Estimating the Ideal Points of Organized Interests in Legal Policy Space

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Scholars have been limited in the development and testing of theory regarding the incidence and impact of organized interest advocacy at the U.S. Supreme Court due to a critical measurement issue - the inability to properly locate these interests in the legal policy space in which the Court operates. We treat the positions articulated by organized interests in their amicus curiae briefs as "votes" in Court cases, allowing us to use an IRT model to estimate the locations of both the 600 most active organized interests and the justices in the same legal policy space. The resulting ideal point estimates yield substantive implications (e.g., the distribution of organized interest ideal points is slightly to the left of the justices) and lend themselves to a number of future applications to important questions involving judicial politics in the United States.

Key Words: Supreme Court; organized interests; interest groups; amicus curiae; ideal points

The synergistic development of spatial models of judicial decision-making, along with innovations in the measurement of the ideal points of judicial and legislative actors, has had a major impact on the social scientific study of law and courts (e.g., Bailey 2007; Carrubba et al. 2012; Epstein et al. 2007; Martin and Quinn 2002; Owens 2010). These innovations, however, have not extended to an important set of actors in the legal arena - organized interests. Though the heavy involvement of organized interests is one of the defining features of the modern Supreme Court (Epstein 1991; Hansford and Johnson 2014), scholars have been limited in the development and testing of theory regarding the incidence and impact of the participation of these extra-legal actors. This is due to a critical measurement issue - the inability to properly locate these interests in the legal policy space in which the Court operates - and is particularly consequential given the importance of these actors for the study of law and courts (see Barker 1967; Box-Steffensmeier, Christenson, and Hitt 2013; Collins 2008; Cortner 1968; Epstein 1991; Kobylka 1991; O'Connor 1980; Vose 1959) and questions of democratic representation, or the distortion thereof, in the branch of government generally deemed least representative.[1]

We use the positions articulated in amicus curiae briefs filed in the 1953 through 2013 Supreme Court Terms to estimate the ideal points of the 600 most active organized interests in the Court's legal policy space. We treat these brief-based "votes" on cases as analogous to the

[1] Measures of the ideological positions of organized interests have largely been limited to the subjective coding of interests' self-advertised policy positions (see Hansford 2004; Manzi and Hall 2017). These measures suffer from subjectivity, incompleteness (many interests active at the Court do not advertise their policy positions), coarseness (i.e., they classify interests as either liberal or conservative), and noncomparability with measures of judicial ideology.

votes cast by the justices in these same cases, allowing us to estimate the locations of these organized interests and the justices in the same legal policy space. Armed with data on these "votes" by interests and justices, we utilize the approaches employed to create contemporary measures of judicial ideology (Martin and Quinn 2002; Bailey 2007; Clark and Lauderdale 2010) and estimate an item response theory (IRT) model that treats the ideal points of these actors as a latent, unobservable trait to be estimated via Bayesian Markov chain Monte Carlo methods.

After presenting our "Amici Space" estimates for the organized interests and justices, we then proceed to compare our estimates with Bonica's (2013) estimates for the ideal points of interests in Congress' legislative policy space. The estimates correlate quite highly, perhaps suggesting the legal and legislative policy spaces are not all that different. We then estimate issue-specific ideal points in four areas: civil rights, criminal process, First Amendment, and economics. We find that these issue-specific ideal points correlate very highly with ideal points estimated when all cases are pooled together, implying that for most organized interests the Court's policy space is reasonably unidimensional. This is not true for government associations, however, which do not map well onto the same single dimension as all the other "voters."

Along the way, we highlight a number of substantive implications of our estimates. We show, for example, that the distribution of organized interest ideal points is slightly to the left of those of the justices. Perhaps more interesting is the evidence that these interests do not appear more extreme than the justices. We also show that over time the location of the median amicus brief filer roughly tracks the location of the median justice. We conclude with a discussion of possible applications of these ideal point estimates to important questions involving judicial politics.

