 9:9	44:2 48:12	5:11,12 56:9
37:16	41:11	RACHEL 1:20	49:4,19,21	religious 3:24
protected 32:12	questioning	2:9 43:13	50:12,16 52:19	5:13 29:22
protection 4:15	27:22 36:12	racial 3:13,18,23	54:4,9	31:14 35:2
5:24 9:12	54:1	6:22 10:19	reason 4:6 5:3	36:2
12:16 16:14,18	questions 12:8	12:24 14:9	7:10 9:11 14:5	remainder 28:8
16:24 17:13	23:8 24:13	16:5,19 17:13	16:8 20:4 43:4	remark 18:25
18:1 26:19,25	37:14,14,18	18:7 19:8,19	46:12,21 48:24	remarks 13:12
30:17 46:1	43:10 45:22	21:8,8 24:19	49:20 50:11	remedy 22:4
47:2 56:19	47:18,20 55:17	26:11,13,17	reasonable 18:4	55:15
protections	56:22	29:14 30:4	22:21 24:18	remember 10:22
43:21	quiet 39:3	31:14 33:10,16	25:3	12:15 14:24
protects 15:13	quite 7:6 21:6	34:11,13 35:1	reasonably	17:4 18:9
prove 3:14 33:6	23:14 38:5	35:6 37:20	45:12	21:15,17 27:11
provide 10:11	quotient 42:12	38:7,8 39:10	reasons 9:4 16:5	rendered 48:18
public 55:8		39:10,24 42:5	24:1 46:24	reply 7:21,21
pulled 33:17	$\frac{R}{R_{1,10,2,6,2,1}}$	43:2,18 44:6	REBUTTAL	39:8
punished 31:3	R 1:18 2:6 3:1	44:11,12,13	2:12 53:7	reported 39:17
punishing 30:20	28:11	45:15 46:16,20	recall 48:20	reporting 47:25
punishment	race 4:5,12,14	48:5,15,17	recognize 35:16	50:12
52:20	4:16,19 5:3,5,6	49:15 55:6,7	recognized 6:8	reprehensible
purely 24:20	5:7,10,12 6:5,9	racial-bias-only	29:18 44:6	28:20
purpose 20:6	6:11 9:10,17	39:15	48:8 49:7	representing
purposes 15:11	9:20,25 10:9	racially 22:14	recognizes 22:1	56:23
15:12	10:10,22 11:5	23:23 25:13	reconstruct	request 19:24
purposive 47:1	11:8,9,14,23	racious 26:11	48:10	require 3:16
put 56:23 57:2	12:17,24 13:15	racism 38:5	record 12:9	36:12 56:20
putting 31:18	14:6,23 15:10	39:16	22:17	required 19:5
37:25 42:2	15:10,25 17:7	racist 8:2 26:6	Reed 35:16	24:16 45:16
0	17:9,16,21 18:5 20:20,22	26:23	reflects 42:22	54:10
qualified 35:17	27:3 29:8 30:3	raise 32:6 37:3	refused 55:15	requirement
question 4:9	30:21,21 31:3	38:17	regard 37:5	3:13
7:12,13,25 8:5	34:20 35:20	raises 45:6,25	47:14	requires 17:9
8:10,11,19,22	36:2,13 37:12	rampant 33:10	regardless 25:8	28:16 45:24
11:14 13:12	37:25 38:4	range 31:21	regards 51:18	51:23
14:2 15:6 18:2	40:7 44:17,19	rare 37:2	regret 50:17	research 38:13
18:17 19:17	44:21 45:8,16	rational 56:19	rejected 43:8	38:15
21:12 22:19	46:8,11,22	reach 5:12 8:3	rel 40:19	reserve 28:8 resolve 24:2
23:12,17 24:3	47:11,14,21,23	19:25	related 41:15 relevant 20:13	
24:6,20 25:16	49:14,17 52:23	read 6:14 16:10 16:19	53:14 54:14	respect 10:5,6,7 28:1 33:16
29:23,24 30:3	53:23 54:1,10	readily 28:21	relied 47:13	40:12 47:11,23
27.23,2130.3	33.23 3 1.1,10	1 cauny 28.21	1 eneu 4/.13	40.1447.11,23

	-	ī	ī	ī
51:1 53:20	40:22,25 41:6	saying 4:25 6:19	serious 28:22	28:5 36:9 54:6
56:2	42:10 44:6,18	11:6 25:1	45:5 46:5 49:4	55:11 57:23
respectfully	44:20,22 46:17	27:14 40:2	50:23	situations 5:2
15:4 38:7	49:9,14,23	50:8 53:13	serves 28:21	55:21 56:16
55:14	52:17	54:5,7 56:21	30:12 51:4	six 34:8,11,20
