

CONTROLLING THE COMMON LAW: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF NO-CITATION RULES AND PUBLICATION PRACTICES IN ENGLAND AND THE UNITED STATES

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ABSTRACT

England and America have taken divergent approaches to publication practices and no-citation rules. The English rules limit the right of lawyers to cite unreported judgments and are a sharp break with centuries of tradition. The American rule freely permits citation to unpublished opinions in the federal courts. A historical introduction to publication and citation practices in both countries establishes the context for this comparison. Efficiency arguments asserting that no-citation rules save judges and lawyers time and clients money were advanced in both jurisdictions. This article explores why efficiency arguments were the basis for the adoption of the English rules but were advanced, studied and rejected in America.

Policy concerns over no-citation rules' impact on transparency, accountability and freedom of expression were raised in American but not in England. Distinctions between the oral and written traditions, unique traits of each countries judiciary and different substantive rights explain the varying levels of concern over these policy issues. The article concludes with a prediction of the impact no-citation rules will have on the future of the common law through an examination of the precedential value of unreported and unpublished cases, the judiciaries' role in controlling the growth of the common law, jurisprudential theories and the enforcement of the rules.

INTRODUCTION

Finding a balance between growth and restraint has been a central

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tension in common law countries. Various practices have been employed to achieve a balance between growth and restraint. The nineteenth century legal treatise tradition, the American Law Institute's Restatement, uniform laws, the West Digest System, legal encyclopedias and other devices have been used in the United States in an effort to bring order to the rapidly expanding common law. The Law Commission, Law Reform Committee, *Digest and Halsbury's Laws of England* are examples of similar efforts in England.¹

Publication practices and no-citation rules play an important and controversial role in controlling the growth of the common law. These practices seem fundamentally at odds with a system that bases its very existence on widely available judicial decisions that are presumptively citable.² Common law systems have employed these measures in part to satisfy a bench and bar who complain of drowning in a sea of cases.

England and America have taken drastically different approaches to publication practices and no-citation rules. The English approach is found in a combination of rules that limit the right of lawyers to cite unreported judgments and give judges the power to prospectively declare the precedential value of their judgments.³ In contrast, American federal appellate courts are free to issue unpublished opinions and to decide their precedential value but will soon be prohibited from imposing any restrictions on the citation of unpublished opinions.⁴

This article examines why England and America took divergent approaches and explores the potential consequences for the common law. Part I of this article establishes a context for the discussion through a historical survey of publication and citation practices in England and the United States. The first part concludes with an explanation of the current rules in both jurisdictions. Part II examines efficiency arguments advanced

¹ Some of the key aims of the Law Commission are "To ensure that the law is as fair, modern, simple and as cost-effective as possible" and "To codify the law, eliminate anomalies, repeal obsolete and unnecessary enactments and reduce the number of separate statutes." The Law Commission, "About Us," Aug. 1, 2006, <http://www.lawcom.gov.uk/>.

² Common law systems cannot exist "until the decisions of its courts are regularly published and are available to the bench and bar" Martha J. Draigh, *Will the Federal Courts of Appeals Perish if They Publish? Or Does the Declining Use of Opinions to Explain and Justify Judicial Decisions Pose a Greater Threat*, 44 AM. U. L. REV. 757, 758 (1995) (citing GRANT GILMORE, *THE AGES OF AMERICAN LAW* 9 (1977)). The presumption that judicial decisions are citable in a common law system is posited by Patrick J. Schlitz in *The Citation of Unpublished Opinions in the Federal Courts of Appeals*, 74 FORDHAM L. REV. 23, 43 (2005).

³ Practice Statement (Court of Appeal: Authorities), (1996) 1 W.L.R. 854 (Eng.). Practice Direction (Citation of Authorities), (2001) 1 W.L.R. 1001 (Eng.). Both are discussed more thoroughly *infra*.

⁴ FED. R. APP. P. 32.1(a). The rule will go into effect Jan. 1, 2007 unless Congress takes action and only applies to the citation of unpublished opinions issued after the rule's effective date. Bennett L. Gershman, *At Last, A Citability Rule*, NATIONAL LAW JOURNAL 26 (May 22, 2006). Rule 32.1 is discussed more thoroughly *infra*.

to justify the practices and explores why these arguments were accepted in England and rejected in the United States. Policy arguments made in each country over no-citation rules are addressed in Part III. The substantial differences in both the volume and substance of policy arguments made in each country are compared in this Part. Part IV predicts the impact these rules will have on the future of the common law through an examination of the precedential value of unreported and unpublished cases, the role of the judiciary in controlling the growth of the common law, jurisprudential theories and the enforcement of the rules.

This article compares the publication practices and citation rules of the federal courts of appeals in the United States with the English House of Lords and Supreme Court of Judicature.⁵ Accordingly, the legal system addressed is that of England and Wales (hereinafter referred to as England for the sake of brevity and consistency).⁶ This article does not explore the practices of the other countries comprising the United Kingdom (Scotland and Northern Ireland)⁷ or the practices of American states or federal courts other than the Courts of Appeal.⁸

The volume of case law is much greater in the United States than in England.⁹ This difference raises the methodological concern eloquently

⁵ Under the Constitutional Reform Act 2005 a Supreme Court of the United Kingdom is being constituted and will take over the judicial functions of the House of Lords. The appellate jurisdiction of English Court of Appeal, High Court and Crown Court are part of the Supreme Court (of Judicature). Supreme Court Act, 1981, S. 1(1). TERRANCE INGMAN, *THE ENGLISH LEGAL PROCESS*, 9TH ED. 13 (2002). The Courts making up the Supreme Court of Judicature were selected for discussion in this article because the no-citation rules apply to them.

⁶ I acknowledge that the House of Lords does in some instances hear cases from the Scottish and Northern Irish systems. However, for the purposes of this comparison I will refer to the system as the English legal system.

⁷ Scottish courts issue unreported judgments which are available from the Court Service website and commercial publishers. According to Dr. Charlotte Waelde of the University of Edinburgh unreported Scottish judgments have the same precedential weight as other judgments and there are no restrictions on citing them. E-mail from Dr. Charlotte Waelde (July 5, 2006) on file with author. In Northern Ireland all judgments are widely available through print and electronic sources. Northern Irish judges frown upon over citation of authority but there are no formal restrictions on citing unreported judgments. E-mail from Professor Philip Leith, Queens University of Belfast (June 30, 2006) on file with author.

⁸ FED. R. APP. P. 32.1(a) is unique for the uniformity it promises to bring to the federal appellate courts on the issue of citation to unpublished opinions. There is little uniformity among the rules of other federal courts and state jurisdictions. Patrick J. Schlitz notes a trend among individual federal circuits and states toward abandoning no-citation rules in *The Citation of Unpublished Opinions in the Federal Courts of Appeals*, 74 *FORDHAM L. REV.* 23, 35-39 (2005). Useful guides to the practices of other jurisdictions include: Melissa M. Serfass and Jessie L. Cranford, *Federal and State Court Rules Governing Publication and Citation of Opinions*, 6 *J. APP. PRAC. & PROCESS* 349 (2005); Stephen R. Barnett, *No Citation Rules Under Siege: A Battlefield Report and Analysis*, 5 *J. APP. PRAC. & PROCESS* 471 (2003); and, Jason B. Binimow, Annotation, *Precedential Effect of Unpublished Opinions*, 105 *A.L.R.* 5th 499 (2003).

⁹ In 2002, 15,736 cases were filed with the appellate courts in England and Wales. The appellate courts include The Court of Appeals Civil and Criminal Divisions, and the three divisions of the High Court: The Court of Chancery, Queen's Bench Division and Family Division. Judicial Statistics, England and Wales, for the Year 2002 http://www.dca.gov.uk/publications/annual_reports/2002/judstat02_ch01.pdf. In contrast, 60,860 cases were filed in the United States Courts of Appeals during this same time period. Tim Regan, et al., CITATIONS TO UNPUBLISHED OPINIONS IN THE FEDERAL COURTS OF APPEALS Table 23 (2005). Professor A.L. Goodhart argued in 1939 that it was easier to find a case in America where 40,000 cases are published each year than it was to find a case in England where only 750 are reported annually. GEORGE S. GROSSMAN, *LEGAL RESEARCH: HISTORICAL*

stated by Gutteridge that “like must be compared with like; the concepts, rules or institutions must relate to the same stage of legal, political and economic development.”¹⁰ The disparity in the number of cases is not insurmountable and in fact provides fertile ground for comparisons explored in Parts III and IV of this article. Numerous other comparative studies of the American and English legal systems have exploited this disparity to posit more sophisticated conclusions than are offered herein.¹¹

The term “common law” is used throughout this article to denote the body of judicial decisions that along with other sources make up the law in countries whose legal systems are described as having a common law basis. The terms “decisions” or “cases” will generically be used throughout along with the more precise English term “judgments” and American term “opinions.” The term “no-citation rule” refers not only to rules related to citation of cases but also encompasses rules declaring the precedential value of cases.

It is useful to understand the meaning of the English term “unreported” and the American term “unpublished.” An “unreported” English case is one that has not been selected by the law reporters to “appear in one of the generalized or specialized series of reports.”¹² An English court does not have any input into whether a case will be reported or not. Many unreported English cases are available in electronic databases. An unpublished American case is designated as such by the deciding court. The court deciding the case is often guided by specific rules defining the type of opinions that should be designated as unpublished. The unpublished case may still be reported in the *Federal Appendix* or be available through an electronic database. The precedential value and citation of unreported and unpublished cases will be explored in more detail *infra*.

FOUNDATIONS OF THE ELECTRONIC AGE 4, 27 (1994) (citing A.L. Goodhart, “Reporting the Law” 55 LAW. Q. REV. 29, 30 (1939)). The pattern identified by Goodhart has held throughout history.

¹⁰ PETER DECROZ, COMPARATIVE LAW IN A CHANGING WORLD 218 (1995) (citing GUTTERIDGE, COMPARATIVE LAW Ch. VI (1949)). Over-reliance on a single and exclusive comparative law methodology was criticized by Vernon Palmer who argues in *From Leretholi to Lando: Some Examples of Comparative Law Methodology*, 53 AM. J. COM. L. 261, 290 (2005) “there is a sliding scale of methods and the best approach will always be adapted in terms of the specific purposes of the research, the subjective abilities of the researcher, and the affordability of the costs.”

¹¹ See RICHARD POSNER, LAW AND LEGAL THEORY IN ENGLAND AND AMERICA (1996) offering complex observations about the legal systems of both countries supported with extensive data and discusses the volume of case law throughout; P.S. ATIYAH & R.S. SUMMERS, FORM AND SUBSTANCE IN ANGLO-AMERICAN LAW (1987) discussing the volume of case law on 128-130. ROBERT J. MARTINEAU, APPELLATE JUSTICE IN ENGLAND AND THE UNITED STATES (1990) comparing the written and oral traditions in Chapter 3 and discussing increasing caseloads in Chapter 4; DELMAR KARLEN, APPELLATE COURTS IN THE UNITED STATES AND ENGLAND 87 (1964); and, numerous articles cited *infra*.

¹² Roberts Petroleum Ltd. Respondents v. Bernard Kenny Ltd. Appellants, [1983] 2 A.C. 192, 202 (H.L.) (appeal taken from Eng.). Scholarly commentary refers to the law reporters “reporting cases” and to the law reporters “selecting cases for publication in the law reports.”

I. THE HISTORY OF PUBLICATION AND CITATION

A. *The History of Reporting and Citation in England*

English judges have delivered their judgments *ex tempore*, orally from the bench, throughout most of English legal history. Before courts kept written records “knowledge of what was adjudicated could reach back in time only as far as the living memory - the memory of the oldest living person.”¹³ The advent of judges taking time for reflection before delivering their judgments or producing written judgments is a comparatively recent phenomenon.¹⁴ As early as the reign of the first three Edwards, the practice was for judges and lawyers to cite cases from memory.¹⁵ This practice developed from the early right of a barrister as *amicus curiae* to “inform the court of a relevant decision of which he was aware”¹⁶ regardless of whether the decision appeared in printed form or not. From the right to cite decisions from memory “followed the right to cite his written report of decisions to which he personally vouched as a member of the Bar.”¹⁷ In essence, barristers could create written accounts of cases they personally vouched for. These written accounts are an early form of unreported English cases.

The systematic reporting of cases in England is done by lawyers working as law reporters.¹⁸ These law reporters select cases to be “reported” in series of published reports.¹⁹ The law reporters are the

¹³ GROSSMAN, *supra* note 9, at 4 (citing R.C. VAN CAENEGEM, *THE BIRTH OF THE ENGLISH COMMON LAW* 69 (1988)).

¹⁴ MARTINEAU, *supra* note 11, at 106.

¹⁵ JOHN P. DAWSON, *THE ORACLES OF THE LAW* 57 (1968) (citing T.E. Lewis, “The History of Judicial Precedent,” 46 L.Q.R. 341-55 (1930)). The first three Edwards reigned from 1272-1377 according to the Law Courts Libraries Table of Regnal Years, Oct. 14, 1999, <http://www.lawlink.nsw.gov.au/lawcourtslibrary.nsf/pages/regnal>

¹⁶ MICHAEL ZANDER, *THE LAW MAKING PROCESS*, 6TH ED. 308 (2004) (quoting the REPORT OF THE LAW REPORTING COMMITTEE (1940)).

¹⁷ *Id.* As one judge remarked to a barrister citing an unreported case: “Mr. Robinson has followed the time honoured tradition of the Bar in stating a case which he knows neither the origin of nor the substance of nor the reference to. But he need not worry, we have all done it ... He is following the true tradition.” Roderick Munday, *The Limits of Citation Determined*, 80 *THE LAW SOCIETY’S GAZETTE* 1337 (May 25, 1983) (citing *NOTABLE BRITISH TRIALS* 34 (1950)).

¹⁸ ZANDER, *supra* note 16. Traditionally only barristers could create reports of judgments. The privilege was recently extended to solicitors under The Courts and Legal Services Act, 1990 c. 115 (Eng.). The term “lawyer” is used to include both barristers and solicitors.

¹⁹ In the discussion over controlling the growth of case law the terms “reported” and “unreported” are used consistently in England while the terms “published” and “unpublished” are used in America. The American terms will be explored in the next section.

gatekeepers of the size and substance of English common law. In England the judge who decides the case has no input into whether the case will be reported or not.²⁰

Case law is essential to the English system but case reporting has been undertaken in a careless and haphazard fashion.²¹ Plea rolls commenced in the twelfth century and recorded the outcome of a particular case without any discussion of the issues or the reasons given for a decision.²² Year books and abridgements first appeared in the thirteenth century containing summaries of discussions in court. The era of nominate reports spanned approximately 1550 – 1790. Nominate reports reproduced arguments of lawyers and judgments.²³ In the mid 1600s “the supply of published reports of English court decisions suddenly changed from conditions of extreme poverty to a somewhat tarnished wealth.” This “flood of reports” was due to “insatiable curiosity” of lawyers creating a market for the reports.²⁴

The quality and accuracy of reports produced during this time period varied widely.²⁵ Some were so bad that judges ignored citations to them. One judge in particular has been quoted as saying “a multitude of flying reports (whose authors are as uncertain as the times when taken ...) have of late surreptitiously crept forth ... we have been entertained with barren and unwanted products.”²⁶

For a brief period in the early 1800s the central common law courts experimented with an early version of no-citation rules. The courts appointed “authorized” reporters, gave them access to court records and in some instances checked drafts of their reports. These reporters were also given a distinct market advantage over other reporters of the day, courts allowed citation to their reports only. This approach was abandoned because of the length of time it took for the authorized reporters to prepare their reports and the high prices charged for them. It has also been noted that this early no-citation rule did not prevent other reports from being cited if they were simply attested to by a barrister.²⁷

²⁰ ZANDER, *supra* note 16. See also the REPORT OF THE LAW REPORTING COMMITTEE (1940) “His Majesty’s Judges from time to time might for the public benefit and perhaps their private profit devote a part of their leisure to the compilation of reports.”