An IRT Model of Ideal Points in Legal Policy Space

We use the item response framework to estimate the ideal points of interest. Item response theory was developed in the context of educational testing (Baker and Kim 2004), where researchers assume that the ability of a test-taker is a latent trait that cannot be directly observed. With the two-parameter item response model, the probability of a person correctly answering a question (i.e., an item) is a function of both the difficulty level of the question and the person's ability, as conditioned by the extent to which this question discriminates between high and low ability individuals.

This same approach has been used by political scientists to estimate the location of political actors in policy space. In this context, an actor's location in policy space (i.e., their ideal point) is the latent trait. Instead of answering questions, per se, these actors are voting yes or no on policy items. These votes are then modeled as a function of an actor's ideal point, the "difficulty" of the item being voted on, and the extent to which this item differentiates actors based on their ideal points. Using this approach, ideal points have been estimated for members of Congress (e.g., Clinton, Jackman, and Rivers 2004), Federal agencies (Clinton et al. 2012), Supreme Court justices (Martin and Quinn 2002), and combinations of actors (Bailey 2007).

Here, we use an IRT model to estimate the location of organized interests in the Supreme Court's legal policy space.[2] Each Supreme Court case presents the justices with the choice of

[2] For reasons of theory, practicality, and convention, we assume that the underlying policy space is unidimensional. Spatial theories of courts and judging are typically based on the assumption that there is a single, fundamental dimension that can reasonably represent legal policy space (e.g., Hammond, Bonneau, and Sheehan 2005; Owens 2010). On the practical side, for many of

voting to reverse or affirm a lower court decision. Importantly, we treat the positions advocated by organized interests in their amicus curiae briefs as equivalent to votes in these cases. Thus, if the American Civil Liberties Union files an amicus brief advocating that the Court reverse a lower court decision, then it is treated as if the ACLU voted to reverse. The positions expressed in amicus briefs can be reasonably considered as analogous to the votes cast by justices as both the justices and the organized interests are formally expressing positions on the outcome of the case (i.e., "item") in question.

There is are two potential issues with using amicus positions to estimate the ideal points of organized interests. First, IRT ideal point estimation models assume that the votes are independent of each other. This is a necessary assumption, but one that is likely violated to some degree in all ideal point estimation endeavors, whether the context is Congress or the Supreme Court. While it is not clear that the relationship is causal, there is some evidence of an association between the number of briefs filed in support of a position and the likelihood of that position prevailing on the merits (Collins 2008; c.f., Songer and Sheehan 1993).[3] Perhaps

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the interests there will not be enough "votes" to relax this assumption and allow for a second dimension. Finally, with the exception of Lauderdale and Clark (2012), work on ideal point estimation for justices (e.g., Clark and Lauderdale 2010; Martin and Quinn 2002), judges (e.g., Epstein et al. 2007), interest groups (e.g., Bonica 2013), legislators (Bailey 2007), and agencies (e.g., Clinton et al. 2012) typically assumes unidimensionality. Below, however, we empirically examine the plausibility of this assumption.

[3] There is also evidence of amicus curiae briefs influencing the Court at the certiorari (Caldeira and Wright 1988) and opinion-writing (Collins, Corley, and Hamner 2015; Spriggs and

mitigating this particular concern to some extent is the evidence of counteractive lobbying at the Court, where interests file on both sides of cases/issues (Hansford 2011; Solowiej and Collins 2009).

The second issue involves missing data and, fortunately, is addressable. A sitting justice will cast a vote in all Court cases heard (rare recusals aside), while even a relatively active organized interest will only file amicus briefs, and thus "vote," in a fraction of these cases. The ACLU, for instance, will not cast an amicus-based vote in most cases.[4] The same spatial logic that underlies the IRT ideal point estimation model implies that these missing votes are not missing-at-random. An organized interest is likely to abstain from voting unless the difference in the utilities associated with the two possible outcomes is sufficiently large. In other words, an organized interest will not vote in a case if, due to its ideal point, the interest is indifferent or sufficiently close to indifferent to the two possible outcomes in the case. If this is so, then the missing votes for an organized interest are not random and are instead a function of the quantity of interest; the interest's ideal point in the Court's legal policy space.