respecting 30:22	root 12:21	57:17,20	set 12:9 30:11	35:8
Respondent 1:7	rooting 5:18	says 5:24 6:8 8:2	32:6	Sixth 3:14 4:15
1:19,23 2:7,11	57:9	8:3,23 12:3	sets 50:13 51:15	5:25 9:14 13:8
28:12 43:15	Rosales-Lopez	13:19,21 17:7	setting 7:7 51:23	15:12,12 16:10
responses 32:22	21:4	22:25 23:14	settings 35:5	30:10,15,16
rest 15:16	Rose 5:4 9:7	26:15 30:18	54:1	31:10,19 34:12
result 15:17	14:11	39:12 46:13	Seventh 35:14	37:6 42:25
50:18 56:14	Roughly 3:10	54:19	sex 11:22 12:12	43:25 45:4,21
return 21:12	rule 3:12,17 6:8	scope 56:6	12:15	46:13 47:6,10
57:1	7:17 8:25 15:5	screaming 44:19	sexual 6:25 7:2	53:17
reverse 17:2	28:21 30:12	scrutiny 9:15	13:16 34:21	skilled 41:23
right 3:15 4:8	31:17,23 32:13	10:3,11,14	56:10	smoking-gun
6:7 7:18 8:16	33:23,24,25	12:15,23 13:2	Sharpe 16:12,23	44:20
8:24 11:3,10	34:5,9,13 35:4	57:15	16:24 17:1	social 49:11
11:11 15:13	35:9,12,19	searching 57:21	shoplifting 54:8	society 17:9 31:4
16:4,6 18:21	36:9 39:15,19	second 9:11	show 24:16	Solicitor 1:18,20
18:22 19:1,4	40:19,19 42:8	18:10,11,18	showing 22:12	55:4
20:12,23,25	42:11,14,17,18	19:9 23:10	shown 28:23	solution 54:15
23:7 24:4 27:8	42:19,20 43:3	32:25 44:14	38:4	54:18
27:10 29:3	43:7,7,24 47:7	45:25	shows 26:16	somebody 7:1
30:5,10 31:5	51:4,5,18,23	second-guess	56:1	7:14 8:2 12:2
31:19 34:20	52:2,2,6,8,10	50:18	side 7:10 15:3,22	19:23 25:20,21
36:11,18 43:2	52:21 53:1,2	Secondly 53:20	29:5 48:7	48:19 56:23
46:14 53:17	55:11,25 56:1	secrecy 3:21	53:13,16,21	someone's 40:6
rights 37:6	56:6,8,15,20	17:22 55:1	54:22,23 55:4	Sommers 38:14
risk 13:13 45:15	57:22	secret 40:23	significant	sorry 8:20 11:2
48:13,21 49:10	rulemaking	see 19:21 27:23	13:13 41:5	11:4 16:14
50:16	50:24 51:20	41:12 44:21	42:25 56:2	18:12 19:5
road 43:5 55:21	rules 9:9 28:1,4	seek 3:12	significantly	52:14
56:5	44:8,23 50:1	seeking 56:20	29:22	sort 6:17 33:9
ROBERTS 3:3	51:1,15,22	seeks 42:8	similar 12:18	34:15 39:1,4
3:24 4:8,13	run-amuck 33:9	seen 20:7,9	17:25 18:17	41:18 48:11
6:16,25 13:10		34:25 35:1	41:10	sorts 52:16
17:11 22:6,15	<u>S</u>	41:21	similarly 4:7	Sotomayor 5:19
22:23 28:9	S 2:1 3:1	send 19:25	31:7	5:21,23 6:3,7
37:13 38:11,19	safeguard 48:1	21:13 56:13	simply 8:25	8:18,21 11:1
38:22 43:11	safeguards 5:17	sense 4:21 21:1	31:15 54:15	18:10,18,23
53:5 57:25	28:16 29:2	sensibility 26:8	single 23:22	19:2,5 32:18
room 7:2 8:16	35:24 49:5	sensitive 48:14	54:7	33:6 35:15
12:2 21:17	51:5	48:19	singles 17:6	36:11,15,23
25:2 26:10	said/she 48:11	sent 19:17	sits 50:24	39:20 40:10
28:17 32:3	satisfy 7:7	separate 12:13	situation 27:7	South 3:11 5:5
	I	I	I	I

9:8 14:13	30:22 40:6	supporting 1:22	34:2 57:12	26:18,24 28:3
53:25	stones 12:23	2:10 43:15	tell 8:1 9:2 23:19	29:4,16 30:16
speaking 9:12	stray 18:25	suppose 5:7,10	31:11 33:8	31:5,9,22 32:4
special 17:10	strength 23:10	11:24 12:2,5	41:7 56:8,14	32:16,21 34:18
20:22 30:19	23:18,25	31:25 52:17	tells 18:24	35:3,22 36:17
44:8,23 46:7	strengthen	Supreme 1:1,13	tend 38:8	37:4 39:8,22