²¹ Munday, *supra* note 17, at 1339.

²² GROSSMAN, *supra* note 9, at 5-6.

²³ *Id.* at 16. The term “nominate reports” refers to accounts of cases reported under the name of the barrister who compiled them, *Plowden’s Reports* for example.

²⁴ DAWSON, *supra* note 15, at 75.

²⁵ *Id.* at 77.

²⁶ ZANDER, *supra* note 16 (quoting the REPORT OF THE LAW REPORTING COMMITTEE (1940)).

²⁷ *Id.*

In 1848 the Special Committee on the Law Reporting System was formed to consider improvements to the system of reporting and publishing law books. The Committee's report details "a new evil" of over-reporting where reporters include too many cases that do not announce new legal doctrines.²⁸ Other ills of the current system identified in the report include reporting cases without regard for the interests of the public or profession, inaccuracies and delays in publication and expense. Identifiable reform did not occur until the Incorporated Council on Law Reporting was formed with the objective of reporting decisions "in a convenient form, at a moderate price and under gratuitous professional control"²⁹ "independently of the Government and under the direction of an unpaid council."³⁰ The Council drew its membership from the bar with the Attorney General and Solicitor General also serving as members.

The Council began publishing the *Law Reports* in 1865. The *Law Reports* does not hold a monopoly on reporting but it is thought to be extremely accurate and reliable. The *Law Reports* has long enjoyed the "privilege of primary citation"³¹ and in a Practice Statement issued in 1998 the rule was formally announced that lawyers should cite to cases as they appear in the *Law Reports* as they are the most authoritative reports.³² One main feature of the *Law Reports* is selectivity. The Council employs a staff of lawyers who are very discerning in choosing cases for publication in the *Law Reports*.³³ The *Law Reports* policy of selectivity represents an effort in England to control the growth of case law by only reporting the most relevant decisions.

The creation of the Incorporated Council on Law Reporting and the *Law Reports* did not curtail England's perceived over-reporting problems. Professor A.L. Goodhart noted in a 1939 article that eighteen law reports were then in publication, most of them reporting the same cases. He argued it was easier to find a case in America where 40,000 cases were published each year than it was to find a case in England where only 750 were

²⁸ W.T.S. DANIEL, THE HISTORY AND ORIGIN OF THE LAW REPORTS 6-7 (1884).

²⁹ ZANDER, *supra* note 16, at 310 (quoting the REPORT OF THE LAW REPORTING COMMITTEE (1940)).

³⁰ GROSSMAN, *supra* note 9, at 25.

³¹ *Id.* at 32.

³² Practice Statement (Supreme Court: Judgments), (1998) 1 W.L.R. 825 (Eng.).

³³ The criteria for reporting a case has remained largely unchanged since the *Law Reports* were first published. The criteria were first announced in a letter written by W.T.S. Daniel, Vice Chairman of the Special Committee on the Law Reporting System, in 1863. The criteria for reporting a case include "(1) all cases which introduce or appear to introduce a new principle or rule, (2) all cases which materially modify an existing principle or rule, (3) all cases which settle or materially tend to settle a question upon which the law is doubtful, and (4) all cases which, for any reason, are peculiarly instructive." Criteria for exclusion include "(1) those cases which pass without discussion or consideration which are valueless precedents (2) those cases which are substantially repetitions of what is reported already." Cited in remarks of Mr. R. Williams at LAW REPORTING, LEGAL INFORMATION AND ELECTRONIC MEDIA IN THE NEW MILLENNIUM 14-15 (2000).

reported annually.³⁴ In 1940 the Committee on Law Reporting was appointed to study some of the same problems examined in 1848. Early on, the Committee addressed a no-citation rule but never reached agreement on the issue. The Committee also considered having a stenographer take down every judgment given *ex tempore*, sending copies to the judge for correction and filing the judgment with the court. The committee rejected this idea because of costs, the notion that most decisions that should be reported already were reported and “what remains is less likely to be a treasure house than a rubbish heap in which a jewel will rarely, if ever, be discovered.”³⁵ The Committee’s report recommended no real reform except requesting the *Law Reports* to “speed up publication and take a more generous view of what is reportable.”³⁶

Following the Committee’s report, some commercial reports ceased publication because of market conditions but generally the reporting of cases continued to grow. In addition to publishing the *Law Reports*, the Incorporated Council of Law Reporting began publishing the *Weekly Law Reports* as an advance service including cases that would eventually appear in the *Law Reports*. The *All England Law Reports*, the *Law Reports* main rival, commenced publication in 1936 as a generalist series reporting cases from all courts.³⁷ Reporting cases in newspapers also continued in the period after the Committee’s report. A number of specialized reports focusing on specific areas of law and certain types of courts began to flourish in the period after the release of the Committee’s report.³⁸

A 1963 comparative study of the appellate courts in the United States and England by Delmar Karlen addressed attitudes toward case reporting and citation in England.³⁹ The author concluded that most English lawyers and judges were content with the selective publication practices and preferred seeing even fewer decisions reported but noted “counterforces working in the direction of fuller reporting.”⁴⁰ The danger of an important case being missed in this selective process is not as severe as a more

³⁴ GROSSMAN, *supra* note 9, at 27 (citing A.L. Goodhart, “Reporting the Law” 55 LAW. Q. REV. 29, 30 (1939)). Roderick Munday has commented that Goodhart’s thinking may not have represented the mainstream through of his time. Comments of Roderick Munday (Aug. 25, 2006) (on file with author). Goodhart’s act of dissenting from the REPORT OF THE LAW REPORTING COMMITTEE is evidence of his position outside of the mainstream.

³⁵ ZANDER, *supra* note 16, at 312 (2004) (quoting the REPORT OF THE LAW REPORTING COMMITTEE (1940)).

³⁶ GROSSMAN, *supra* note 9, at 27 (citing the REPORT OF THE LAW REPORTING COMMITTEE (1940)).

Professor Goodhart, a Committee member, strongly dissented from the final report.

³⁷ *All England Law Reports* enjoyed success because it reported cases more quickly than the *Law Reports* and did a better job of indexing and cross-referencing cases than the *Law Reports* did. GROSSMAN, *supra* note 9 at 33.

³⁸ MARTINEAU, *supra* note 11, at 105.

³⁹ KARLEN, *supra* note 11, at 88, 102.

⁴⁰ *Id.* at 88.

expansive system of reporting all cases where “vital cases might be overlooked in the masses of unimportant cases.”⁴¹ Karlen noted that English judges depend on the discretion of the *Law Reports*’ editors, do not believe many cases have precedential value and discourage the citation of unreported judgments.⁴²

The seeds of “fuller reporting” alluded to by Karlen were sown in 1951 when the Lord Chancellor ordered that shorthand reporters would take down all judgments of the Court of Appeal and that copies would be retained in the court file and in the court’s library.⁴³ A basic index of these judgments was kept but, in large part, the judgments were not extremely useful because they were not widely available. The advent of computerized databases in the early 1980s changed things dramatically.

Writing in 1983 Roderick Munday discussed the transcripts of unreported judgments retained by the court noting “their citation in court has become an everyday matter.”⁴⁴ When Munday’s article appeared the Lexis database contained over 5,000 unreported judgments and the “prospect of a Lexis terminal in every law library and lawyer’s office, inevitably impels the legal system towards an extreme with which it will have to come to terms.”⁴⁵ Munday was fearful of “nightmarish possibilities” created by the Lexis database and of the English Bar acquiring “American vices” including obsessive over-citation detailed in Karlen’s study.⁴⁶ Munday concluded by calling for “a fresh Committee to review the entire system of reporting, citation and storage of English case law” and to determine the “limits of citation.”⁴⁷

Lord Justice Diplock called for a drastic departure from the English tradition of lawyers freely citing unreported judgments that “do not appear in any series of published law reports” in the case of *Roberts Petroleum Ltd. v. Bernard Kenny Ltd.*⁴⁸ In a separate speech, equivalent to a concurring opinion in the United States, Lord Justice Diplock proposed that the House of Lords adopt:

⁴¹ *Id.* at 102-103.

⁴² *Id.* at 100.

⁴³ MARTINEAU, *supra* note 11, at 105. These unreported judgments have been referred to as unexploded land mines.

⁴⁴ Munday, *supra* note 17, at 1337. In another article written around the same time Munday offers the idea of prohibiting citations to unreported decisions. See ZANDER, *supra* note 16, at 317 (citing R.J.C. Munday, “New Dimensions of Precedent,” *JOURNAL OF THE SOCIETY OF PUBLIC TEACHERS OF LAW* 201 (1978)).

⁴⁵ Munday, *supra* note 17, at 1337.

⁴⁶ *Id.* at 1337-1338.

⁴⁷ *Id.* at 1339.

⁴⁸ *Roberts Petroleum*, [1983] 2 A.C. 192. Lord Justice Diplock declares that citation to unreported judgments is “a growing practice” that “ought to be discouraged.”

the practice of declining to allow transcripts of unreported judgments of the civil division of the Court of Appeal to be cited upon the hearing of appeals to the House unless leave is given to do so; and that such leave should only be granted upon counsel giving an assurance that the transcript contains a statement of some principle of law, relevant to an issue in this House, that is binding upon the Court of Appeal and of which the substance, as distinct from the mere choice of phraseology, is not to be found in any judgment of that court that has appeared in one of the generalized or specialized series of reports.⁴⁹

He argued this rule would save time as unreported judgments contain irrelevant material and usually provide no assistance to the court in reaching a decision.⁵⁰ He believed the current system of law reporting operated to effectively control the common law in England. “If a civil judgment of the Court of Appeal ... has not found its way into the generalised series of law reports or even into one of the specialised series, it is most unlikely to be of any assistance to your Lordships.”⁵¹

The substance of Lord Justice Diplock’s proposal became a Practice Statement⁵² applicable to the Court of Appeal Civil Division in 1996. The language was substantially similar to what Lord Justice Diplock proposed in the *Roberts Petroleum* judgment:

Leave to cite unreported cases will not usually be granted unless counsel are able to assure the court that the transcript in question contains a relevant statement of legal principle not found in reported authority and that the authority is not cited because of the phraseology used or as an illustration of the application of an established legal principle.⁵³

⁴⁹ *Id.* at 202.

⁵⁰ *Id.* Lord Justice Diplock had been a vocal opponent of citation of unreported cases and of overcitation. See Munday, *supra* note 17, at 1338 listing cases where Lord Justice Diplock expressed the opinion that overcitation is “an ineradicable practice” *Naviera de Canarias SA v. Nacional Hispanica Aseduradora SA*, [1977] 2 W.L.R. 442, 446. See also *de Lasala v. de Lasala*, [1979] 2 All E.R. 1146; *Lambert v. Lewis*, [1982] A.C. 274.

⁵¹ *Roberts Petroleum*, [1983] 2 A.C. at 202.

⁵² Practice Statements for the Civil Division are now known as Practice Directions and made by the Master of the Rolls as president of the Civil Division. They apply in addition to civil procedure rules. Department for Constitutional Affairs, *Civil Procedure Rules: Notes on Practice Directions* (2006) http://www.dca.gov.uk/civil/procrules_fin/contents/frontmatter/raprnotes.htm

⁵³ Practice Statement (Court of Appeal: Authorities), (1996), *supra* note 3. The application of the rule was broadened to the High Court and Crown Court in the subsequent the Practice Statement (Supreme Court: Judgments), (1998), *supra* note 32. The rule was restated in the Practice Direction (Court of Appeal ((Civil Division)), (1999) 1 W.L.R. 1027 (Eng.).

Further evidence of a desire to control the growth of the common law through publication and citation practices is evident in Justice Laddie's postscript in the case of *Michaels v. Taylor Woodrow*.⁵⁴ Justice Laddie wrote in 2001 having observed the increase in the size and use of electronic databases and their impact on the common law in the eighteen years since the *Roberts Petroleum* case. He lamented the loss of the law reporters' tradition of selectivity observing that "now there is no pre-selection ... a poor decision of, say, a court of first instance used to be buried silently by omission from the reports. Now it may be dug up to support a cause of action or defense which, without its encouragement, might have been allowed to die a quiet death."⁵⁵ He offered the solution that *ex tempore* judgments are not to be cited unless the court indicates to the contrary as a way to prevent "the bulk of material from clogging up the system."⁵⁶

Justice Laddie's sentiments appeared in the form of the 2001 Practice Direction which took the reforms announced in *Roberts Petroleum* and the 1996 Practice Statement even further. The Practice Direction prohibits citation of certain categories of reported judgments unless the judgment "clearly indicates that it purports to establish a new principle or to extend the present law."⁵⁷ Judgments given after the date of the Practice Direction are required to explicitly indicate if they establish a new principle or extend present law and courts are instructed to search for such statements in judgments cited by lawyers. The Practice Direction requires advocates to justify their citation to all categories of judgments, presumably including both reported and unreported judgments, which "only apply decided law to the facts of the particular case; or otherwise as not extending or adding to the existing law."⁵⁸

B. The History of Publication and Citation in the United States

Early American court decisions were not published. American lawyers and judges relied upon English cases as precedent. After the Revolutionary war, the need for uniquely American jurisprudence led to the publication of the first volume of American decisions in 1789.⁵⁹ In sharp contrast to the oral tradition followed in England, American judges have almost always

⁵⁴ [2001] EWHC (Ch) 493, [1]-[87] (Eng.).

⁵⁵ *Id.* at 520.

⁵⁶ *Id.* at 521.

⁵⁷ Practice Direction (Citation of Authorities), (2001), *supra* note 3. Section 6.1 spells out the specified categories: applications attended by one party only, applications for permission to appeal and decisions on applications that only decide the application is arguable.

⁵⁸ Practice Direction (Citation of Authorities), (2001), *supra* note 3, at 7.1.

⁵⁹ MORRIS L. COHEN, ET AL., HOW TO FIND THE LAW 16 (1989).

produced their own written opinions.⁶⁰ However, many early American reporters followed the English tradition of reporting from their notes and observations instead of reprinting the written opinion of the court. By the start of the twentieth century reporters' duties shifted to merely obtaining written opinions produced by the court and publishing them.⁶¹

The appointment of official reporters at the federal and state levels in the United States is another distinct contrast to the English practice of leaving reporting to private enterprise. Excerpts from the Report of the Committee on Law Reporting of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York of 1873 reveal discontent with the system of reporting at the time. The report cites an overwhelming number of law reports available in America as early as 1821 including an abundance of cases containing no new principles and selected without care. The report pinned the blame on the for profit publishers interested not in quality but in volume and called for the creation of an official reporter.⁶² The United States Supreme Court and many states appointed official reporters. Many states eventually abandoned the practice and designated West their official reporter.

Another contrast with the English system of only reporting select judgments is the American practice of comprehensive reporting. In the latter part of the nineteenth century the drastic increase in the number of reported cases prompted calls for reform of the American reporting system. In 1871 *American Reports* and *American Decisions* were introduced as selective reports that included only the "real gems" of American law and excluded "redundant, regressive cases."⁶³ These reports included state cases of "established general authority" cited by text writers and excluded obsolete cases with no significance.⁶⁴ This concept of reporting was not successful as lawyers eventually chose the comprehensive style.