Wahlbeck 1997) stages of the decision process, though this is not of as much concern here as our estimates are based on positions taken on the merits.

[4] There are also missing votes for all the justices in the data in the sense that Justice Scalia, for example, did not vote in any of the cases prior to his appointment in 1986. This form of missingness is ignored in all IRT models of justice ideal points and we likewise ignore it here. Importantly, this form of missingness is not determined by any sort of indifference-generated abstention process.

To address the missingness issue, we employ Rosas, Shomer, and Haptonstahl's (2015) IRT model that explicitly allows for voters to abstain (i.e., not vote) if the difference in utility between the two outcomes is insufficiently large.[5] This model includes a voter-specific abstention parameter which determines how large the difference in utility needs to be and thus effectively allows each voter to have their own baseline probability of abstention. Holding the ideal point constant, two different organized interests can thus "abstain" at very different rates due to non-spatial reasons.[6] Substantively, the abstention parameter can be interpreted as capturing the reality that organized interests vary greatly, for non-spatial reasons, in the rate at which they participate at the Court. This variation is due to several factors, including the availability of resources (Scheppele and Walker 1991), absence of sufficient issue attention in the other branches of government (Cortner 1968), and the composition of the Court's agenda (Hansford 2004).

Missing votes are thus modeled as a function of relative spatial indifference and voter-specific tendency to abstain. Details regarding this IRT model can be found in the Online

[5] Hansford, Depaoli, and Canelo (2019) use this approach to estimate the location of U.S. solicitors general in the Court's legal policy space.

[6] An alternative approach to the missingness issue is to focus on one organized interest at a time and only include cases in which the interest filed a brief. This approach is used by Fischman (2015) in his examination of the National Association of Criminal Defense Lawyers and U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

Appendix.[7] We use the same informative priors for a handful of the justices that Martin and Quinn (2002, 147) use.[8] We use diffuse priors for the rest of the justices and for all of the organized interests.

We assume here that the ideal points of the justices and organized interests are fixed. This is primarily a practical choice driven by the fact that the model we ultimately employ does not allow for dynamic ideal point estimation and the relative sparsity of data for most of the organized interests.[9] The estimation of static ideal points should not be viewed as too limiting. For the justices, Martin and Quinn (2002) show that a static model actually fits quite well. We

[7] While for the reasons articulated above we view the Rosas, Shomer, and Haptonstahl (2015) model as superior for our application, we also estimated the ideal points of the organized interests and justices using a traditional IRT model in which it is assumed that missing votes are missing-at-random. The two sets of ideal points correlate at $r = .742$.

[8] Harlan, Douglas, Marshall, Brennan, Frankfurter, Fortas, Rehnquist, Scalia, and Thomas have prior means of 1.0, -3.0, -2.0, -2.0, 1.0, -1.0, 2.0, 2.5, and 2.5, respectively. Their prior variances are set to 0.1. All other justices have diffuse priors with the prior mean set at 0 and the prior variance set at 1.0.

[9] For the 600 organized interests we include in our analysis (i.e., the 600 most active interests at the Court during the 1953-2013 terms), the average number of amicus brief "votes" per Court term is 0.79. Only one organized interest – the ACLU – averages more than 10 votes per term. Only eight other interests average five or more votes per term. Thus even using a low minimum vote threshold of five votes per term would lead us to estimate dynamic ideal points for 591 fewer organized interests and to ignore the non-random nature of missing votes.

also believe that it is theoretically reasonable to treat the location of organized interests as fixed over time. Citizens for Law and Order, for instance, can be expected to remain consistently pro-law and order over time. Chevron will remain opposed to environmental regulation, and so on.

