Critical analysis of Kramer's Proposal for Popular Constitutionalism and the Defense of Judicial Supremacy

rdai.com.br /index.php/rdai/article/view/floriani2021

authors

- Lara Bonemer Rocha Floriani Pontifical Catholic University of Paraná (Curitiba, Paraná, Brazil) <u>https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8112-0949</u>
- Claudia Maria Barbosa Pontifical Catholic University of Paraná (Curitiba, Paraná, Brazil) https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7055-9403

IT HURTS:

https://doi.org/10.48143/rdai.18.lbrf



Key words:

Popular Constitutionalism, Judicial Supremacy, Tyranny

Summary

Popular constitutionalism appears as an opposition to liberal constitutionalism, by rejecting the supremacy of the Judiciary and proposing the transfer of the interpretive, final and binding authority of the Supreme Court to the people. The theory, which had its most exponential manifestation in the work of Larry Kramer, is based on a popular dissatisfaction with the current constitutional model and on the perspective that the people are the best interpreters to preserve the real meaning of the constitutional text. However, the proposal, according to the view defended in this work, is based on mistaken assumptions, greatly affecting its subsistence and practical implementation. In this article, using the hypothetical-deductive method, the theory of popular constitutionalism is analyzed, followed by criticisms developed under the conceptual aspect and the fundamental bases of Larry Kramer's proposal. The analysis reveals that Kramer, seeking to prevent judicial tyranny, defends the proposal of popular constitutionalism, while criticism is directed towards the fact that the fragility of judicial supremacy makes room for a popular tyranny. Solutions to this dilemma are decided, however, in politics, not in law. Keywords: Popular Constitutionalism; Judicial supremacy, Tyranny. in Politics, not in Law. Keywords: Popular Constitutionalism; Judicial supremacy, Tyranny. in Politics, not in Law. Keywords: Popular Constitutionalism; Judicial supremacy, Tyranny.

Author's biography

Lara Bonemer Rocha Floriani, Pontifical Catholic University of Paraná (Curitiba, Paraná, Brazil)

Doctor in Economic Law and Master in Economic and Social and Environmental Law from PUCPR. Graduated in Law from the State University of Maringá (UEM). Professor in the Undergraduate Law course at Faculdade Estácio and at Centro Universitário Unibrasil. Coordinator of the Postgraduate Program in Economic Law at PUCPR. Iara@rochaefloriani.com.br | 0000-0002-8112-0949 (b)

Claudia Maria Barbosa, Pontifical Catholic University of Paraná (Curitiba, Paraná, Brazil)

Full Professor of Constitutional Law at the Postgraduate Program in Law at the Pontifical Catholic University of Paraná (Curitiba, Paraná, Brazil). Researcher with a productivity grant from CNPq. PhD with Post-Doctorate at the Center for Social Studies of the University of Coimbra, Portugal and at York University in Toronto, Canada. E-mail: <u>claudia.mr.barbosa@gmail.com</u> | 0000-0002-7055-9403 (b)

References

ALEXANDER, Larry; SOLUM, Lawrence B. Popular? Constitutionalism? Harvard Law Review. Mar. 2005. Available at: <u>https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?</u> <u>abstract_id=692224</u> . Accessed on July 15 2020.

AMAR, Akhil; HIRSCH, Alan. For the People: What the Constitution Really Says About Your Rights. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1998.

BRANDÃO, Rodrigo. Judicial Supremacy versus Constitutional Dialogues. Who has the last word on the meaning of the Constitution? Rio de Janeiro: Lumen Iuris, 2017.

CHEMERINSKY, Erwin. In Defense of Judicial Supremacy, 58. Wm. & Mary L. Rev. 1459 (2020), Available at: <u>http://scholarship.law.berkeley.edu/facpubs/2796</u>. Accessed on: 15 July 2020.

DWORKIN, Ronald. Taking rights seriously. São Paulo: Martins Fontes, 2002

ELY, John Hart. Democracy and distrust. Fourteenth printing. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002.

GODOY, Miguel Gualano de. Returning the constitution to the people: criticism of judicial supremacy and inter-institutional dialogues. Thesis, UFPR, Curitiba, 2015,

JARAMILLO, Leonardo García. Introduction. In: Democratic Constitutionalism: for a reconciliation between constitution and Pueblo. Trans. Leonardo García Jaramillo. Siglo Veintiuno Editores SA, Buenos Aires, 2013. p. 11-29.

KRAMER, Larry D. The people themselves: popular constitutionalism and

Judicial review. New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. pp. xii, 363.

LIMA, Gabriela Carneiro de Albuquerque Basto. The tension between the People and the Courts: the choice of popular constitutionalism. Dissertation, USP, São Paulo, 2014,

MARSHALL, John. Constitutional decisions. Rio de Janeiro: National Press, 1908, p. 24/27.

PARKER, Richard. Here, The People Rule: A Constitutional Populist Manifesto. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994.

POST, Robert and SIEGEL, Reva. Democratic Constitutionalism. In: Democratic Constitutionalism: for a reconciliation between constitution and Pueblo. Trans. Leonardo García Jaramillo. Siglo Veintiuno Editores SA, Buenos Aires, 2013.

TUSHNET, MARK V. Popular Constitutionalism as Political Law. Georgetown Law. Constitutional Commons, 2006. Available at:

http://scholarship.law.georgetown.edu/facpub/233 . Accessed on: 15 July 2020.



Downloads

Article PDF

Published

2021-08-15

how to quote

FLORIANI, LBR; BARBOSA, CM Critical analysis of Kramer's Proposal for Popular Constitutionalism and the Defense of Judicial Supremacy: Critical analysis of Kramer's Popular Constitutionalism Proposal and Defense of Judicial Supremacy. **Journal of Administrative Law and Infrastructure - RDAI**, São Paulo: Thomson Reuters - Livraria RT, v. 5, no. 18, p. 183-202, 2021. DOI: 10.48143/rdai.18.lbrf. Available at: https://rdai.com.br/index.php/rdai/article/view/floriani2021. Accessed on: 17 Oct. 2021., São Paulo: Thomson Reuters - Bookstore RT, vol. 5, no. 18, p. 183-202, 2021. DOI: 10.48143/rdai.18.lbrf



. Available at: https://rdai.com.br/index.php/rdai/article/view/floriani2021. Accessed on: 17 Oct. 2021.

Edition

<u>v. 5 n. 18 (2021)</u>

Section

Administrative Law: Control

License

Copyright (c) 2021 Journal of Administrative Law and Infrastructure - RDAI

Creative Commons License This work is licensed under a <u>Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-</u> <u>NoDerivatives 4.0 International License</u>.

(<u>CC BY-NC-ND</u>) This is a summary (not a substitute) of the <u>license</u>

PublicationRules Editorial GuidelinesRights and DutiesErratum and DisclaimerPreservation and PlagiarismReview and Evaluation