John B. West was a pioneer of comprehensive reporting in America. West first began publishing excerpts from the decisions of the Supreme Court of the state of Minnesota in 1876. By 1887 his *National Reporter System* provided lawyers with comprehensive coverage of judicial opinions

⁶⁰ A 1785 statute required Connecticut judges to produce written opinions. GROSSMAN, *supra* note 9, at 40. See MARTINEAU, *supra* note 11, at 110. For a brief period of time in its earliest years the Supreme Court gave oral opinions at the conclusion of arguments but soon abandoned this practice in favor of written opinions. Statutes requiring judges to produce written opinions in every case were later questioned as causing the unnecessary publication of too many cases. See John B. Winslow, *The Courts and the Papermills*, 10 ILL. L. REV. 157, 160 (1915).

⁶¹ ERWIN C. SURRENCY, *A HISTORY OF AMERICAN LAW PUBLISHING* 46-47 (1990).

⁶² GROSSMAN, *supra* note 9, at 59-65 (citing REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON LAW REPORTING OF THE ASSOCIATION OF THE BAR OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK (1873)).

⁶³ *Id.* at 69.

⁶⁴ *Id.* at 71 (citing "Object of the American Decisions," 1 AM. DEC. v-x (1878)).

from all states.⁶⁵ Supreme Court decisions were available in the *Supreme Court Reporter* and federal appellate court decisions and select federal district court decisions were available in the *Federal Reporter*. Under this system of comprehensive reporting nearly every appellate court decision and some federal district court decisions found their way into the law reports.

By the end of the nineteenth century the American legal profession was in a difficult situation. The operation of the common law system was strained by the yearly exponential growth in the number of cases. Lawyers could no longer master all the cases or rely on their memories.

Early calls for reform focused on reducing the number of opinions published but not on limiting lawyers' ability to cite opinions.⁶⁶ The Chief Justice of the Wisconsin Supreme Court complained about the volume of case law in 1915 remarking that lawyers' briefs are devoted to reciting precedent many of which add nothing to the law. The Chief Justice proposed that judges only write opinions in certain types of cases and that judges prohibit publication of opinions with no precedential value.⁶⁷ The publication of only select opinions was again suggested in late 1940s by judges of the Third and Fifth Circuits and several states including Texas and Alabama enacted rules dictating the criteria for published opinions.⁶⁸ The American reliance on judges to control the growth of the common law by selectively designating cases for publication is in contrast with the English approach of letting the law reporters decide which cases merit reporting.

In 1964 the Judicial Conference of the United States resolved that the federal appellate and district courts should only authorize the publication of precedential opinions.⁶⁹ The 1971 report of the Federal Judicial Center also recommended limited publication practices and also a no-citation rule.⁷⁰ The report was circulated to circuit judges who were requested to develop

⁶⁵ SURRENCY, *supra* note 61, at 49.

⁶⁶ *Id.* at 38. According to Surrency, "Citation of unreported cases was common in America before and after the Revolutionary war, but now, it is difficult to determine with what frequency."

⁶⁷ Winslow, *supra* note 60, at 161-62. Chief Justice Winslow sagely predicted "I confess that the question of how such an opinion [without precedential value] can be kept away from the pernicious activity of private reporting systems is a very difficult one." For an even earlier complaint see James Kent, *An American Law Student of a Hundred Years Ago*, in 2 SELECT ESSAYS IN ANGLO-AMERICAN LEGAL HISTORY 837, 842 (1907) where Kent upon appointment to the Supreme Court of New York in 1798 complains "I never dreamed of volumes of reports & written opinions. Such things were not then thought of."

⁶⁸ William L. Reynolds and William N. Richman, *The Non-Precedential Precedent: Limited Publication and the No-Citation Rules in the United States Courts of Appeals*, 78 COLUM. L. REV. 1167, 1169 and Francis P. Whitehair, *Opinions of Courts: Fifth Circuit Acts Against Unneeded Publication* 33 A.B.A. J. 751, 754 (1947).

⁶⁹ JUDICIAL CONFERENCE OF THE UNITED STATES REP. 11 (1964) (cited in Reynolds and Richman, *Id.* at 1170 note 17)).

⁷⁰ *Id.* at 1.

plans to implement the report's recommendations. A few years later the Federal Judicial Center's Advisory Council for Appellate Justice created a report containing standards for publication of opinions and a proposed no-citation rule. This report was later published as *Standards for Publication of Judicial Opinions*.⁷¹

The Judicial Conference decided to let each circuit develop its own publication and citation rules based on the *Standards for Publication of Judicial Opinions*. The individual circuits were left as "11 legal laboratories" accumulating experience with publication and citation rules.⁷² The Judicial Conference left publication practices and citation rules undisturbed for several decades.⁷³

Federal judges' designation of opinions as unpublished increased dramatically during this period. In 1984 only approximately forty per cent of federal appellate decisions were issued as unpublished opinions.⁷⁴ Today over eighty percent of federal appellate decisions are issued as unpublished opinions.⁷⁵ Before the advent of computers Judges were able to keep unpublished opinions out of the body of American case law by not submitting them to the publisher. The availability of unpublished opinions has improved so much so that the term "unpublished" is only accurate as a term of art and not as a description of physical location. Today almost all unpublished opinions are available through LexisNexis, Westlaw, free websites or in print in West's *Federal Appendix*.⁷⁶ West's *Federal Appendix* began publishing the unpublished opinions of federal appellate courts in 2001 in volumes bound in identical style to West's other federal reports.

Rules on citing unpublished opinions were restrictive at first but have been relaxed.⁷⁷ Initially, six federal circuits prohibited the citation of unpublished decisions, the Fourth Circuit disfavored it, the Tenth permitted

⁷¹ Reynolds and Richman, *supra* note 68, at 1171.

⁷² Patrick J. Schlitz, *Much Ado About Little: Explaining the Sturm Und Drang Over the Citation of Unpublished Opinions*, 62 WASH. & LEE L. REV. 1429, 1435 (2005).

⁷³ *Id.* at 1435-1441. Schlitz notes the issue was added to the Advisory Committee's agenda in 1991 where it remained dormant for a number of years until it was removed in 1998 and subsequently put back on the agenda in 2001.

⁷⁴ Martha Draigh-Pearson, *Citation of Unpublished Opinions as Precedent*, HASTINGS L.J. 1235, 1283 (2004) (citing Michael Hannon, *A Closer Look at Unpublished Opinions in the United States Courts of Appeals*, 3 J. APP. PRAC. & PROCESS 199, 204 tbl. 2 (2001)).

⁷⁵ *Id.* at 1283 (citing Administrative Office of the United States Courts, *Judicial Business of the United States Courts: 2002 Annual Report of the Director*, at 39 tbl. S-3).

⁷⁶ Complete access to all unpublished opinions has not yet been achieved. See the discussion below at the section *Substantive Policy Arguments*.

⁷⁷ Schlitz, *supra* note 72, at 1463.

relevant citations and the Third and Fifth had no rules.⁷⁸ The rules became less restrictive over the next several decades. As of June 2006 only four circuits banned citation of unpublished decisions (Second, Seventh, Ninth and Federal).⁷⁹ Six circuits discouraged but allowed citation (First, Fourth, Sixth, Eighth, Tenth and Eleventh).⁸⁰ Three circuits freely allow it (Third, Fifth and D.C.).⁸¹

No-citation rules were eventually challenged on a number of grounds in federal courts around the country.⁸² Two cases are at the center of the controversy over no-citation rules. The first is *Anastasoff v. United States*.⁸³ In *Anastasoff* the plaintiff appealed the district court's denial of her refund for overpayment of federal taxes. She argued that her refund was not otherwise barred by the limitations period because of a statutory "mailbox rule" and that the court was not bound by a previous unpublished decision directly on point. Her argument relied upon Eighth Circuit Rule 28A(i) which provides in pertinent part "unpublished opinions are not precedent and parties generally should not cite them."⁸⁴ The court ruled against *Anastasoff* holding its own rule unconstitutional under Article III of the United States Constitution for "conferring on the federal courts a power that goes beyond the judicial."⁸⁵

In contrast to the *Anastasoff* decision, the constitutionality of no-citation rules was upheld in the case of *Hart v. Massanari*.⁸⁶ The opinion was written by Judge Alex Kozinski, a long time defender of limited publication practices and no-citation rules. The case arose from counsel's citation of an unpublished opinion contrary to the Ninth Circuit Rule that "Unpublished dispositions and orders of this Court are not binding precedent ... [and generally] may not be cited to or by the courts of this circuit."⁸⁷ Counsel relied on *Anastasoff* for the proposition that the Ninth Circuit Rule was unconstitutional. The Court found that counsel violated the rule but decided to not impose sanctions. The *Hart* case held no-citation rules constitutional on the grounds that the principle of binding authority is not found in the

⁷⁸ The First, Sixth, Seventh, Eighth, Ninth and District of Columbia Circuits permitted citation as of 1978. Reynolds & Richman, *supra* note 68, at 1180.

⁷⁹ 2ND CIR. R. 0.23; 7TH CIR. R. 53(b)(2)(iv), (e); 9TH CIR. R. 36-3(b); and, FED. CIR. R. 47.6(b). This terminology is adapted from Schlitz, *supra* note 72, at 1429.

⁸⁰ 1ST CIR. R. 32.3(a)(2); 4TH CIR. R. 36(c); 6TH CIR. R. 28(g); 8TH CIR. R. 28A(i); 10TH CIR. R. 36.3(B); and, 11TH CIR. R. 36-2.

⁸¹ 3RD CIR. I.O.P. 5.7; 5TH CIR. R. 47.5.4; and, D.C. CIR. R. 28(c)(1).

⁸² Binimow, *supra* note 8.

⁸³ 223 F.3d 898 (8th Cir. 2000), opinion vacated as moot on rehearing en banc, 235 F.3d 1054 (8th Cir. 2000).

⁸⁴ 8TH CIR. R. APP. P. 28A(i).

⁸⁵ *Anastasoff*, 223 F.3d at 899.

⁸⁶ 266 F.3d 1155 (2001).

⁸⁷ *Hart*, 266 F.3d at 1159. 9TH CIR. R. 36-3.

constitution but instead is a matter of judicial policy.⁸⁸

In the wake of these decisions and with the efforts of the Solicitor General of the United States, the process of examining the no-citation rules of federal appellate courts began in 2002. The issue was placed on the agenda of the Advisory Committee on the Federal Rules of Appellate Procedure. This Committee makes recommendations for changes to the Federal Rules of Appellate Procedure. The Advisory Committee agreed that the citation of unpublished opinions in the federal appellate courts should be regulated by a consistent national rule.⁸⁹ After some debate, the Advisory Committee proposed the following amendment to the Federal Rules of Appellate Procedure (hereinafter Rule 32.1):

- (a) Citation Permitted. No prohibition or restriction may be imposed upon the citation of judicial opinions, orders, judgments, or other written dispositions that have been designated as “unpublished,” “not for publication,” “non-precedential,” “not precedent,” or the like, unless that prohibition or restriction is generally imposed upon the citation of all judicial opinions, orders, judgments, or other written dispositions.⁹⁰

The rule stirred up considerable controversy, a phenomenon discussed below in the section *Comparing the Policy Arguments – Volume*. Rule 32.1 was subsequently approved by the Advisory Committee, the Standing Committee, the Supreme Court and will become effective on January 1, 2007 unless Congress takes action.⁹¹ The methodology used to create Rule 32.1 is chronicled by its Reporter Patrick J. Schlitz in a law review article⁹² and discussed in greater detail below in the section *Comparing the Policy Arguments - Volume*. Rule 32.1 only addresses the citation of unpublished opinions issued after the effective date of the Rule. It leaves a number of issues to the individual federal appellate courts including whether or not to issue unpublished opinions and what precedential value to give unpublished opinions.

II. THE EFFICIENCY ARGUMENTS

Some of the more practical arguments made in England and in the United States in favor of no-citation rules focus on the assumed efficiency

⁸⁸ *Hart*, 266 F.3d at 1175.

⁸⁹ Schlitz, *supra* note 72, at 1446.

⁹⁰ *Supra*, note 4.

⁹¹ Schlitz, *supra* note 2, at 64.

⁹² Schlitz, *supra* note 72, at 1434-1458.

of such rules. The efficiency argument posits that prohibiting lawyers from citing unreported or unpublished cases saves the lawyers the time of staying up with them, searching for them and including them in briefs and in turn saves clients money. Judges are also winners under the efficiency argument because they do not have to read unreported or unpublished cases or make sense of them if they are not cited by lawyers.

A. English Efficiency Arguments

In England the efficiency argument was advanced by Lord Justice Diplock in *Roberts Petroleum*. He states in his judgment that he gained nothing from reading the two unreported cases cited in the lower court's judgment. "None of them laid down a relevant principle of law that was not to be found in reported cases; the only result of referring to the transcripts was that the length of the hearing was extended unnecessarily."⁹³ Lord Justice Diplock's proposed rule in *Roberts Petroleum* and the subsequent 1996 Practice Statement sparked a flurry of discussion. One author summed up recent cases and commentary on the issues of blanket reporting and unnecessarily citing cases as adding nothing to the law, distracting lawyers from drawing principles from authorities, wasting the time of judges and the money of parties.⁹⁴ Citation of unreported cases is said to give rise to "significant problems" including making the lawyer's search for authority more difficult, geographically fragmenting the bar, complicating the study of law and making the law less accessible.⁹⁵

Lord Justice Diplock's proposal was criticized some years later by Justice Laddie in the *Michaels* case.⁹⁶ Justice Laddie shares Lord Justice Diplock's concerns about the effects of over-reporting and citation to unreported judgments and thinks the system will be "swamped with a torrent of material" if the problem is not tackled.⁹⁷ He laments the loss of efficiency when "courts are presented with ever larger files of copied law reports, thereby extending the duration of trials, to the disadvantage of the legal system as a whole."⁹⁸ Justice Laddie disagrees with Lord Justice Diplock's proposed rule for a number of reasons, including the fact that it would not reduce the burden on parties to search unreported judgments that might apply to their case. Justice Laddie mentions the problem of citation to unpublished cases in the United States and quotes the language of the

⁹³ *Roberts Petroleum*, [1983] 2 A.C. at 201.

⁹⁴ Munday, *supra* note 17, at 1338.

⁹⁵ Roderick Munday, *New Dimensions of Precedent*, JOURNAL OF THE SOCIETY OF TEACHERS OF PUBLIC LAW, 201 (1978) (cited in Zander, *supra* note 16, at 251).

⁹⁶ *Michaels*, [2001] Ch. 493.

⁹⁷ *Id.* at 520 – 521.

⁹⁸ *Id.* at 520.

circuit Rule on point.⁹⁹ Justice Laddie does not believe the American approach would work in England but notes that it would prevent the “bulk of material from clogging up the system.”¹⁰⁰

The movement toward a no-citation rule in the English courts must be viewed against the backdrop of larger reforms occurring in the English legal system. Lord Woolf was commissioned by the Lord Chancellor to “evaluate the current status of civil litigation in England” in 1994.¹⁰¹ Lord Woolf concluded the present system was too expensive, slow, fragmented and unequal.¹⁰² The problems Lord Woolf identified were not unlike the efficiency arguments in favor of no-citation rules. Although Lord Woolf’s final report did not specifically address no-citation rules he is responsible for the 2001 Practice Direction.¹⁰³ The introduction to the 2001 Practice Direction laments the problems for advocates and courts caused by the current volume of available material. It contends the Practice Direction is necessary to preserve recent efforts to “increase the efficiency, and thus reduce the cost of litigation.”¹⁰⁴ This Practice Direction has been said to correspond to the main objectives of the Civil Procedure Rules which include saving expense and allotting an appropriate share of court resources to cases.¹⁰⁵

The efficiency argument for the English no-citation rules was advanced at a conference on law reporting held at Cambridge University in 2000. Lord Justice Buxton characterizes the English system as one that is economical on judge power because it looks to lawyers to only cite authority that actually tells judges something about the law.¹⁰⁶ Lord Justice Buxton contemplates a shift to the American system that places less responsibility on lawyers but rejects the idea because it would require many more judges and would become “complicated and burdensome.”¹⁰⁷

⁹⁹ 4TH CIR. R. 47.6(b).