52:21	47:25	39:13	tension 42:22	39:23 40:13,17
specially 46:23	strengthens 7:23	surfaced 36:4	term 10:9,10	42:22 43:5
specific 8:10	stress 15:5 19:13	surfaces 35:11	23:16	45:3,7,10,17
30:9 33:14	strict 12:23 13:2	surrounding	terms 16:15 28:4	45:18 46:1,7
41:18	34:4	49:16	57:7,8	46:12 47:4,5
specifically 24:5	strictly 9:12	survived 31:23	terrible 7:11	47:12 48:1,13
33:15 53:21	strike 49:25	suspect 20:4	12:5 29:11	48:16 49:1,3,6
speech 7:1	strikes 39:13,14	swamping 46:24	test 7:7 18:23	49:9 50:6,9,11
spending 15:16	39:18 54:25	system 3:18,22	25:1 26:19	51:3,12,17
spoke 18:6 21:3	striking 44:16	6:10 14:10,15	34:15	52:4,9,24,25
25:21	strongest 29:5	15:23 20:7,21	testify 22:24	53:1 54:17,22
stain 14:9,14	structural 25:15	22:2,4 28:16	24:9,24	56:17,24 57:15
stand 41:2 42:2	43:21 51:24	30:25 31:15	testimony 22:24	57:22
standard 26:4	53:15	32:12 41:17	24:16 27:21	thinking 42:12
Stanford 1:16	structurally	43:21 44:25	textural 46:25	47:22
start 5:3,7,10	6:15	48:12 54:18	Thank 28:9,13	thinks 7:10 26:9
50:17,18	structure 17:8	55:16	43:11 53:4,5,9	26:16
State 11:20	57:8		57:25	thought 6:3
15:23 28:25	students 26:8		theoretical 15:4	38:10
31:5 41:9,22	studies 53:22,23	T 2:1,1	15:6	three 11:15
51:9 52:9 56:3	study 47:21	table 33:24	thing 3:25 6:10	threshold 22:12
statement 22:13	50:25 51:19	take 13:21 41:2	21:2 30:23,24	tiers 9:15 10:3
25:19 26:3,23	subject 22:8	41:9 43:23	33:22 38:16,25	10:11,14 12:14
27:1 35:10	37:19 39:18	44:1 49:8	39:22,23	13:1 57:15
statements	42:21 50:19	taken 36:21,21	things 4:25 7:22	time 5:4 13:20
13:15 25:2	submission	46:8,10,11 talk 38:24 39:21	8:1 9:7 11:21	14:5 26:14
26:5 28:19	43:23 55:23	40:24 45:5	11:25 15:12	28:8 35:4
states 1:1,13,22	submit 55:14	47:14	19:13 22:3	38:17,23 41:11
2:10 5:25	submitted 58:1	talked 14:13	31:2 36:15,16	42:17,19 48:16
14:17,19,21	58:3	30:1	47:9,25 48:2	50:13 55:20
15:2 21:5	subsequent 4:24	talking 8:11,22	49:20	times 10:23
23:25 32:1	subtle 48:17	11:22 18:13	think 4:13 6:16	timing 7:14
34:4,8,11,19	sufficiently 6:21	25:10 26:12	7:24 8:9 9:4,14	today 3:12 4:12
43:8,14,19	7:4	28:5 42:23	9:21,24 10:11	7:8 12:8 26:16
46:23 51:2,10	suggest 11:19	48:14 49:10	10:25 11:11	54:5 56:8,20
51:25	30:25 55:2	50:12	13:7 14:1,3	56:24
statistics 41:16	suggested 51:14	tampering 28:18	15:19 16:11	told 27:12 34:18
stemming 46:21	suggesting 50:22	50:15	17:3,11,24	34:18 40:23
steps 22:11 27:12	53:16 54:14	Tanner 5:16	19:16 20:11,19	tools 12:21
41.14	support 20:14		20:25 23:7	55:20 57:20
stanactures	21.1	l 11·20 14·4	24.1 25.7 12	tonics 15.21
stereotypes	21:1	11:20 14:4	24:1 25:7,12	topics 45:24

			l	l			
toxic 44:24	undermining	29:20 31:12	40:14 51:19,20	wrote 11:13			
traditionally	43:20	39:2,5 40:14	57:23				
47:9	underscore 44:1	40:20 41:12	ways 21:6 43:20	X			
treat 46:3,22	understand	48:18	48:17 57:5	x 1:2,8			
treated 12:16	46:25 57:3	verdicts 28:18	we'll 3:3 25:6	Y			
23:15 45:4	understanding	29:8,9 42:13	we're 7:7,20				
50:10	56:6	version 33:23	12:8 16:20	Yarger 1:18 2:6			