Furthermore, a recent effort to estimate ideal points for organized interests in congressional policy space treats these ideal points as static and notes that a comparison with dynamic estimates reveals that they are "substantively identical" (Crosson, Furnas, and Lorenz 2020, 1121, footnote 5). These researchers work with a shorter time frame than we are (12 versus 61 years), but this is nonetheless evidence supportive of the relatively fixed nature of organized interest ideal points. McKay (2008) also maps the ideological positions of interest groups in congressional policy space and these annual scores are again relatively consistent over time.[10] In short, the assumption that organized interest ideal points do not change over time should not be cause for too much concern.

Data

To construct the necessary dataset, we begin with the Supreme Court Database and identify all of the orally argued Supreme Court cases from the 1953 through 2013 Court Terms.[11] Using this same data source, we identify the justices who voted in each of these cases and code each vote as a vote to affirm or a vote to reverse the lower court. The votes of the organized interests are derived from their amicus curiae filings on the merits in this same set of cases. We

[10] Nine of the groups in her data have scores for all ten years in her time frame and plotting these scores over time reveals that these positions are quite static (see Figure A1 in the Online Appendix).

[11] See http://scdb.wustl.edu/.

gather data on amicus curiae briefs through an exhaustive search of multiple sources; Lexis, *Briefs and Records of the United States Supreme Court*, and Gale's *The Making of Modern Law: U.S. Supreme Court Records and Briefs, 1832-1978*. For each amicus brief, we identify the names of all the amici who signed the brief and the position taken by the brief.[12] Each signer of a brief is considered as voting on the case. Since we are interested here in estimating the ideal points of organized interests, we remove amicus votes cast by individuals, the United States, and subnational governments.

The next step involves accounting for any over-time changes to the names of amicus-filing organized interests. For example, Legal Momentum used to be called NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund. When such a name change has occurred, we code the votes as having been cast by the same organized interest and use the contemporary name. Legal Momentum and NOW LDEF are thus treated as a single organized interest. When an

[12] To identify the position expressed by a brief, we consult the cover page, summary of argument, and concluding statement. The cover page provides sufficient information to code the position for the vast majority of briefs. Some briefs have cover pages that do not provide a clear statement about the position or explicitly claim to support neither party. Many of these briefs, though, articulate a clear position in the summary of the argument and/or concluding statement and we rely on this information when the cover page is unclear. We are ultimately able to identify the position taken in 97.4% of the briefs in our data. The remaining 2.6% of the briefs cannot be coded as clearly advocating for reversal or affirmance, even after examining the summary of argument and concluding statement. We treat these ambiguous or neutral briefs as equivalent to abstentions.

organization (or corporation) is formed by the merger of two or more entities, we err on the side of caution and treat the new organization as distinct from the previous entities. Thus, we consider the American Federation of Labor, Congress of Industrial Organizations, and AFL-CIO as three distinct organized interests in our data. A brief filed by the American Federation of Labor before the 1955 merger is not considered as a vote cast by the AFL-CIO.

Once we have defined the identities of the organized interests in the manner described above, we discard all the organized interests that cast fewer than 10 votes during the 1953-2013 Court terms.[13] This leaves us with 600 organized interests for which we estimate ideal points in the Court's legal policy space. These interests include a variety of public interest groups, (e.g., Public Citizen), legally-focused advocacy organizations (e.g., Washington Legal Foundation), professional associations (e.g., American Psychological Association), business associations (e.g., American Chemistry Council), corporations (e.g., Hearst Corporation), labor unions (e.g., AFSCME), and government associations (e.g., National League of Cities).

[13] The setting of 10 "votes" as the minimum is necessarily somewhat arbitrary. Efforts to estimate organized interest ideal points in other contexts do not establish a clear precedent for us to follow, as different studies use quite different cut-offs for the minimum number of votes. For example, Bonica (2013) uses a minimum of 30 votes while Crosson, Furnas, and Lorenz (2020) set their minimum at five. Our use of a 10-vote threshold thus falls within the range defined by recent scholarship. An alternative approach would be to include all the interests, regardless of their number of votes, and utilize Bailey's (2001) random effects ideal point model for small numbers of votes. The potential downside to this approach, though, is that it is not clear how to then handle the missing data issue for the organized interests.