¹⁰⁰ *Michaels*, [2001] Ch.. at 521.

¹⁰¹ Kenneth M. Vorrasi, *England’s Reform to Alleviate the Problems of Civil Process: A Comparison of Judicial Case Management in England and the United States*, 30 J. LEGIS. 361, 365 (2004) (citing STEVEN M. GERLIS AND PAULA LOGHLIN, CIVIL PROCEDURE 1 (2001)).

¹⁰² LORD WOOLF, ACCESS TO JUSTICE: INTERIM REPORT TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR ON THE CIVIL JUSTICE SYSTEM IN ENGLAND AND WALES, 1 (1995), <http://www.dca.gov.uk/civil/interfr.htm>.

¹⁰³ Justice Laddie was a member of the Working Party that produced the 2001 Practice Direction, *supra* note 3.

¹⁰⁴ *Id.*

¹⁰⁵ Roderick Munday, *Over Citation: Stemming the Tide – Part I*, 166 J.P. 6, 7 (2002). The Civil Procedure Rules were a product of Lord Woolf’s reforms.

¹⁰⁶ LAW REPORTING, LEGAL INFORMATION AND ELECTRONIC MEDIA IN THE NEW MILLENNIUM, *supra* note 33, at 9.

¹⁰⁷ *Id.* at 10-11.

B. United States Efficiency Arguments

Similar efficiency arguments were raised in the United States when no-citation rules were first enacted by the various federal circuit courts. Efficiency arguments appear in the 1972 Federal Judicial Centers Advisory Council for Appellate Justice's Report *Standards for Publication of Judicial Opinions*. According to the Report, a no-citation rule will reduce costs because unpublished opinions will not have to be obtained and examined and costs and delays will be further reduced since cases will not be appealed only because they are at odds with unpublished cases.¹⁰⁸ The no-citation rule proposed in the Report was a model for many of the rules adopted by the circuit courts of appeals.¹⁰⁹ Additional efficiency arguments raised shortly after the publication of the Report include the idea that without a no-citation rule judges will spend more time drafting opinions for wider audiences if all opinions can be cited and a no-citation rule would reduce the market for unpublished opinions and discourage publishers from selling reports of unpublished opinions.¹¹⁰

Some of the no-citation rules enacted in the circuits make specific reference to efficiency. The Second Circuit Rule states the “demands of an expanding case load require the court to be ever conscious of the need to utilize judicial time effectively” and that [unpublished opinions] “shall not be cited or otherwise used in unrelated cases before this or any other court.”¹¹¹ The Fifth Circuit Rule declares “the publication of opinions that merely decide particular cases on the basis of well-settled principles of law imposes needless expense on the public and burdens on the legal profession.”¹¹²

Efficiency arguments were also made in the *Anastasoff* and *Hart* cases. In *Anastasoff*, Judge Arnold recognizes the efficiency argument that treating every opinion as precedent will be burdensome on the already over-worked system and judge, but contends “the price must still be paid”¹¹³ even if backlogs expand. One solution he offers is creating more judgeships and having judges take more time to handle cases competently.

In *Hart*, Judge Kozinski takes a different approach. He contends courts do not have time to write every opinion for publication. According to Judge

¹⁰⁸ ADVISORY COUNCIL FOR APPELLATE JUSTICE, FJC RESEARCH SERIES NO 73-2, STANDARDS FOR PUBLICATION OF JUDICIAL OPINIONS, 19 (1973).

¹⁰⁹ Reynolds and Richman, *supra* note 68, at 1171.

¹¹⁰ *Id.* at 1189.

¹¹¹ 2D CIR. R. 0.23.

¹¹² 5TH CIR. R. 47.5.1.

¹¹³ *Anastasoff*, 223 F.3d at 904.

Kozinski, no-citation rules and unpublished opinions are efficient because they allow judges to dispose of routine cases with unpublished opinions and spend time writing precedential opinions in significant cases.¹¹⁴ “Writing a second, third or tenth opinion in the same area of law, based on materially indistinguishable facts will, at best, clutter up the law books and databases with redundant and unhelpful authority.”¹¹⁵ Judge Kozinski posits that if parties are allowed to cite unpublished opinions, the time savings provided by unpublished opinions would vanish. Judges would spend more time writing opinions, lawyers would spend more time finding them and ultimately clients would pay.¹¹⁶ Judge Kozinski also disputes the suggestion in *Anastasoff* that more judges would cure the problem. He contends it would take a five-fold increase in the number of judges to fairly allocate the increased workload. These additional opinions would have the negative effect of creating conflict within and among the federal circuit courts which would have to be resolved.¹¹⁷

Commentary defending and attacking efficiency arguments for no-citation rules is plentiful.¹¹⁸ Steven R. Barnett devotes an entire section of a law review article to refuting Kozinski’s arguments.¹¹⁹ The section is titled *Vanishing Time: The Kozinski Defense of No-Citation Rules*. Barnett contends no-citation rules will not save judges time to write a select group of opinions for publication opinions because judges already know that nearly all of their opinions, whether written for publication or not, wind up on LexisNexis or Westlaw and are read by attorneys. He notes that circuits with permissive citation rules have not experienced the fatal results Kozinski foretells.

The Supreme Court’s recent approval of Rule 32.1 marks the United States’ move away from a no-citation rule at the federal appellate level. The process leading up to the rule’s approval provides insight into the impact of efficiency arguments against no-citation rules. Rule 32.1 was published for comment in 2003 by the Advisory Committee on the Federal Rules of Appellate Procedure (hereinafter Advisory Committee).¹²⁰ The Advisory Committee received over 500 comments on the rule. Comments

¹¹⁴ *Hart*, 266 F.3d at 1179.

¹¹⁵ *Id.*

¹¹⁶ *Id.* at 1178-1179.

¹¹⁷ *Id.* at 1179.

¹¹⁸ See, e.g., Alex Kozinski & Stephen Reinhardt, *Please Don’t Cite This!: Why We Don’t Allow Citation to Unpublished Dispositions*, CAL. LAW., June 2000, at 43; Boyce F. Martin, Jr., *In Defense of Unpublished Opinions*, 60 OHIO ST. L.J. 177 (1999); and, Lawrence J. Fox, *Those Unpublished Opinions: An Appropriate Expedience or an Abdication of Responsibility?* 32 HOFSTRA L. REV. 1215 (2004).

¹¹⁹ Steven R. Barnett, *From Anastasoff to Hart to West’s Federal Appendix: The Ground Shifts Under Nocitation Rules*, 4 J. APP. PRAC. & PROCESS 1, 17 (2002).

¹²⁰ Schlitz, *supra* note 72, at 1431. See for a thorough history of FED. R. APP. P. 32.1(a).

touched on efficiency arguments noted above. Comments from those opposed to the rule came from judges fearful of the increased workload caused by citations to unpublished opinions, a minority of attorneys worried about additional research obligations of searching unpublished opinions and parties to the judicial process concerned that citing unpublished opinions will slow the judicial process and make it more expensive.¹²¹ Patrick J. Schlitz, Advisory Committee Reporter, commented, that “predictions of doom came not from those who have experience with permitting the citation of unpublished opinions, but from the four circuits that continue to forbid it” and that such comments were largely speculative.¹²²

These and other comments were discussed at the Advisory Committee’s April 2004 meeting. The Advisory Committee was “more persuaded by comments supporting Rule 32.1 than by the more numerous comments opposing it.”¹²³ The Advisory Committee voted to approve the rule and sent it to the Standing Committee where the rule was returned to the Advisory Committee pending the outcome of several studies.

The first study was a comprehensive survey of federal circuit judges and attorneys practicing before them conducted by the Federal Judicial Center. Judges in circuits with permissive, restrictive and discouraging citation rules were asked whether changing the citation rules would affect the length of their opinions or the time they devoted to writing them. Large majorities of judges from circuits with all three types of rules responded that changing the citation rules would not have an impact on the length of their opinions or the time they devoted to writing them.

The survey asked judges whether proposed Rule 32.1 would require them to spend more time writing unpublished opinions. The majority of judges in the six circuits that discourage citation to unreported cases responded that proposed Rule 32.1 would not change the amount of time they spend preparing opinions. The response from Judges in the circuits banning citation to unreported cases to the same question was mixed.

Judges in the circuits that permit citation of unpublished opinions were asked how much additional work it takes to deal with briefs citing unpublished opinions and the majority said it creates “a very small amount” of extra work.¹²⁴ Finally, judges in the two circuits that recently relaxed

¹²¹ Schlitz, *supra* note 2, at 35-39.

¹²² Schlitz, *supra* note 72, at 1463-1464. Schlitz notes that most judges who commented against the rule actually had below average workloads, at 1479.

¹²³ Schlitz, *supra* note 2, at 58.

¹²⁴ *Id.* at 59-62 (citing Tim Regan, et al., CITATIONS TO UNPUBLISHED OPINIONS IN THE FEDERAL COURTS

their restrictions on the citation of unpublished opinions were asked if the change affected the time needed to draft unpublished opinions or if their workload in general was affected. The vast majority of judges responded that they did not spend more time writing unpublished opinions and they noticed “no appreciable change” in their overall workload.¹²⁵ Attorneys were asked what impact proposed Rule 32.1 would have on their overall workload. On average attorneys predicted that Rule 32.1 would not have an “appreciable impact” on their workload.¹²⁶

The second study was conducted by the Administrative Office of the United States Courts. It focused on the amount of time it took courts to dispose of cases and how they disposed of those cases. The study examined circuits that allowed citation to unpublished opinions and specifically focused on the timeframe when circuits relaxed or did away with their no-citation rules. The study found that allowing citation to unpublished cases did not affect the length of time it took courts to dispose of cases or the number of summary dispositions issued.¹²⁷

Claims that liberalizing no-citation rules would swamp the courts with work, increase the amount of time attorneys devoted to research and slow down the entire judicial process were directly refuted by both studies. The Advisory Committee met to consider Rule 32.1 in April, 2005 and all members agreed the studies “failed to support the main contentions of Rule 32.1’s opponents.”¹²⁸

Efficiency arguments are not explicitly addressed in the text of Rule 32.1 but are mentioned in the Committee Note accompanying the Rule. The Note cites the current conflicting no-citation rules varying from circuit to circuit as inefficient because lawyers struggle to keep up with rule differences. The Note also states that efficiency concerns over judicial time wasted drafting unpublished opinions are irrelevant under Rule 32.1 because the Rule takes no position on the precedential value of unpublished opinions. Individual circuits are free to declare them unprecedential and thereby conserve judicial energy from writing lengthy unpublished opinions.¹²⁹

OF APPEALS (2005)).

¹²⁵ *Id.*

¹²⁶ *Id.*

¹²⁷ Schlitz, *supra* note 2, at 63-64 (citing Memorandum from John K. Rabiej, Chief Rules Comm. Support Office, Admin. Office of the U.S. Courts, to Advisory Comm. on Appellate Rules (2005)).

¹²⁸ *Id.* at 64.

¹²⁹ Committee Note accompanying FED. R. APP. P. 32.1(a).

C. Comparing the Efficiency Arguments

Efficiency arguments are the primary justification offered in favor of England's no-citation rules.¹³⁰ This contrasts with the experience in the United States where efficiency arguments were advanced but refuted by empirical studies.

One possible explanation for the success of efficiency arguments in England and their failure in the United States is the different phase each country is in with respect to no-citation rulemaking. Rule 32.1 was enacted in the United States with the benefit of hindsight. The modern era of experimentation with no-citation rules in the United States began with the Federal Judicial Center's 1971 report recommending limited publication practices and the subsequent call for each circuit to develop publication practices and citation rules.¹³¹ As described in the previous section, different versions of no-citation rules operated in the federal circuits for a number of years. By using these circuits as "11 laboratories" they were able to see what worked and what did not.¹³² This approach allowed the efficiency arguments to be tested, studied and eventually refuted.

The modern era of no-citation rules began in England with Lord Justice Diplock's call for reform in the *Roberts Petroleum* case in 1983. In contrast, the United States had been experimenting with no-citation rules for over ten years by the time *Roberts Petroleum* was decided. The process used to develop the English no-citation rules is described in more detail in the next section. The process used in England did not involve any empirical studies testing the efficiency arguments. Additionally, the volume of discussion over no-citation rules was substantially less in England than in the United States. These procedural differences and the stage each country was at in its experience with no-citation rules explains why efficiency arguments were relied upon in England and rejected in the United States. Perhaps, as England gains more experience with no-citation rules they will reexamine the efficiency of the rules.

An underlying principle of comparative law methodology that legal

¹³⁰ See Sections on policy arguments and the precedential effect of unpublished opinions, *infra*. These arguments were advanced in England in support of no-citation rules but efficiency was the official justification for no-citation rules in England.

¹³¹ See *The History of Publication and Citation in the United States*, *supra*. Contrast the modern era with previous no-citation experiments in the United States discussed *supra*. It is appropriate to begin this era with the 1971 Report because it is the first mention of both publication and citation rules and scholars trace the development of Rule 32.1 back to that report. See Schlitz, *supra* note 72, at 1437. Schlitz compares the length of time it took to reach agreement on Rule 32.1 to a film project languishing in developmental hell.

¹³² Schlitz, *supra* note 72, at 1435.

systems must be compared at similar stages of their development is worth noting. Gutteridge stated the principle as “like must be compared with like; the concepts, rules or institutions must relate to the same stage of legal, political and economic development.”¹³³ Clearly, England and the United States are at different phases in their development of no-citation rules. A comparison of no-citation rules is therefore only meaningful after carefully placing the rules into historical context.¹³⁴

III. POLICY ARGUMENTS

In addition to the efficiency arguments outlined in the previous section, arguments over no-citation rules were raised in both countries on policy grounds. The volume of policy arguments was greater in the United States than in England. Different substantive policy issues were raised in each country. Policy arguments appeared to be more influential in America than in England. Insight into the divergent approaches toward no-citation rules taken by England and the United States can be gained by examining these differences.

A. *English Policy Arguments*

Concern over the impact of no-citation rules on the rule of law in England was scant. Colin Tapper raised the fundamental rule of law concept that those governed by law have the right to know what the law is in a brief comment appearing shortly after the *Roberts Petroleum* judgment.¹³⁵ Tapper critiques Munday’s *Limits of Citation Determined* article for not addressing the simple fact that “decisions of the superior courts *are* law.”¹³⁶ Munday does in fact touch on rule of law concerns with the admission that “paradoxically, English law, despite its being in the main judge made, has always been careless of its case law.”¹³⁷

English commentators criticized the *Roberts Petroleum* judgment and the general state of English law reporting for perpetuating inequality of access to the law. The practice of retaining transcripts of unreported Court of Appeal judgments in the Supreme Court Library permits only those with time and the right of access to discover the law. The system of law reporting in general is also criticized for creating a situation that is difficult

¹³³ DECROUZ, *supra* note 10.

¹³⁴ *Id.* at 226-227 (quoting Ferdinand Stone, “We must study the history, the politics, the economics, the cultural background in literature and the arts, the religions, beliefs and practices, the philosophies, if we are to reach sound conclusions as to what is and what is not common.”).

¹³⁵ Colin Tapper, 80 THE LAW SOCIETY’S GAZETTE 1636 (June 29, 1983).

¹³⁶ *Id.*

¹³⁷ Munday, *supra* note 17, at 1339.

for the public or practitioner to “hack their way through the plethora of published law reports.”¹³⁸ The critique concludes by suggesting the answer to the problem lies not in restricting citations but in computer retrieval systems that provide easy access to the law for citizens and attorneys.