treating 30:19	understood 18:4	34:4	20:17,20 26:12	28:10,11,13,24			
trial 13:14 15:13	18:6,15 30:18	versus 29:18	27:17 35:13	29:13 30:8			
27:24 30:11	unfair 15:21	view 18:7	36:10 44:15,25	31:9 32:4,10			
35:11,25 36:22	20:5,19	viewed 4:7 9:1	46:3 50:22	32:21 33:13			
38:8 46:14	unfairness 29:6	violate 12:20	53:16 56:1,20	34:24 35:22			
48:9 50:14,20	unfairnesses	violation 3:14	57:17,20	36:14,17 37:4			
trials 3:10	29:10 30:1	violations 45:4	we've 6:8 8:11	37:17 38:2,13			
true 10:4,5,7,18	unique 5:6,6	46:3,4 47:6	10:8 30:1,7,18	38:21 39:6			
10:19 28:25	17:8 55:24	vital 28:20 30:11	34:25 35:1	40:8,12,17,21			
30:14 34:25	57:6,7	voir 10:17 17:5	44:5,12,15,23	41:18,21 42:16			
42:16	United 1:1,13,22	29:2 31:6 36:2	57:10	yeah 20:11			
truthful 36:25	2:10 21:5 32:1	36:13,19 37:10	weighty 31:22	26:21 50:6			
try 40:10	43:14,19 51:10	38:4,16 44:10	well-settled	years 11:15			
trying 9:17 13:6	untrue 33:20	44:11 45:8,11	47:18	31:24 43:22 50:10			
20:20 37:15	unturned 12:24	45:16,24 47:15	went 19:9 27:20				
41:10 48:9,20	upheaval 54:18	47:17 53:22	white-collar	yield 36:9 York 3:11 14:25			
56:20	use 3:21 13:7	54:2,5,19	54:8	Y OFK 5.11 14.25			
Tuesday 1:10	21:16 55:4	volunteered	wide 31:20	$\overline{\mathbf{z}}$			
turning 47:11	\mathbf{V}	41:25	Williams 23:16				
turnkey 3:17	·	volunteering	wished 24:3	0			
two 4:25 9:4,22	v 1:5 3:4 5:4,5	27:22	withstood 43:22				
14:21 19:13	9:7,8 14:4,11	W	witness 13:20,20	1			
21:11,14 22:10	14:13 16:12,23		woefully 15:21	11 1:10 23:2			
22:10 23:8	16:23,25 17:1	Wagner 35:18	woman 12:5	11:08 1:14 3:2			
24:10,13 31:2	21:5,22 23:13	walk 27:11	women 12:3,4	12 33:16			
32:22 44:5,22	25:7 30:11	want 20:2 33:8	wonder 20:24	12:07 58:2			
45:2,5 53:22	31:21 35:2	40:5,5,9,25	wondering	15-606 1:4 3:4			
55:6	53:24	44:1 46:19 52:19 56:25	13:17 55:12	16 39:8			
type 39:9 43:2	valid 9:3	57:4	work 21:23	18 14:20			
types 7:3 29:17	validity 7:13 values 9:13 16:9	wanted 46:18	36:13 46:21	1800s 6:9			
35:2 37:10,13	16:18	wanted 46.18 wants 44:10	world 29:10	1931 21:5			
37:14,17 46:2			worrying 19:22	1966 23:14			
U	vast 15:2 34:3 43:8	Warger 14:4 30:1 34:2	worse 30:19	1970s 42:18			
unconstitutio	verbatim 21:3	Washington 1:9	worst 30:23,24	1973 10:22			
46:9,11 57:19	verbatiii 21.3 verdict 7:16 8:3	1:21	wouldn't 4:3	1975 33:24			
underground	13:18 15:17	wasn't 25:25	18:1 30:8 43:3	2			
39:11,16 40:11	19:18 20:3	27:21	46:9 57:4,5	20 14:17,19,20			
undermine	22:21 23:24	way 23:15 25:4	writ 31:4	18:2,20 23:20			
48:12	24:19 27:14	37:9 39:2	write 8:2 19:23	32:19 34:19			
10.12	21,1727,17	31.7 37.2	20:25	J4.17 J4.17			

				7 ±
ı	ı		1	İ
46:23 55:25				
2016 1:10				
28 2:7				
3				
3 2:4				
4				
43 2:11				
43 2.11				
5				
53 2:14				
35 2.14				
6				
606(b) 31:17,23				
33:25 35:17				
33.23 33.17				
42:8,18 53:2				
54:25				
606(b)\s 25.17				
606(b)'s 35:17				
60s 15:1				
7				
70s 15:1				
8				
9				
J				
]				
]				
]				
1			I	I