The amicus-based "votes" of these organized interests are coded identically to those of the justices. If an organized interest is in existence when the case was decided but does not sign onto an amicus brief in the case, then this missing vote is not assumed to be missing-at-random and is instead treated as an "abstention" caused by a combination of relative spatial indifference and the size of the interest's abstention parameter (i.e., baseline propensity to not file amicus briefs). If the organized interest did not exist when the case was decided, then this missing vote is treated as missing at random, which is identical to how justices are handled when they fail to vote in a case due to the fact that they were not on the Court during the term in question.

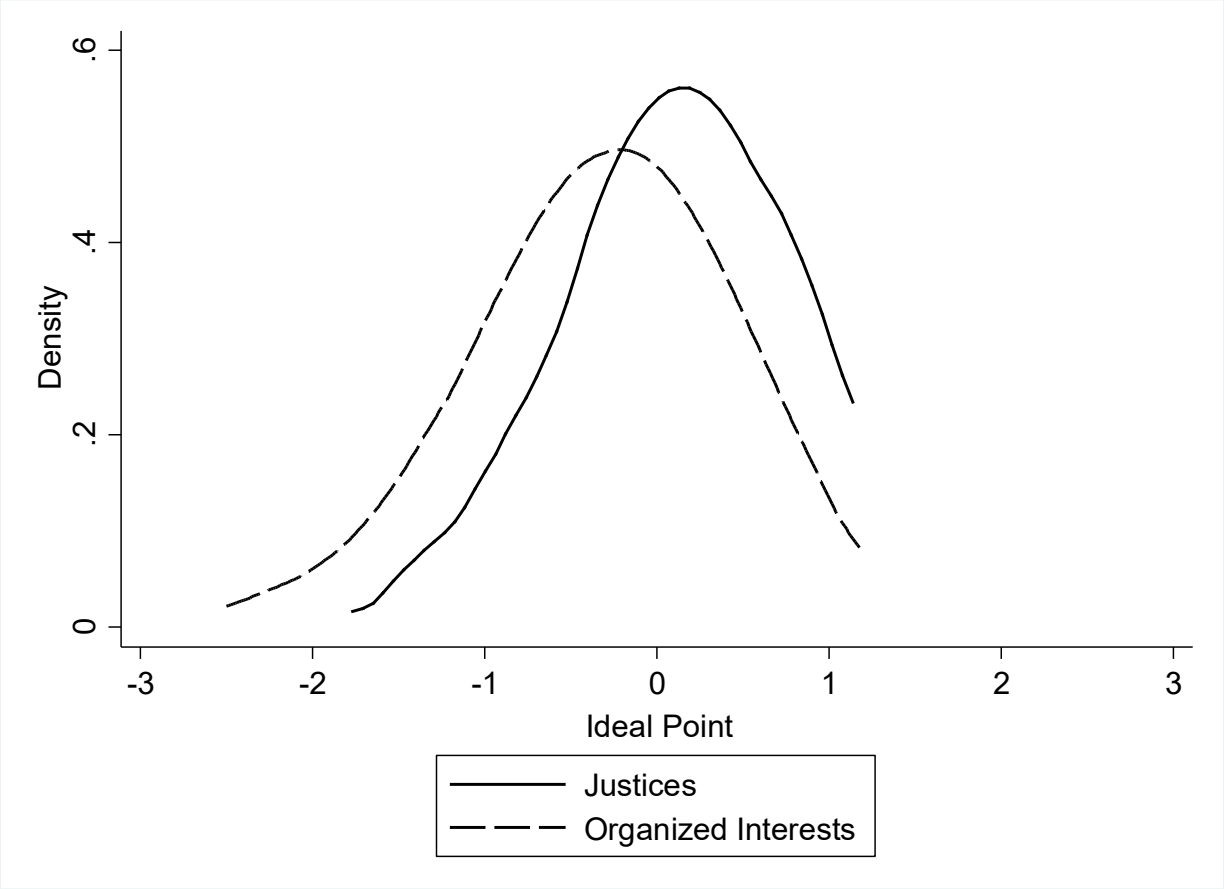
For our IRT model, we include the votes of the justices and above-described organized interests in all the orally-argued Supreme Court cases from the 1953 through 2013 Court Terms. The only cases excluded from our estimation are those for which all the participating justices and all the amicus brief-based votes are in the same direction (i.e., are unanimous) or for which the Supreme Court Database does not provide a clear outcome (e.g., reverse in part and affirm in part).