Fears over unreported judgments creating inequality of access to the law were substantiated by a 1992 study conducted by the American political scientist Burton M. Askins.¹³⁹ The study adapted previous methodology used to study United States appellate courts to the English Court of Appeal. The results revealed that unreported English Court of Appeal decisions were not “disposable” because they affected a lawyer’s advice to a client.¹⁴⁰ In other words, English lawyers’ advice to their clients would change if they were aware of unreported judgments. Askins concluded that English reporting practices gave affluent and repeat litigants an advantage because they were more likely to be aware of unreported judgments.

Roderick Munday, writing in the third of a series of articles published shortly after the *Michaels* decision and 2001 Practice Direction, discusses the arousal of suspicion and lack of respect for courts and the judicial system created by certain publication practices.¹⁴¹ He is critical of the use of depublication by courts shaping the law while shielding themselves from dealing with controversial issues. He raises these policy concerns as an example of what can arise from the comparatively extreme depublication practices of the State of California but does not specifically criticize the English no-citation rules based on these policy concerns.

Strong criticisms of the no-citation rules were aimed at the rules invasion of the traditional rights and privileges of lawyers. Munday notes that the restrictions on a lawyer’s right to cite unreported decisions announced in *Roberts Petroleum* “met with howls of protest.”¹⁴² Robert Zander summarizes responses to the no-citation rule proposed in *Roberts Petroleum* and includes the rules limit on the right of lawyers to make the best case possible as a critique.¹⁴³ Another commentator is critical of the 1998 Practice Direction for curtailing the right of citizens through legal representation to conduct legal proceedings in a manner they see fit.¹⁴⁴

¹³⁸ G.W. Bartholomew, *Unreported Judgments in the House of Lords*, 133 NEW L.J. 781 (Sept. 2, 1983).

¹³⁹ Burton M. Askins, *Selective Reporting and the Communication of Legal Rights in England*, 76 JUDICATURE 58 (1992).

¹⁴⁰ The phrase disposable and the underlying methodology of the study were adapted from Karen Robel’s study *The Myth of the Disposable Opinion: Unpublished Opinions and Government Litigants in United States Courts of Appeals*, 87 MICH. L. REV. 940 (1989).

¹⁴¹ Munday, *Over-Citation: Stemming the Tide – Part III*, 166 J.P. 83, 86 (2002).

¹⁴² Munday, *supra* note 105.

¹⁴³ ZANDER, *supra* note 16, at 323.

¹⁴⁴ F.A.R. Bennion, *Citation of Unreported Cases – A Challenge*, NEW L.J. 1520 (Oct. 16, 1998) (cited in

None of these policy concerns are voiced in the *Roberts Petroleum* or *Michaels* cases or in any of the Practice Directions. The only reasons given in the cases and Practice Directions for the English no-citation rules were efficiency arguments outlined above.

B. United States Policy Arguments

No-citation rules aroused markedly more debate in the United States than in England. In America, policy arguments appeared in scholarly articles, cases discussing no-citation rules, the text of Rule 32.1 and the accompanying Committee Note. Patrick J. Schlitz, Reporter to the Advisory Committee on the Federal Rules of Appellate Procedure, received over five hundred comments on Rule 32.1 making it the second most commented on procedural rule in history.¹⁴⁵ A website created by a group supporting Rule 32.1 includes a comprehensive list of law review articles written on the subject of no-citation rules and unpublished opinions.¹⁴⁶ Before this article went to press the site listed ninety-two law review articles.

Schlitz devoted an entire law review article to explaining why the rules created so much controversy in the United States.¹⁴⁷ In the article, Schlitz shares the comments of one federal appellate judge who observed that trying to talk with his fellow judges about Rule 32.1 was akin to discussing sex or religion.¹⁴⁸ Schlitz's argues there was a disconnect between the "relatively low level of importance of Rule 32.1 and the relatively high level of emotion surrounding it."¹⁴⁹ His thesis is that no-citation rules are relatively unimportant but have aroused so much controversy because they sit "at the intersection of a surprising number of principles that are very important" to lawyers and judges.¹⁵⁰ The most significant policy arguments based on these principles are outlined below.

There has been considerable argument in the United States over whether no-citation rules are an unconstitutional restraint on the freedom of expression. Some argue the rules do not violate the First Amendment

ZANDER *supra* note 16, at 322).

¹⁴⁵ Schlitz, *supra* note 72, at 1432.

¹⁴⁶ Committee for the Rule of Law, <http://www.nonpublication.com> (last visited Aug. 2, 2006).

¹⁴⁷ Schlitz, *supra* note 72, at 1429. As Reporter to the Advisory Committee on the Federal Rules of Appellate Procedure Schlitz's job was to receive and summarize comments on Rule 32.1. His article does an excellent job of outlining the positions for and against no-citation rules in the United States. I will draw heavily on his discussion of the reasons of principle offered for and against the no-citation rules instead of reinventing the wheel.

¹⁴⁸ *Id.* at 1433.

¹⁴⁹ *Id.* at 1434.

¹⁵⁰ *Id.* at 1467.

because they are similar to the multitude of other restrictions courts impose on attorneys, including rules dictating the length and format of briefs.¹⁵¹ Others argue the rules infringe First Amendment rights by banning “truthful speech about a matter of public concern.”¹⁵² These arguments see a distinction between no-citation rules limiting the substance of what can be argued from rules restricting the form in which arguments are made.¹⁵³

The central holding of *Anastasoff* is that the no-citation rule in question was unconstitutional for limiting the precedential effect of prior decisions.¹⁵⁴ The *Hart* case explicitly rejected this proposition concluding instead that the principle of precedent is not constitutional but a matter of judicial policy.¹⁵⁵ Rule 32.1 takes a pass on the constitutionality issue stating in the Committee Note, [Rule 32.1] “takes no position on whether refusing to treat an ‘unpublished opinion’ as binding precedent is unconstitutional.”¹⁵⁶

Concerns over the lack of accountability created by no-citation rules were also voiced. The poor quality of unpublished opinions has been blamed on the lack of accountability they afford judges which in turn breeds “sloth and indifference.”¹⁵⁷ The unaccountability created by unpublished opinions has led to judges engaging in corrupt practices including issuing an unpublished opinion to avoid a public debate over a contested issue and judges changing their minds on an issue on the condition that an unprecedential opinion issued.¹⁵⁸

Accountability concerns are also voiced by Judge Arnold in the *Anastasoff* decision. Judge Arnold contends no-citation rules, like the one at issue in *Anastasoff*, are unconstitutional because the court is in effect saying “We may have decided this question the opposite way yesterday, but this does not bind us today, and, what’s more, you cannot even tell us what

¹⁵¹ Schlitz, *supra* note 2, at 32.

¹⁵² *Id.* at 50. Schlitz cites the following articles in support of this contention. Richard S. Arnold, *The Federal Courts: Causes of Discontent*, 56 SMU L. REV. 767, 778 (2003); David Greenwald & Frederick A.O. Schwarz, Jr., *The Censorial Judiciary*, 35 U.C. DAVIS L. REV. 1133, 1161-66 (2002); Salem M. Katsh & Alex V. Chachkes, *Constitutionality of “No-Citation” Rules*, 3 J. APP. PRAC. & PROCESS 287, 297-300 (2001); Christopher J. Peters, *Adjudicative Speech and the First Amendment*, 51 UCLA L. REV. 705, 780-83 (2004); Marla Brooke Tusk, Note, *No-Citation Rules as a Prior Restraint on Attorney Speech*, 103 COLUM. L. REV. 1202, 1227-30 (2003); Charles L. Babcock, *No-Citation Rules: An Unconstitutional Prior Restraint*, LITIGATION, Summer 2004, at 33.

¹⁵³ Schlitz, *supra* note 2, at 50.

¹⁵⁴ *Anastasoff*, 223 F.3d at 905.

¹⁵⁵ *Hart*, 266 F.3d at 1175.

¹⁵⁶ Committee Note accompanying Rule 32.1, *supra*, note 129.

¹⁵⁷ William M. Reynolds and William L. Richman, *Elitism, Expediency, and the New Certiorari: Requiem for the Learned Hand Tradition*, 81 CORNELL L. REV. 273, 284 (1996).

¹⁵⁸ Penelope Pether, *Inequitable Injunctions: The Scandal of Private Judging in the U.S. Courts of Appeals*, 56 STAN. L. REV. 1435, 1487 (2004) recalling the comments of now retired federal appellate judge Patricia Wald.

we did yesterday.”¹⁵⁹ Accountability concerns were addressed in the Committee Note accompanying Rule 32.1. The Note proclaims Rule 32.1 expands “the sources of insight and information that can be brought to the attention of judges and making the entire process more transparent to attorneys, parties, and the general public.”¹⁶⁰

No-citation rules came under strong criticism in the United States for offending notions of equal justice. The rules have been said to create “two classes of justice: high-quality justice for wealthy parties represented by big law firms, and low quality justice for no-name appellants represented by no-name attorneys.”¹⁶¹ The argument follows that wealthy parties and their high-powered lawyers receive careful consideration by the courts and a published decision written by a judge while the disadvantaged receive less attention and an unpublished opinion written by a law clerk. These arguments are supported by numerous empirical studies summarized in Penelope Pether’s article *Inequitable Injunctions: The Scandal of Private Judging in the U.S. Courts*.¹⁶²

The text of Rule 32.1 aims to achieve equality in citation practices by prohibiting courts from imposing citation restrictions on certain classes of opinions and not others. The Committee Note accompanying Rule 32.1 dismisses criticisms that no-citation rules favored large institutional litigants who, unlike other litigants, were able to collect and organize unpublished opinions. The Note contends such concerns are obviated by the widespread availability of unpublished opinions in the *Federal Appendix*, Westlaw, Lexis and the Internet.¹⁶³ Pether takes issue with this claim, arguing it would only be valid if all litigants had equal access to Westlaw and Lexis and if online searching advanced to the point that all unpublished opinions were easily accessible.¹⁶⁴

Pether’s critiques are compelling even in light of recent advancements in the accessibility of unpublished opinions. The E-Government Act of 2002 requires all federal appellate and district courts to provide free electronic access to their written opinions including published and

¹⁵⁹ *Anastasoff*, 223 F.3d at 904. This statement of course must be contrasted with the following statement from *Hart* “[no-citation rules] allow panels of the courts of appeals to determine whether future panels, as well as judges of the inferior courts of the circuit, will be bound by particular rulings.” *Hart*, 266 F.3d at 1160.

¹⁶⁰ Committee Note accompanying Rule 32.1, *supra*, note 129.

¹⁶¹ Schlitz, *supra* note 2, at 49, (citing Letter from Beverly B. Mann to Samuel A. Alito, Jr., Chair, Advisory Comm. on Appellate Rules 4, Feb. 15, 2004, http://www.secretjustice.org/pdf_files/Comments/03-AP-408.pdf (Comment 03-AP-408)).

¹⁶² Pether, *supra* note 158.

¹⁶³ Committee Note accompanying Rule 32.1, *supra* note 129.

¹⁶⁴ Pether, *supra* note 158, at 1516.

unpublished opinions.¹⁶⁵ However, mere access to unpublished opinions does not mean all individuals will equally be able to discover relevant opinions.

The federal courts complied with the E-Government Act by providing the public with free access to pull up opinions via the Public Access to Electronic Court Records system (PACER). PACER works exceptionally well at retrieving dockets by known criteria such as party name, case number or a few broadly defined case type categories but it has no full text searching capability. It is presently impossible to retrieve opinions containing text corresponding with a particular search query using PACER. Some federal courts of appeals make their opinions available from the court's website but offer little or no search functionality. The manner in which the federal courts have complied with the E-Government Act does little to provide the general public with relevant court opinions but instead perpetuates existing inequalities of access. No-name litigants will not be able to locate useful court opinions using the PACER system because they will not know the names of parties or case numbers of relevant cases. Wealthy litigants represented by well-informed lawyers are more likely to possess the requisite information necessary to retrieve relevant cases from the system.

In the wake of the Supreme Court's approval of Rule 32.1, LexisNexis made a startling announcement regarding access to unpublished opinions that will perpetuate existing inequalities of access. The company announced it would begin charging additional fees to access unpublished federal and state cases that were previously available at no extra charge from the basic federal/state case database.¹⁶⁶

Policy concerns were raised in the United States, similar to those raised in England, that no-citation rules unnecessarily infringe on the professional judgment and autonomy of lawyers.¹⁶⁷ Rule 32.1 expressly addresses these concerns and limits the power of courts to tell lawyers they cannot cite certain types of opinions. The Committee Note accompanying the Rule elaborates that lawyers will no longer worry about sanctions or accusations of unethical conduct for citing unpublished opinions and will no longer be restricted from "bringing to the court's attention information that might help

¹⁶⁵ Pub. L. 107-347, 205(a)(5), 116 Stat. 2899, 2919. A statement on the PACER website provides insight into what will be available. "Written opinions have been defined by the Judicial Conference as "any document issued by a judge or judges of the court sitting in that capacity, that sets forth a reasoned explanation for a court's decision." The responsibility for determining which documents meet this definition rests with the authoring judge." http://pacer.psc.uscourts.gov/announcements/general/dc_ecf_opinion.html (last visited Aug. 3, 2006).

¹⁶⁶ Posting of Marie S. Newman to Out of the Jungle, <http://outofthejungle.blogspot.com/2006/06/unpublished-opinions.html#links> (June 15, 2006, 15:23 CST).

¹⁶⁷ Schlitz, *supra* note 72, at 1469-70.

their client's cause."¹⁶⁸

C. Comparing the Policy Arguments

1. Volume of Arguments

A number of differences are evident when comparing the volume of policy arguments surrounding no-citation rules in England and in the United States. There was markedly more discussion of policy issues surrounding no-citation rules in the United States than in England. Three possible reasons account for these differences. First, the American legal system has comparatively more experience with no-citation rules than the English legal system does. This point was fully explored in the previous section *Comparing the Efficiency Arguments* but is equally applicable here. American judges and lawyers had more experience with different versions of no-citation rules and consequently had more to say about them than English lawyers and judges. The methodological concern over comparing legal systems at similar points in development discussed above is also applicable to avoid false comparisons in explaining the difference in the volume of policy arguments surrounding the no-citation rules.

The second reason for the disparity in volume of policy arguments relates to the nature of scholarly legal communication in England and in the United States. There is a substantial difference in the amount of scholarly commentary examining the policy issues of no-citation rules in the United States as compared with England. As noted above, over ninety American law review articles have been written on the issues surrounding no-citation rules and unpublished opinions. In contrast, only a few dozen English articles and book chapters have examined the issues. This difference is due in part to the difference in size between the American and English legal academies. There are over ten thousand law faculty members in the United States while England has roughly a fourth of the number of legal academics.¹⁶⁹ There is also a substantial difference in the number of law schools with

¹⁶⁸ Committee Note accompanying Rule 32.1, *supra* note 129.

