

Contents

<i>Acknowledgments</i>	<i>page xi</i>
Introduction: The Constitution and Polarized Politics	1
PART I SYMMETRY EXPLAINED	
1 The Problem	13
1.1 Increasing Polarization	15
1.2 Effects on Governance	19
1.3 Effects on Courts and the Law	23
1.4 Mounting Perils	28
1.5 The Court-Reform Distraction	32
2 The Solution	35
2.1 The Symmetric Approach	37
2.1.1 Defining Symmetry	37
2.1.2 A Preference, Not a Rule	41
2.2 An Inchoate Legal Practice	47
3 Reasons to Favor Symmetry	53
3.1 The Constitution's Character	54
3.1.1 A Framework Document	54
3.1.2 The Constitution's Procedural and Democratic Orientation	57
3.1.2.1 The Case for a Procedural Interpretation	57
3.1.2.2 The Challenge of Unenumerated Rights	58

3.1.3	Making the Political Process Work	61
3.1.4	Making the Political Process Work Today	63
3.1.5	Parrying Objections to Political-Process Theory	66
3.2	The Judicial Role	69
3.2.1	The Imperative of Generalizable Principles	69
3.2.2	Symmetry as a Key Measure of Principle	71
3.2.2.1	Updating Herbert Wechsler's Theory of Neutrality	71
3.2.2.2	Parrying Objections to Neutrality	75
3.3	The Framers' Anti-Factionalism	76
3.3.1	Relevant Strands of Originalist Theory	76
3.3.2	The Framers' Hopes and Partisan Realities	78
3.3.3	Partisanship and the Judiciary	81
4	Objections, Alternatives, and Refinements	87
4.1	Potential Objections to Symmetric Interpretation	87
4.1.1	Should Judges Consider Politics?	87
4.1.2	What If Political Divisions Change?	90
4.1.3	What If the Constitution Itself Is Asymmetric?	91
4.2	Deficient Alternatives	94
4.2.1	Proportionality	95
4.2.2	Stare Decisis	97
4.2.3	Heightening the Contradictions	99
4.3	Implementing Symmetry in Opinion Writing and Collective Decisions	100
4.4	Real and Phony Symmetry	101
4.4.1	Outcomes, Theories, and Doctrines	102
4.4.2	Decisions without Principles	107
4.4.3	Principles without Symmetry	110
PART II SYMMETRY APPLIED		
5	Speech, Association, and Religion	115
5.1	The Virtues of Neutrality	115
5.1.1	Current Case Law's Appropriate Orientation	115
5.1.2	Emerging Challenges and the Value of Symmetry	118
5.2	The Vice of Asymmetric Expansion	121
5.3	Perils in Favoring Religion over Speech and Association	127
5.3.1	The Court's Expanding Religious-Liberty Jurisprudence	127
5.3.2	The New Jurisprudence's Polarizing Character	132
5.3.3	Paths Back to Symmetry	135
5.3.3.1	Recent Missed Opportunities	136
5.3.3.2	Course Correction in <i>303 Creative</i>	138
5.3.3.3	Reorienting Future Doctrine	141

6	Separation of Powers and Federalism	145
6.1	The Removal Red Herring	146
6.1.1	A Perennial Constitutional Debate	146
6.1.2	The Supreme Court's Case Law	148
6.1.3	Shifting and Ambiguous Political Stakes	150
6.2	Cabining the Administrative State	154
6.2.1	Administrative Law's Potential for Symmetry	154
6.2.2	The Major-Questions Morass	156
6.2.3	Perils of the Procedure Fetish	163
6.2.4	Paths Back to Symmetry	167
6.3	Federalism for Red and Blue Alike	170
6.3.1	The New Politics of Federalism	170
6.3.2	Anti-Commandeering as a Paradigm of Symmetric Federalism	172
6.3.3	Looming Interstate Conflicts	174
7	Equal Protection	179
7.1	The Fourteenth Amendment and the Fraught Politics of Identity	180
7.1.1	The Constitutional Text	180
7.1.2	Modern Case Law and Demography	184
7.2	Potential Symmetric Paths Forward	189
7.2.1	<i>Bakke</i> with Bite	191
7.2.2	Countermajoritarian Majoritarianism	194
7.2.3	Consciousness without Classification	199
8	Guns and Fundamental Rights	203
8.1	The Asymmetric Innovation of Gun Rights	204
8.1.1	The Second Amendment Question and Its Asymmetry	204
8.1.2	Ways to Prefer Symmetry Post- <i>Heller</i>	206
8.2	Symmetry and Unenumerated Rights	208
8.2.1	The Problem in General	208
8.2.2	Unenumerated Rights after <i>Dobbs</i>	210
8.2.3	Remaining Questions	213
8.3	Parental Rights as a Paradigm Case	215
8.3.1	Parental Rights' Theoretical Foundation	215
8.3.2	Parental Rights' Symmetry	218
9	Law of Democracy	223
9.1	Low-Hanging Fruit on the "Shadow Docket"	226
9.2	Political Gerrymanders	231
9.2.1	The Gerrymandering Problem	231

9.2.2	The Relative Symmetry of Federal Judicial Forbearance	233
9.2.2.1	Districting's Complex Politics	233
9.2.2.2	Problems with Potential Standards	236
9.3	Independent State Legislatures	239
9.4	Voting Rules and Procedures	244
	Conclusion: A Republic If You Can Keep It	251
	<i>Index</i>	253