Results

Figure 1 presents the distribution of estimated ideal points, which we call Amici Space estimates, for the 600 included organized interests and the justices. There are a few interesting implications of the distributions of these ideal points. First, the center of the distribution of organized interest ideal points is slightly to the left of the justices. Some scholars contend that the organized interests involved at the Court may skew in favor of relatively conservative interests (see Collins 2018, 229), but if anything, the opposite is true. Second, organized interests are not necessarily extremists when compared with the justices (c.f., Dunworth, Fischman, and Ho 2009). This is an interesting descriptive result, in and of itself, and it

dovetails with Bonica's (2013) finding that political action committees (PACs) are more moderate than previously thought. The organized interests that participate at the Court through the filing of amicus briefs are not as polarized as one might expect. The flip side of this result is that the Amici Space estimates for the justices essentially span the same range as those of organized interests, which might be interpreted as an indication of the political, policy, or spatially-motivated nature of their expressed positions on the Court.

Figure 1. Distributions of Amici Space ideal point estimates

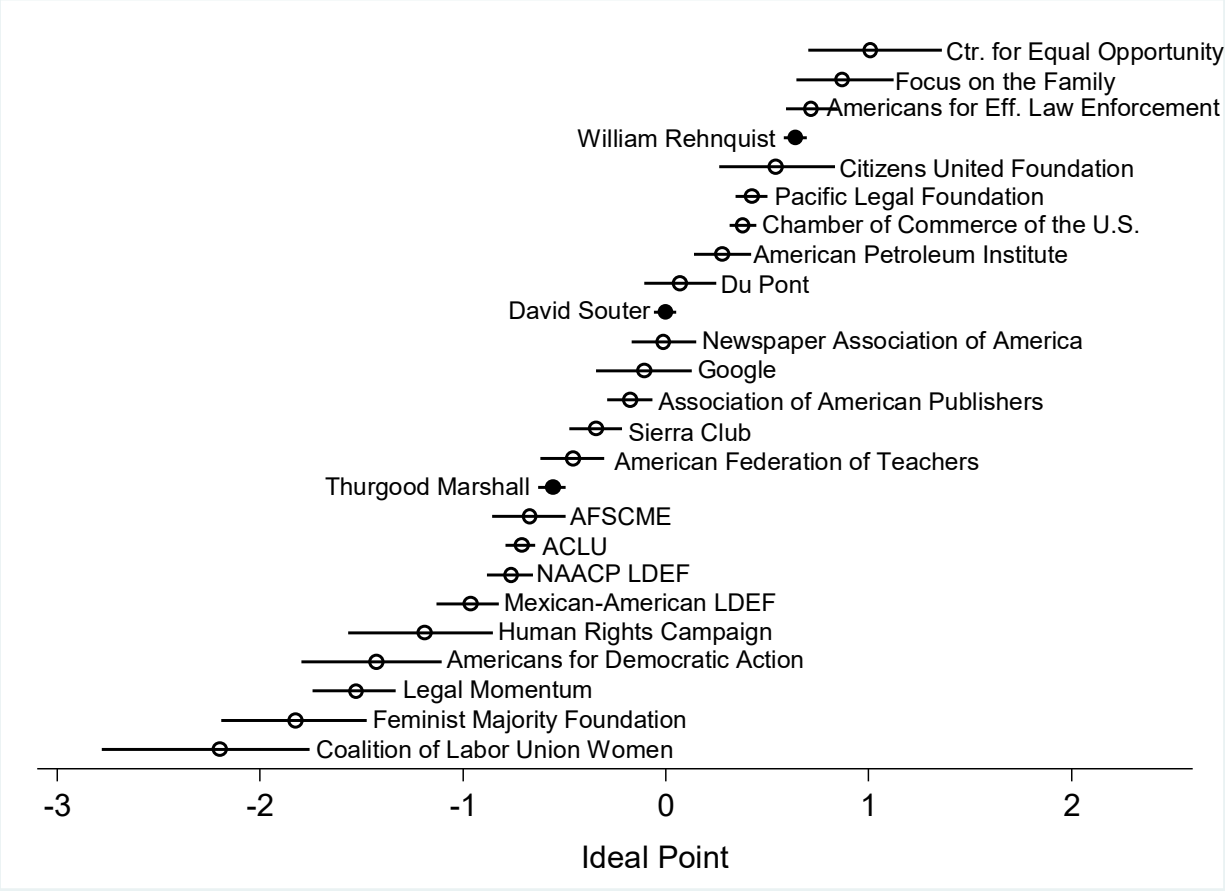


Note: Kernel density plots of ideal points.