¹⁶⁹ The American Association of Law School's Statistical Report on Law School Faculty and Candidates for Law Faculty Positions, Tables 2004 – 2005 listed the total number of faculty at 10,136. This figure includes all categories of professors and deans and law library directors, Fall, 2004, http://www.aals.org/statistics/0405/html/0405_T1A_tit4.html. The English Society of Legal Scholars had nearly 2,600 members as of May, 2006. This figure includes academic and practicing lawyers so the actual number of full time academics in the UK could be less, <http://www.legalscholars.ac.uk/text/index.cfm> (last visited Aug. 3, 2006).

approximately 194 in the United States and fifty-three in England.¹⁷⁰ Finally, the United States has approximately 832 law journals, roughly four times the 170 English journals.¹⁷¹

The disparity in the volume of academic commentary over no-citation rules cannot be dismissed on purely methodological grounds. Gutteridge's observation that like must be compared with like is relevant, however the disparity in volume is not a function of size alone but may also be attributed to the nature of scholarly legal communication and the functions law faculty perform in each country.¹⁷²

Atiyah and Summers contend that English academic legal writing has traditionally focused on "black letter research and writing" purposely avoiding policy subjects while many American scholars have taken the opposite approach exploring public policy extensively in their scholarship.¹⁷³ The differences are due in part to the sharp distinction between law and policy maintained in England and the fact that until recently courts would only entertain citations to academic writing once the author was deceased.¹⁷⁴ These factors give English legal academics few incentives to express policy views and little promise that those views will be considered or accepted. In contrast, many American academics are public policy experts, frequently publish policy oriented articles in the multitude of American law journals and influence the legislatures and the courts. Viewed in this context, the comparative lack of English legal scholarship discussing the policy implications of no-citation rules is understandable.

The final reason for the difference in the volume of discussion is related to the methodology that produced the no-citation rules in England and the United States. In England the rules were proposed in the *Roberts Petroleum* and *Michaels* cases, discussed in a few articles and eventually enacted as a Practice Statement and Direction. The Notes on Practice Directions explains their jurisdictional reach and who makes them but gives little insight into the process used to make them.¹⁷⁵ One English law researcher

¹⁷⁰ The American Bar Association's Section on Legal Education and Admission to the Bar reported the American figure as of June, 2006, <http://www.abanet.org/legaled/approvedlawschools/approved.html>. The English figure was obtained from the legal website Hieros Gamos, <http://www.hg.org/euro-schools.html#england> (last visited Aug. 3, 2006).

¹⁷¹ John Doyle, a law librarian at Washington and Lee University School of Law maintains Most Cited Legal Periodicals, a web page listing legal journals by a number of factors including country, <http://lawlib.wlu.edu/LJ/index.aspx> (last visited Aug. 3, 2006).

¹⁷² DECRUZ, *supra* note 10, at 218 (citing GUTTERIDGE, *COMPARATIVE LAW* Ch. VI (1949)).

¹⁷³ ATIYAH AND SUMMERS, *supra* note 11, at 398 - 399.

¹⁷⁴ *Id.* at 399, 403.

¹⁷⁵ Department for Constitutional Affairs, *Civil Procedure Rules, Practice Directions* (2006),

explained that individuals charged with making practice directions “consult widely” when making them.¹⁷⁶ Justice Laddie wrote the *Michaels* opinion and postscript discussing no-citation rules and as a result was placed on the Working Party that eventually produced the 2001 Practice Direction. Justice Laddie observed that the Working Party did not conduct any studies or circulate any notes or drafts of their work for comment.¹⁷⁷

The process employed in the United States to create Rule 32.1 is different from the process used in England to create Practice Directions.¹⁷⁸ Rule 32.1 and all other federal Rules of Civil and Criminal Procedure are technically promulgated by the Supreme Court and approved by the Congress.¹⁷⁹ The Judicial Conference of the United States is the policy making body responsible for proposing changes in the Rules to the Supreme Court.¹⁸⁰ The Judicial Conference performs this duty through its Standing Committee on Rules of Practice and Procedure and Advisory Committees.¹⁸¹ The process of making Rule 32.1 was complex and took an exceptionally long time as described above.¹⁸² The Advisory Committee surveyed judges, sought and received over five hundred comments, reviewed the empirical studies discussed above and debated the proposed rule for several years. The work of the Advisory Committee has been chronicled by its Reporter Patrick J. Schlitz in a law review article.¹⁸³

The method for adopting no-citation rules in the United States appears to have been more democratic than the English approach. The Advisory Committee’s search for input from a wide variety of sources over a long period of time explains the exponentially greater volume of discussion over no-citation rules in the United States. The wealth of information at the disposal of the Advisory Committee also explains why more policy justifications were cited in the Committee Note accompanying Rule 32.1 than were cited in the 2001 English Practice Direction.

http://www.dca.gov.uk/civil/procrules_fin/contents/frontmatter/raprnotes.htm.

¹⁷⁶ E-mail from Elaine Wintle, Librarian at Blackstone Chambers (May 4, 2006) on file with author.

¹⁷⁷ Telephone interview with Sir Hugh Laddie who retired from the bench in 2005 and is now a consultant with the firm of Willoughby & Partners, a firm specializing in intellectual property law with offices in London and Oxford (May 11, 2006).

¹⁷⁸ Critics of this comparison might again raise the observations of Gutteridge that like is not being compared with like, *supra* note 10, The different approaches, once fully understood, are valid examples of the differences in the volume of discussion over no-citation rules.

¹⁷⁹ Rules Enabling Act (28 U.S.C. § 2071 et seq.; Pub. L. No. 73-415; 48 Stat. 1064) and 28 U.S.C.A. § 331, as amended by 72 Stat 356 (July 11, 1958).

¹⁸⁰ 4 CHARLES ALAN WRIGHT & ARTHUR R. MILLER, FEDERAL PRACTICE AND PROCEDURE § 1007 (3rd ed. 1998).

¹⁸¹ *Id.*

¹⁸² Schlitz, *supra* note 72, at 1437.

¹⁸³ *Id.* at 1434-1458.

2. Substance of Arguments

Different substantive policy arguments over no-citation rules were made in each country. Significant concerns over the effects of no-citation rules on the accountability of courts and the transparency of the judicial process were raised in the United States but not in England.¹⁸⁴ The apparent lack of concern over accountability and transparency are explained through close examination of the English judicial system and its judges.

Martineau contends the English oral tradition is not as accountable as the United States system.¹⁸⁵ The English system of conducting court proceedings openly and orally with few written pleadings and decisions delivered *ex tempore* from the bench was traditionally thought of as highly transparent and accountable. Everything was done orally in open court giving the public complete access. However, Martineau contends this confuses the ability to see a process with accountability. The oral tradition is not as accountable as the written because it requires attendance and perfect memory of what was said. Accountability and transparency are more completely achieved in the United States where nearly everything is written down according to Martineau. Perhaps more policy concerns over the transparency and accountability of no-citation rules were raised in the United States than in England because American lawyers and judges, accustomed to the written system, demanded accountable and transparent no-citation rules.

Characteristics of the judiciary in England and the United States explain the different levels of concern over the accountability and transparency of no-citation rules. Atiyah and Summers posit that English judges have more trust in the political establishment and less trust in the public and juries.¹⁸⁶ On the contrary, American judges trust the people and are skeptical of the establishment.¹⁸⁷ A relevant example is Judge Arnold's critique of his own jurisdiction's no-citation rule in *Anastasoff* for its lack of accountability.¹⁸⁸ Patrick J. Schlitz, Reporter to the Advisory Committee for Rule 32.1,

¹⁸⁴ Munday discussed the arousal of suspicion and lack of respect for courts and the judicial system created by certain publication practices but raises them only as an example of the comparatively extreme depublishing practices of the State of California and isn't specifically critical of the English no-citation rules on these grounds. Munday, *supra* note 141.

¹⁸⁵ MARTINEAU, *supra* note 11, at 118-120.

¹⁸⁶ ATIYAH AND SUMMERS, *supra* note 11, at 39.

¹⁸⁷ ATIYAH AND SUMMERS, observation confirms H.L.A. Hart's critique of the "extreme skepticism" of the instrumentalist movement in America, *See* ATIYAH AND SUMMERS, *supra* note 11, at 259. English no-citation rules would not cause Hartians concern on policy grounds of accountability, transparency or equal access to justice.

¹⁸⁸ *Anastasoff*, 223 F.3d at 904. *See also* the critique of retired Judge Patricia Wald recounted by Penelope Pether, *supra* note 158, at 1487.

exclusively quoted the comments of judges in one law review article to illustrate opposition to restrictive no-citation rules on grounds of transparency and accountability.¹⁸⁹ The skepticism of American judges explains why they have been more vocal on the issues of transparency and accountability of no-citation rules than their English counterparts.

An obvious area for further comparison is the difference over free speech arguments. They were copious in the United States and non-existent in England. An in-depth exploration of the right to free speech in the United States and England is beyond the scope of this article.¹⁹⁰ English law has traditionally protected free speech. Scholars date the protection back to “the time of Blackstone and to the foundations of British democratic law.”¹⁹¹ Freedom of expression is restricted by English common law and statutes in the areas of “defamation, sedition, censorship, contempt of court, obscenity and nondisclosure of official secrets.”¹⁹² England comes closest to the United States’ First Amendment in the Human Rights Act of 1998, which gives “further effect to rights and freedoms guaranteed under the European Convention on Human Rights.”¹⁹³ The European Convention explicitly ensures the right to freedom of expression without interference by public authority.¹⁹⁴ Despite these protections of the right to free speech, the English legal community did not object to no-citation rules on free speech grounds.

An explanation for the lack of English objection to no-citation rules on free speech grounds can be extrapolated from the observations of Professor Ronald Dworkin that the rule of law as it exists in the United States has more of an individual rights flavor than is found in England.¹⁹⁵ Dworkin has also observed that England offers less formal protections to free speech and other civil rights than most European countries.¹⁹⁶ Dworkin’s

¹⁸⁹ Schlitz, *supra* note 2, at 48-49.

¹⁹⁰ See R.J. KROTOSZYNSKI, *THE FIRST AMENDMENT IN CROSS-CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE* (2006); Audrey C. Tan, *Employer Liability for Racist Hate Speech by Third-Parties: Comparison of Approaches in Great Britain and the United States*, 20 LOY. L.A. INT’L & COMP. L.J. 873 (1998); Gregory T. Walters, *Bachchan v. India Abroad Publications Inc.: The Clash Between Protection of Free Speech in the United States and Great Britain*, 16 FORDHAM INT’L L. J. 895 (1992/1993). <http://www.cambridge.org/catalogue/catalogue.asp?isbn=0521854016>

¹⁹¹ Susan F. Sandler, *National Security Versus Free Speech: A Comparative Analysis of Publication Review Standards in the United States and Great Britain*, 15 BROOK. J. INT’L L. 711, 741 (1989) (citing D. YARDLEY, *INTRODUCTION TO BRITISH CONSTITUTIONAL LAW* 85-86 (1978)).

¹⁹² *Id.*

¹⁹³ Human Rights Act 1998, 1998 Chapter 42, quoting § 1. Provisions giving effect to freedom of expression are found at § 12.

¹⁹⁴ European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms art. 10(1), Nov. 4, 1950, 213 U.N.T.S. 221.

¹⁹⁵ ATIYAH AND SUMMERS, *supra* note 11, at 52 (citing Ronald Dworkin, *Political Judges and the Rule of Law*, LXIV PROC. BRIT. ACAD. 259, 286 (1978)).

¹⁹⁶ Michael L. Principe, *Albert Venn Dicey and the Principles of the Rule of Law: Is Justice Blind? A Comparative Analysis of the United States and Great Britain*, 22 LOY. L.A. INT’L & COMP. L. REV. 357 (2000) (citing RONALD DWORIN, *A BILL OF RIGHTS FOR BRITAIN* 1 (1990)).

observations explain the free speech fervor expressed in America over no-citation rules and the comparative paucity of concern in England. The lack of English objection to no-citation rules on free speech grounds also confirms the observations of Atiyah and Summers that the English judiciary on the whole has more trust in the political establishment than American judges do.¹⁹⁷ If English judges trust the establishment they would be less likely to raise free speech concerns over no-citation rules.

Examining the volume and substance of policy arguments over no-citation rules illuminates the approaches taken in England and the United States. The volume of policy arguments over no-citation rules were greater in the United States than in England because America has comparatively more experience with no-citation rules and therefore more to say about them. Differences in scholarly communication and the methods used to create the rules also explain the disparity in the volume of policy arguments. Substantive distinctions between policy arguments made in England and the United States are explained by the different oral and written traditions, characteristics of the judiciary, different conceptions of the right to free expression and Dworkin's theories of individual rights.

IV. THE FUTURE OF THE COMMON LAW

The previous sections looked into the past to examine why England and the United States took specific approaches to no-citation rules. This final section looks forward to predict what effect these approaches will have on the common law. As this section will discuss both precedent and *stare decisis* it is important to distinguish the two often confused terms.¹⁹⁸ Precedent is a decision of a court that may or may not be binding on courts in future cases.¹⁹⁹ *Stare decisis* is derived from the Latin "to stand by things that have been decided."²⁰⁰ Under the doctrine of *stare decisis* courts may be bound to follow a particular precedent.²⁰¹ A complete exposition of the

¹⁹⁷ ATIYAH AND SUMMERS, *supra* note 11, at 39.

¹⁹⁸ Martha Draighch-Pearson argues the conflation of precedent and *stare decisis* can be blamed in part for the United States Courts of Appeals adherence to no-citation rules despite criticism. Martha Draighch Pearson, *The Citation of Unpublished Opinions as Precedent*, 55 HASTINGS L.J. 1235, 1252 (2004).

¹⁹⁹ The term is defined similarly in English and American legal dictionaries. The OXFORD DICTIONARY OF LAW 374 (2003) defines it as "A judgment or decision of a court, normally recorded in a law report, used as an authority for reaching the same decision in subsequent cases." The definition continues to distinguish between authoritative and persuasive precedent and to explain the concept of *ratio decendi*. BLACK'S LAW DICTIONARY 1214 (8th ed. 2004) defines it as "A decided case that furnishes a basis for determining later cases involving similar facts or issues."

²⁰⁰ The full Latin term is *et non quieta movere*, "To stand firmly by things that have been decided (and not to rouse/disturb move things at rest." RUSS VERSTEEG, ESSENTIAL LATIN FOR LAWYERS 159 (1992).

²⁰¹ The OXFORD DICTIONARY OF LAW 475 (2003) defines it as "A maxim expressing the underlying basis of the doctrine of precedent, i.e. that it is necessary to abide by former precedents when the same point arises again in litigation." BLACK'S LAW DICTIONARY 1442 (8th ed. 2004) defines it as "the doctrine of precedent, under which it is necessary for a court to follow earlier judicial decisions when the same points arise again in litigation."

differences between the terms in England and the United States is beyond the scope of this article.

A. *The Precedential Value of Unreported Judgments in England*

In England unreported judgments were traditionally given the same precedential weight as reported judgments according to the strict English understanding of *stare decisis*.²⁰² The no-citation rule proposed in *Roberts Petroleum* and codified as a Practice Statement did not, on its face, limit the precedential value given to unreported judgments. The practical effect of early no-citation rules was to limit the precedential value of unreported judgments. If unreported judgments cannot be cited to the court except in limited circumstances they cannot have any force as precedent. This is especially true in England where traditionally judges take a rather passive role and normally do not consider cases other than those brought up by lawyers in their arguments.²⁰³

The early no-citation rule announced in the 1996 Practice Statement was criticized for placing too much power in the hands of the law reporters. Some commentators saw the early rule's restriction on citation of cases based only on their status as reported or unreported as making the law reporters and not the judges "arbiters of what is the law."²⁰⁴

The next phase of English no-citation rules developed in part from Justice Laddie's observation in *Michaels* of a weakness in the early no-citation rules. According to the principles of *stare decisis*, lower courts in England would not be able to ignore unreported judgments of superior courts.²⁰⁵ The 2001 Practice Direction remedied this problem by giving judges the power to declare the precedential value of certain cases the moment they are decided by including an overt statement to that effect in the judgment. The rule also has the retroactive effect of requiring judges to look at cases cited to them to determine if those cases extend or add to existing law or merely apply decided law to the facts. Commentators view it as an extension of the judges' lawmaking role as it took power from the law reporters and gave it to the judges.²⁰⁶

²⁰² For an explanation of the operation of precedent in England See ZANDER, *supra* note 16, at chapters 4-5.

²⁰³ See INGMAN, *supra* note 5, at 439.

²⁰⁴ ZANDER, *supra* note 16, at 323 (citing W. H. Goodhart, *New Law Journal*, 1 April 1983, p. 296).

²⁰⁵ A possible exception would be a judgment that conflicted with the European Convention on Human Rights. *Id.* at 255.

²⁰⁶ Munday, *supra* note 105, at 8.

B. The Precedential Value of Unpublished Opinions in the United States

The American system of comprehensive reporting meant that traditionally there were not many unpublished cases for lawyers to cite. Professor Bob Berring remarked that traditionally if an American case did not appear in the West Reporter system it was not a “real” case in the “eyes of legal authority” and could not be cited.²⁰⁷ More unpublished cases appeared as a result of the movement to control publication in the middle of the twentieth century. The individual federal circuits were left to develop their own rules on the precedential value of unpublished cases. Currently, the rules among the circuits are not consistent.²⁰⁸ Four circuits (the First, Ninth, Tenth and Eleventh) treat them as non-binding precedent and permit citation for persuasive value.²⁰⁹ Six circuits (the Third, Fifth, Seventh, Eighth, D.C. and Federal) have rules declaring unpublished opinions are not precedent.²¹⁰ The Second and Fourth circuits have no rules.²¹¹

The precedential value of unpublished opinions was the central issue explored in both the *Anastasoff* and *Hart* cases. Judge Arnold’s opinion in *Anastasoff*, is an impassioned historical defense of the doctrine of precedent. Arnold contends the Framers intended the doctrine of precedent to limit judicial power. He argues their understanding of precedent was derived from the writings of Blackstone, Coke and other authorities. The opinion is filled with quotations from these authorities expounding a view of precedent as a limit on judicial power. A judge under this view determines the law “not according to his own judgements, but according to known laws” and does not “pronounce a new law but maintains and expounds the old.”²¹²

An opposite perspective on the precedential value of unpublished opinions is offered by Judge Kozinski in the *Hart* case.²¹³ Judge Kozinski devotes the bulk of the opinion to an eloquent defense of no-citation rules. He takes issue with Judge Arnold’s historical defense of precedent. Judge Kozinski does not believe the Framers had such a rigid view of precedent, contends there was lively debate over the issue and cites examples of

²⁰⁷ Robert Berring, *Legal Information and the Search for Cognitive Authority*, 88 CAL. L. REV. 1673, 1692 (2000).

²⁰⁸ Draigh-Pearson, *supra* note 198, contains a useful chart noting the precedential value given to unpublished opinions by the rules of each federal circuit. The discussion in the following sentences is adapted from her article.

²⁰⁹ 1ST CIR. R. 32.3(a)(2); 9TH CIR. R. 36.3(a); 10TH CIR. R. 36.3(a); and, 11TH CIR R. 36.2.

²¹⁰ 3D CIR. R. APP. I IOP 5.2; 5TH CIR. R. 47.5.4; 7TH CIR. R. 53(b)(2)(iv); 8TH CIR. R. 28A(i); D.C. CIR. R. 36(c)(2); and, FED. CIR. R. 47.6(b).

²¹¹ 4TH CIR. R. 36(c) and 6TH CIR. R. 28(g).

²¹² *Anastasoff*, 223 F.3d at 901.

²¹³ *Hart*, 266 F.3d at 1155.

flexibility in the common law. The absence of a strict hierarchy of courts and reports often rejected as unreliable are offered as examples of impediments to the strict system of precedent Judge Arnold portrays. Judge Kozinski also cites examples of early American judges ignoring their own decisions to refute Judge Arnold's historical arguments.²¹⁴ Several law review articles examining the historical methods of both Judge Arnold and Judge Kozinski conclude that Judge Kozinski's analysis is the more sound.²¹⁵

Anastasoff, *Hart* and Rule 32.1 do nothing to resolve the question of the precedential weight of unpublished decisions in the United States. The Committee Note accompanying the text of Rule 32.1 states "Most importantly, it [Rule 32.1] says nothing whatsoever about the effect that a court must give to one of its own "unpublished" or "non-precedential" opinions or to the "unpublished" or "non-precedential" opinions of another court."²¹⁶ Because Rule 32.1 does away with any restrictions on citing unpublished opinions attorneys will cite them and courts will be called upon to decide their precedential value. Patrick Schlitz, Reporter to the Advisory Committee, believes the Committee is "naïve" in its position that the Rule allows courts to maintain a distinction between precedential and non-precedential opinions.²¹⁷ In his capacity as Reporter, Schlitz received and synthesized a number of comments on the Rule including comments from several judges who believed "as a practical matter, we expect that [unpublished opinions] will be accorded significant precedential effect, simply because the judges of a court will be naturally reluctant to repudiate or ignore previous decisions."²¹⁸ Schlitz also makes an observation similar to Justice Laddie's postscript in the *Michaels* case that lower courts will have to treat unpublished opinions of superior courts as binding under the doctrine of *stare decisis*.²¹⁹

C. Comparing the Operation of *Stare Decisis*

Atiyah and Summers' *Form and Substance in Anglo-American Law* compares the operation of *stare decisis* in England and the United States in

²¹⁴ *Hart*, 266 F.3d at 1155, n. 20.

²¹⁵ Christian F. Southwick, *Unprecedented: The Eighth Circuit Repaves Anitquas Vias With a New Constitutional Doctrine*, 21 REV. LITIG. 191 (2002). Joshua R. Mandell, *Trees That Fall in the Forrest: The Precedential Effect of Unpublished Opinions*, 34 LOY. L.A. L. REV. 1255 (2001).

²¹⁶ Report of the Advisory Committee on Appellate Rules, May 22, 2003, <http://www.uscourts.gov/rules/Reports/AP5-2003.pdf>.

²¹⁷ Schlitz, *supra* note 2, at 40.

²¹⁸ *Id.* (citing Letter from John L. Coffey et al., Circuit Judges, U.S. Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit, to Samuel A. Alito, Jr., Chair, Advisory Comm. on Appellate Rules 1 (Feb. 11, 2004), http://www.secretjustice.org/pdf_files/Comments/03-AP-396.pdf (Comment 03-AP-396)).

²¹⁹ *Id. Michaels* [2001] Ch. at 521.

support of the book's overall thesis that the English legal system is more formal than the American legal system. English courts were historically bound to follow their own previous decisions and lower courts followed the decisions of higher courts. The practice relaxed somewhat in the late twentieth century, but English courts' approach to *stare decisis* is still very strict by American standards. The authors explore several aspects of *stare decisis* in their comparison.

First, they contend United States courts have more power to disregard otherwise binding precedents than English courts. United States courts can disregard an otherwise binding precedent if it has not undergone a trial period to prove it is in fact settled law. To the contrary, English courts can be bound instantaneously by decisions.²²⁰ An American judge may disregard an otherwise binding case if it was not unanimously decided. In England judges devote a great deal of effort to dissecting the *ratio decidendi* of a plurality judgment and follow it.²²¹

The United States Supreme Court and the highest courts of each American state are capable of overruling their own previous decisions as well as the decisions of inferior courts. In contrast, the House of Lords has only enjoyed the power to overrule its own previous decisions since 1966.²²² The authors also argue that precedents have less mandatory formality in America and English judges are more willing to follow decisions they do not agree with and are not technically bound to follow.

These examples are used to support the conclusion that English judges approach *stare decisis* in this manner because it "contributes significantly to the predictability of decisions and certainty in the law."²²³ Atiyah and Summers are not alone in this contention. Delmar Karlen's book *Appellate Courts in the United States and England* also concluded that English judges follow a more rigid doctrine of precedent than American judges which keeps English law "simple and compact" as judges "enjoy broad discretion in molding the law."²²⁴ Judge Richard Posner's *Law and Legal Theory in England and America* characterizes English judges as modest positivists with a firmer commitment to *stare decisis* than American judges.²²⁵ Posner argues these characteristics of English judges combined with the

²²⁰ ZANDER, *supra* note 16, at 215 (citing *Re Schweppes Ltd's Agreement* [1965] 1 All E.R. 195).

²²¹ ATIYAH AND SUMMERS, *supra* note 11, at 120-22. *But see* Roderick Munday, *All for One, And One for All: The Rise to Prominence of the Composite Judgment in the Civil Division of the Court of Appeal* 61 C.L.J. 321 (2002) noting the decline of the plurality judgment in England.

²²² Practice Direction (Judicial Precedent), [1966] 1 W.L.R. 1234 (H.L.).

²²³ *Id.* at 133.

²²⁴ KARLEN, *supra* note 11, at 86-89.

²²⁵ POSNER, *supra* note 11, at 90.

proportionally smaller size of the English legal system, in comparison with the American system, are both “cause and effect of the greater certainty of English law.”²²⁶

These theories are supported by Richard P. Caldarone’s 2004 study of the judicial decisions of the House of Lords and United States Supreme Court decisions. He found House of Lords decisions cited fewer and more relevant cases, cited the same cases more often and gave more deference to lower court decisions than United States Supreme Court decisions.²²⁷ Caldarone concluded English judges are more formal and give more respect to previous decisions in contrast with American judges who operate more freely in a more flexible system.²²⁸

The provisions of the 2001 Practice Direction, enabling the English judiciary to determine the precedential force of certain judgments, appears to confirm their roles as system shapers who contribute to the predictability and certainty of the common law. However, a critical analysis of the operation of this rule casts doubt on the power it gives English judges to use the rule for these purposes. From a purely technical point the statements required by the rule may lack the force of law. Traditionally, only the *ratio decidendi* of a case is binding. The *ratio decidendi* of a case is defined as “the principle or principles of law on which the court reaches its decision.”²²⁹ Statements that a particular judgment should be binding precedent in the future do not form the *ratio decidendi* and therefore courts would not be bound to follow the judgment in the future.²³⁰

Others have questioned the ability of judges to meaningfully control the growth of the common law by declaring the precedential value of a decision the moment it is written. Judges as mere mortals who lack omniscience are limited in their ability to use this rule to control or shape the common law in a meaningful way.²³¹ How could any judge envision the myriad of uses and applications for a particular case the day it is decided? The English commentator G. W. Bartholomew eloquently described this difficulty:

²²⁶ *Id.* at 90, 94. Posner argues that English cases “turn over” at a lower rate than American cases. He proves this assertion by showing the average age of citations in English Court of Appeals decisions is 28.38 years compared with 9.9 years in United States Federal Court of Appeals decisions. For a discussion of the uncertainty caused by American no-citation rules see Michael B.W. Sinclair’s *Anastasoff v. Hart: The Constitutionality and Wisdom of Denying Precedential Authority to Circuit Court Decisions* 64 U. PITT L. REV. 695, 701 (2003).

²²⁷ Richard P. Caldarone, *Precedent in Operation: A Comparison of the Judicial House of Lords and the US Supreme Court*, 2004 P.L. 759. Because the House of Lords and Supreme Court do not hear the same types of cases the author limited his study to cases reviewing administrative actions.

²²⁸ *Id.* at 766.

²²⁹ The OXFORD DICTIONARY OF LAW 407 (2003).

²³⁰ Munday, *supra* note 105, at 8.

²³¹ Richard B. Cappalli, *The Common Law’s Case Against Non-Precedential Opinions* 76 S. CAL. L. REV. 755, 773 (2004).

The somewhat amoeboid principles of the common law grow or are restrained by their application, re-application or non-application to varying fact situations. They are re-phrased, re-stated and re-iterated over and over again, and what eventually emerges is often startlingly different from that from which one started. The great principle of the common law in this context is that ‘great oaks from little acorns grow’ - this is the *leitmotif* of the judicial process. It is the essence of the common law system that freedom, and all other principles of law, broaden down from precedent to precedent. The fact that a so-called principle of law applies in this situation rather than that, is in fact part and parcel of the principle itself. The fact that a so-called principle is phrased in one way rather than another - something which Lord Diplock tended to dismiss as a ‘mere choice of phraseology’ - is not separable from the principle itself. To paraphrase Wittgenstein: the principle is its statement.²³²

Roderick Munday also discussed the difficulty of determining which cases will be precedential “in a common law system where the facts of the cases are inextricably intertwined with statements of principle, such a dichotomy [between precedential and non-precedential cases] cannot systematically be maintained.”²³³ Attempting to prospectively declare the precedential value of cases is uncharacteristic of a common law system and seems more appropriate to a civil law system. Roderick Munday emphasized this point when discussing the *Roberts Petroleum* decision with a quote from Pierre Legrand, “The common law awaits the interpretive occasion. It is reactive and not, like the civil law, proactive or projective.”²³⁴ Another English commentator argues “there has been no plan in the development of the common law” and “the absence of a plan has been a condition of progress.”²³⁵

In England the failures of law reporters to accurately select all precedential cases for publication demonstrates the impossibility of the task. Munday cites several cases that had a material affect on the law but were not selected for publication by the law reporters.²³⁶ Given adequate time

²³² G.W. Bartholomew, *Unreported Judgments in the House of Lords*, NEW L.J., 2 Sept. 1983, p. 781, (cited in ZANDER, *supra* note 16, at 322. Interestingly, Bartholomew was writing to criticize the rule proposed in *Roberts Petroleum* and not Justice Laddie’s proposals in the *Michaels* case).

²³³ Munday, *supra* note 141, at 86.

²³⁴ Munday, *Over-Citation: Stemming the Tide – Part II*, 166 J.P. 29, 30 (2002) (citing *What Can Borges Teach Us?* in FRAGMENTS ON LAW-AS-CULTURE 69 (1999)).

²³⁵ S.F.C. Milsom, *The Development of the Common Law* 81 L.Q.R. 496, 497-98 (1965).

²³⁶ Munday, *supra* note 234, at 31.

the same criticism could likely be leveled against English judges declaring the precedential value of their opinions under the 2001 Practice Direction.

American commentators have echoed these sentiments, arguing that rules purporting to deny the precedential authority of a case in advance misunderstand the concept of precedent and roles of the precedent court and subsequent courts.²³⁷ The role of the precedent making court is to characterize its decision broadly, narrowly or in any way it chooses but it is not to decide “for one place and time only.”²³⁸ It is up to subsequent courts to determine the extent to which it is bound by previous decisions. Patrick J. Schlitz also questioned the ability of judges to predict the future precedential impact of their decisions citing the comment of one American lawyer who called the practice “hero-worship taken beyond the cusp of reality.”²³⁹

American courts, like English law reporters, have not always accurately predicted the precedential value of a case the moment it is published. Schlitz notes a number of unpublished American cases that have been reviewed by the Supreme Court (an indication that something important was discussed in the case), unpublished cases that resolve unsettled questions of law and unpublished cases declaring acts of Congress unconstitutional.²⁴⁰

Rule 32.1’s silence on the precedential value of unpublished opinions does nothing to clarify the issue in America. Circuits that allow judges to issue unpublished opinions and to treat those opinions as non-precedential achieve the same result at the English 2001 Practice Direction. Issuing an unpublished decision and not giving it precedential value in the future accomplishes essentially the same result as including a statement in a judgment that the case establishes no new principle of law and should not be extended beyond the instant case.

American courts also possess numerous other devices that allow them to control the common law by disposing of cases without writing a potentially precedential opinion. Appellate relief from the Supreme Court is

²³⁷ Draigh-Pearson, *supra* note 198, at 1255-59. See Cappalli, *supra* note 231. Frederick Schauer, *Precedent* 39 STAN. L. REV. 571, 574 (1987) “At the moment we consider the wisdom of some currently contemplated decision, however, the characterization of that decision is comparatively open. There is no authoritative characterization apart from what we choose to create.” “Thus, only the precedents of the past, and not forward looking precedents, stand before us clothed with generations of characterizations and re characterizations.