To both further illustrate the Amici Space estimates as well as tentatively consider their face validity, the estimates of a select set of interests and a few justices are depicted in Figure 2. We also present the 95% credible intervals for these point estimates, which is the Bayesian

approach to measuring the uncertainty surrounding point estimates. A 95% credible interval is the central range of the posterior distribution that contains 95% of the ideal points for a given actor. It can be interpreted as meaning that there is a 95% chance of the ideal point falling within the interval.

Figure 2. Ideal points of select interests and justices



Note: Amici Space ideal point estimates (and 95% credible intervals) for select organized interests (indicated with hollow circles) and justices (indicated with solid circles).

Two immediate features of these estimates are apparent. First, most of these ideal point estimates match informal expectations. Justice Marshall's ideal point is to the left of Justice Souter's, while Chief Justice Rehnquist's is to the right. Similarly, feminist organizations and other civil rights groups are on the left end of this policy space and socially conservative groups

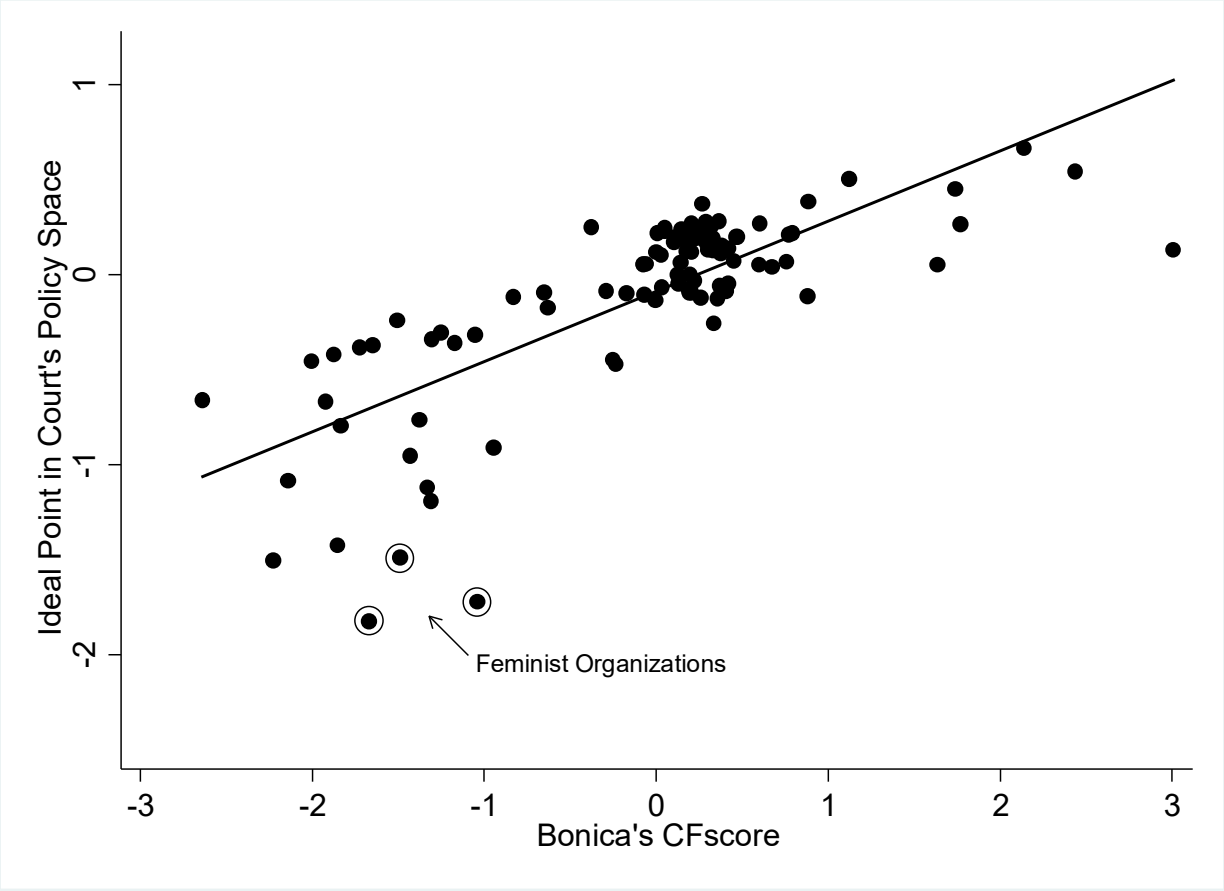
such as Focus on the Family are towards the right end. Second, even for the organized interests the ideal point estimates are quite precise and have relatively narrow 95% credible intervals.