²³⁸ Draigh-Pearson, *supra* note 198, at 1258-59.

²³⁹ Schlitz, *supra* note 2, at 46

²⁴⁰ *Id.* at 46 - 47. See also Cappalli, *supra* note 231, at 797.

notoriously rare. The Court refuses to hear most cases by issuing a brief order denying certiorari that provides no insight into the Court's refusal to accept the appeal. Summary dispositions are used by courts to decide cases with one or two sentences lacking any insight into the court's reasoning. Vacatur upon settlement is a practice whereby courts destroy their decisions based on a settlement reached by the parties.²⁴¹ California, Hawaii and Arizona state courts depublish opinions by retrospectively removing them from the record and rendering them worthless as precedent after they have been published.²⁴²

The ability of judges in both England and America to control the common law by prospectively predicting the precedential weight of their decisions is questionable. It remains to be seen whether English law will remain predictable and certain through the exercise of this power.

D. Hart & Dworkin

The opposite approaches taken in England and America to no-citation rules confirms the dichotomy between the jurisprudential theories of H.L.A. Hart and Ronald Dworkin. The late Oxford Professor of Jurisprudence Herbert Lionel Adolphus Hart is credited with re-energizing English positivism.²⁴³ Hart was a formalist in many respects, especially in his view of the comprehensiveness of existing law.²⁴⁴ For Hart the "life of the law" consists of rules which "do not require a fresh judgment from case to case."²⁴⁵ Hart believed the "central or core cases, falling fair and square within the scope of a rule, give rise to no indeterminacy, and can be dealt with by those whose business it is to apply the law without falling back on any element of discretion."²⁴⁶ Pre-existing rules are common, cases of first impression are rare and judges don't need to go beyond the plain meaning of the text or grapple with substantive meaning.²⁴⁷

The English no-citation rules echo Hart's positivist and formalistic approach to the judge's task. The rules allow English judges to maintain a neat and tidy closed common law universe. Judges operating in this universe can resolve most cases by relying on well known and settled

²⁴¹ Draigh, *supra* note 2, at 764.

²⁴² Pether, *supra* note 158, at 1479.

²⁴³ ATIYAH & SUMMERS, *supra* note 11, at 258.

²⁴⁴ *Id.* at 259.

²⁴⁵ H.L.A. Hart, *THE CONCEPT OF LAW*, 132 (1961).

²⁴⁶ ATIYAH & SUMMERS, *supra* note 11, at 260. In a postscript discovered posthumously and published in a second edition, Hart softens his position stating that when "existing law fails to dictate any decision as the correct one ... the judge must exercise his lawmaking powers" subject to constraints. HART, *supra* note 245, at 273.

²⁴⁷ ATIYAH & SUMMERS, *supra* note 11, at 259.

precedents and do not want or need lawyers citing unpublished judgments that serve to only clutter up the common law. The rules allow judges to keep the common law in order by selecting which judgments will have precedential value in the future and which will not.

Ronald Dworkin was a student of Hart's at Oxford and offers an opposing view critical of Hart's positivism. Dworkin's "noble dream" is for judges to come to the correct answer in deciding cases by providing the closest fit with existing laws, rules and principles.²⁴⁸ Dworkin's theory of what to do in "hard cases" meshes well with the American approach to no-citation rules expressed in Rule 32.1.²⁴⁹ Judges faced with hard cases where existing rules don't seem to fit should not stick with the rules as Hartian formalists but should instead search for new rules that improve the law.²⁵⁰

For Dworkin's theory to work the judge must be able to find new rules to fit in the hard cases. Rule 32.1's approach to unpublished opinions is the perfect match for judges dreaming the noble dream. It allows lawyers to bring unpublished decisions containing new and unique solutions to the attention of the judge. Scholars contend that Hart's theories are more closely aligned with the English legal system while Dworkin's theories appropriately describe the American system.²⁵¹ Examining Hart and Dworkin's theories through the lens of no-citation rules supports these characterizations.

E. Enforcement of the Rules

When examining the impact of no-citation rules on the common law of England and America it is important to determine how stringently the rules are followed and enforced. In England it appears the rules are largely ignored. Only a handful of English cases, in addition to *Roberts Petroleum* and *Michaels*, contain any reference to lawyers citing an inappropriate number of cases or citing unreported cases unnecessarily.²⁵² None of these cases imposes any sanctions or restrictions on lawyers for this behavior, they merely complain about the practice.

²⁴⁸ *Id.* at 263.

²⁴⁹ *Id.*

²⁵⁰ *Id.*

²⁵¹ POSNER, *supra* note 11, at 36. ATIYAH & SUMMERS, *supra* note 11, at 264.

²⁵² Munday, *supra* note 17, at 1338 (citing *Naviera de Canarias SA v. Nacional Hispanica Aseduradora SA*, [1977] 2 W.L.R. 442, 446; *In de Lasala v. de Lasala*, [1979] 2 All E.R. 1146; *Lambert v. Lewis*, [1982] A.C. 274; *Pioneer Shipping Ltd. v. BTP Tioxide Ltd.* [1981] 2 All ER 1030, 1046; *MV Yorke Motors v. Edwards* [1982] 1 All ER 1024). Munday, *supra* note 234, at 31 (citing *Department of Health and Social Security v. Evans*, [1985] 2 All ER 471, 479; *Vodafone Cellular Ltd. v. Shaw*, [1995] STC 353. R (on the application of Carroll and another) v. Secretary of State for the Home Department, [2001] EWCA Civ. 1224.).

Munday admits the rule called for in *Roberts Petroleum* has only had limited impact, has not stopped lawyers from citing unreported cases and that only a few judges have commented on the practice in “relatively isolated *dicta*.”²⁵³ The comments of several speakers at the conference Law Reporting, Legal Information and Electronic Media in the New Millennium held at the Cambridge University in 2000 confirm these observations. Mr. Behrens, a barrister, commented that the limit on citation announced in *Roberts Petroleum* and codified in the 1996 Practice Statement is ignored, no one has ever faced a challenge based on the rule and “the rule really has gone.”²⁵⁴ This situation is confirmed through the additional comments of Lord Justice Buxton.²⁵⁵ Justice Laddie, author of the *Michaels* postscript and member of the Working Party that produced the 2001 Practice Direction, has commented that the Practice Direction is not being followed by lawyers or enforced by the courts.²⁵⁶

Additional research confirms the anecdotal evidence that no-citation rules are largely ignored. A search of the Westlaw database United Kingdom Reports All (UK-RPTS-ALL)²⁵⁷ for the citations to the relevant Practice Statements and Directions reveals no reported or unreported case where an English lawyer who has violated the no-citation rules receives any form of punishment other than a verbal reprimand from the court.²⁵⁸

In the United States it appears that no-citation rules are observed by most lawyers. Patrick J. Schlitz, Reporter for the Advisory Committee on Rule 32.1, received numerous comments from attorneys complaining of the difficulty of sorting through the no-citation rules of each local jurisdiction.²⁵⁹ Schlitz contends attorneys have wasted thousands of billable hours each year and have charged clients millions more in fees for picking through these rules. The fact that attorneys took time to complain about

²⁵³ Munday, *supra* note 234, at 31. Munday has subsequently commented that English lawyers avoid excessive citation to irrelevant unreported cases because such practices do not persuade judges irrespective of whether they are prohibited by no-citation rules. Comments of Roderick Munday (Aug. 25, 2006) (on file with author).

²⁵⁴ LAW REPORTING, LEGAL INFORMATION AND ELECTRONIC MEDIA IN THE NEW MILLENNIUM, *Supra* note 33, at 49.

²⁵⁵ *Id.* at 9.

²⁵⁶ Telephone interview with Sir Hugh Laddie who retired from the bench in 2005 and is now a consultant with the firm of Willoughby & Partners, a firm specializing in intellectual property law with offices in London and Oxford (May 11, 2006).

²⁵⁷ This is the most comprehensive database of United Kingdom cases available on Westlaw. It contains “court decisions from the Law Reports series published by the Incorporated Council of Law Reporting for England and Wales, Lloyd’s Law Reports published by LLP Reference Publishing, the Scottish Council of Law Reporting, and the Sweet & Maxwell series of law reports on Westlaw. Coverage begins with 1865.” Description retrieved from Westlaw, June 23, 2006.

²⁵⁸ This search strategy was adopted under the hypothesis that if a lawyer was sanctioned for violating a no-citation rule the court would cite the rule violated.

²⁵⁹ Schlitz, *supra* note 72, at 1471.

locating no-citation rules is a decent indication that most of them feel obliged to follow them. American attorneys are ethically obliged to comply with no-citation rules. The American Bar Association's Committee on Ethics and Professional Responsibility issued an Ethics Opinion declaring it "ethically improper for a lawyer to cite to a court an 'unpublished' opinion of that court or of another court where the forum court has a specific rule prohibiting any reference in briefs to ['unpublished opinions']".²⁶⁰ The Committee Note accompanying Rule 32.1 mentions the research frustrations and ethical concerns of American attorneys as justifications for Rule 32.1.²⁶¹

In the United States when lawyers violate no-citation rules courts usually require an explanation of the transgression but, similar to the practice in England, no federal court has imposed sanctions for violation of a no-citation rule in a published or unpublished opinion.²⁶² Federal courts have refused to consider cases cited in violation of no-citation rules.²⁶³ When Rule 32.1 comes into effect it will make questions of compliance and enforcement moot, at least on citation grounds.

F. Implications for the Future

The fact that no-citation rules are largely ignored in England calls into question the thesis of Atiyah and Summer's *Form and Substance in Anglo-American Law* that the English legal system is more formal than the American.²⁶⁴ A central tenant of formalism is that rules are followed.²⁶⁵ Is the practice of ignoring no-citation rules in England evidence of a departure from formalism?

A review of Atiyah and Summer's work questioned whether England had in fact cast off formalism in favor of substance.²⁶⁶ The review contends

²⁶⁰ Formal Op. 94-386R.

²⁶¹ Committee Note accompanying FED. R. APP. P. 32.1(a), *supra* note 129.

²⁶² It is possible that a court has issued sanctions through a minute order or another mechanism that would not result in a published or unpublished opinion. *Hart*, 266 F.3d at 1180, is the most obvious example of a court finding a technical violation of a no-citation rule but declining to impose sanctions. For additional examples see: *Schlitz*, *supra* note 2, at 31. See *Holgate v. Baldwin*, 425 F.3d 671 (9th Cir. 2005); *Sorchini v. City of Covina*, 250 F.3d 706 (9th Cir. 2001); *White Hen Pantry, Div. Jewel Companies, Inc. v. Johnson*, 599 F.Supp. 718 (E.D.Wis., 1984).

²⁶³ *United States v. Kinsley*, 518 F.2d 665 (8th Cir. 1975), *United States v. Joly*, 493 F.3d 672, 676 (2nd Cir. 1974) (cited in Reynolds and Richman, *supra* note 68, at 1180 nn. 77, 78.)

²⁶⁴ ATIYAH & SUMMERS, *supra* note 11, at 1. It should be noted that *Form and Substance* was written in 1987 and doesn't discuss *Roberts Petroleum* (decided in 1983) or no-citation rules.

²⁶⁵ This is an oversimplification of the theory. For a complete exposition of formalism see Martin Stone, *Formalism in THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF JURISPRUDENCE AND PHILOSOPHY OF LAW* Chapter 5 (2002).

²⁶⁶ David F. Partlett, *The Common Law as Cricket*, 43 VAND. L. REV. 1401, 1403 (1990). Others also contend that British Formalism is yielding to other ideologies, see Jonathan D. Levitsky, *The Europeanization of the British Legal Style*, 42 AM. J. COMP. L. 347 (1994).

that England will adopt the American version of substantive reasoning.²⁶⁷ This raises the broader question of whether ignoring no-citation rules will transform English common law from a small well tended garden into something more American.²⁶⁸ Will the English system trade its clarity and predictability for more individual rights? Will the multitude of American theories in recent years including feminism, race theory and critical legal studies become more prevalent in the English legal system?²⁶⁹ Is this practice just another example of the Americanization of English law?²⁷⁰

A recent article by Munday demonstrated that unreported English judgments have created uncertainty in English criminal law.²⁷¹ Munday contemplates that uncertainty could be discovered in other areas of English law by lawyers with the time and ambition to pour through the mass of readily available unreported judgments.²⁷² The result could be the reconfiguration “of what were assumed to be settled legal principles.”²⁷³ Munday terms this “a heady, and frankly disturbing prospect.”²⁷⁴

In America, Rule 32.1’s removal of restrictions on the citation of unpublished opinions could act to perpetuate the current state of the legal system. The rule is silent on the precedential effect courts must give these opinions but judges and scholars have predicted that they will be increasingly accorded precedential authority.²⁷⁵ As more unpublished opinions are given precedential weight American law will continue to grow and expand. Rule 32.1 represents only an incremental departure from earlier efforts to control the growth of the common law in America. The rule leaves American judges with many devices to control the common law including criteria for publication, issuance of unpublished opinions and the ability to ignore an unpublished opinion as non-precedential.

CONCLUSION

England and America have adopted two divergent approaches to no-citation rules. The English restrictive approach is a sharp break with the

²⁶⁷ Partlett, *supra* note 266.

²⁶⁸ The allusion to English judges tending a garden was borrowed from LOUIS L. JAFFE’S ENGLISH AND AMERICAN JUDGES AS LAWMAKERS 59 (1969).

²⁶⁹ I thank Professor Arthur G. LeFrancois for illuminating this point.

²⁷⁰ MARTINEAU, *supra* note 11, at 129 discussing the use of skeleton arguments in England as step toward the Americanization of English law.

²⁷¹ Roderick Munday, *Law Reports, Transcripts, and the Fabric of the Criminal Law: A Speculation* 68 J.C.L. 227, 234-235 (2004).

²⁷² *Id.* at 243.

²⁷³ *Id.* at 229.

²⁷⁴ *Id.* at 243.

²⁷⁵ *Supra* note 218.

tradition of lawyers freely citing authority and was adopted primarily for efficiency reasons to control the perceived flood of citations to unreported judgments. In contrast the American approach does away with restrictions on citation to unpublished cases and was adopted after years of experimentation and vigorous policy debates.

The inequality of experience with no-citation rules between the two countries and the lack of empirical data on their impact in England explains the reliance on efficiency arguments in England and their rejection in America. There was markedly more discussion over the policy implications of no-citation rules in America than England. Reasons for this difference include the countries' disparity in experience with the rules, the divergent nature of scholarly communication in the two countries and the different methodologies used to enact the rules. Different substantive policy arguments over no-citation rules were made in each country. Concerns over no-citation rules impact on transparency, accountability and freedom of expression were expressed in America but not in England. Distinctions between the oral and written traditions, unique traits of each countries judiciary and differences in rights explain the varying levels of concern.

English no-citation rules attempt to regulate the precedential value of certain judicial decisions while American rules do not address the issue. On their face the English rules confirm existing theories about the character of the English judiciary, ongoing efforts to control the common law and the nature of English law. The reality that the rules are ignored calls into question traditional notions of English formalism and the ability of England to meaningfully control the growth of its common law.

Additional research could be conducted into the implications of the English practices. It would be interesting to examine if and how English law is changing through principles handed down in unreported judgments. Critics and supporters of no-citation rules will closely monitor the implementation of Rule 32.1 in America. It certainly will not mark the end of the debate in that country.

It remains to be seen whether publication practices and no-citation rules are effective devices for controlling the growth of the common law. Perhaps Joseph Story was correct when he remarked over one hundred and seventy years ago "In truth, the common law, as a science, must forever be in progress; and no limits can be assigned to its principles or improvements."²⁷⁶

²⁷⁶ *The Miscellaneous Writings of Joseph Story*, from "Value and Importance of Legal Studies," a discourse