The corporations and business associations displayed vary a fair amount in terms of their locations, ranging from relatively moderate (e.g., Google) to conservative (e.g., the Chamber of Commerce). It is also instructive to consider the organized interests that are close to the justices included in this figure. Justice Marshall's credible interval overlaps with those for a pair of labor unions (AFCSCME and American Federation of Teachers), for example, but is slightly to the right of the intervals for two prominent liberal interests - the ACLU and the NAACP's Legal Defense and Education Fund. Justice Souter's credible interval overlaps with those for the Newspaper Association of America and Google. The credible interval for Chief Justice Rehnquist's ideal point is to the right of those for the Chamber of Commerce and Pacific Legal Foundation, two conservative interests that are quite active at the Court.

To provide a more systematic assessment of the validity of our Amici Space estimates for organized interests, we compare them with the ideal points obtained by Bonica (2013) when using PAC contributions to estimate the location of interests in Congress' legislative policy space (CFscores). Of the 600 organized interests in our data, 101 also appear in Bonica's data.[14] Figure 3 presents a scatter plot of the locations of these interests in Bonica's legislative policy space and our legal policy space. We also plot the OLS regression line that best fits these data.

[14] The United Steelworkers of America appears in both our data and Bonica's, but we do not include it here as it has two very different CFscores (one of which is a substantial outlier).

Figure 3. Comparing Amici Space ideal points with Bonica's CFscores



Note: Bonica's PAC-based CFscores are plotted on the x-axis while our Amici Space estimates are plotted on the y-axis. We also plot the OLS regression line for these two variables. The three circled datapoints are feminist organizations (Feminist Majority Foundation, National Organization for Women, and National Women's Political Caucus; from left to right along the x-axis).

This scatter plot reveals that there is a fairly robust, positive, linear relationship between the CFscores and Amici Space estimates (r = .762). We view this as a surprisingly strong relationship between the two sets of ideal point estimates, since they exist in different policy spaces (legal vs. legislative) and were obtained with very different data (amicus briefs vs. PAC contributions). As such, we believe this association is substantial evidence of the validity of our ideal point estimates for organized interests. The notable outliers here are the Feminist Majority Foundation, NOW, and the National Women's Political Caucus, which are amongst the most

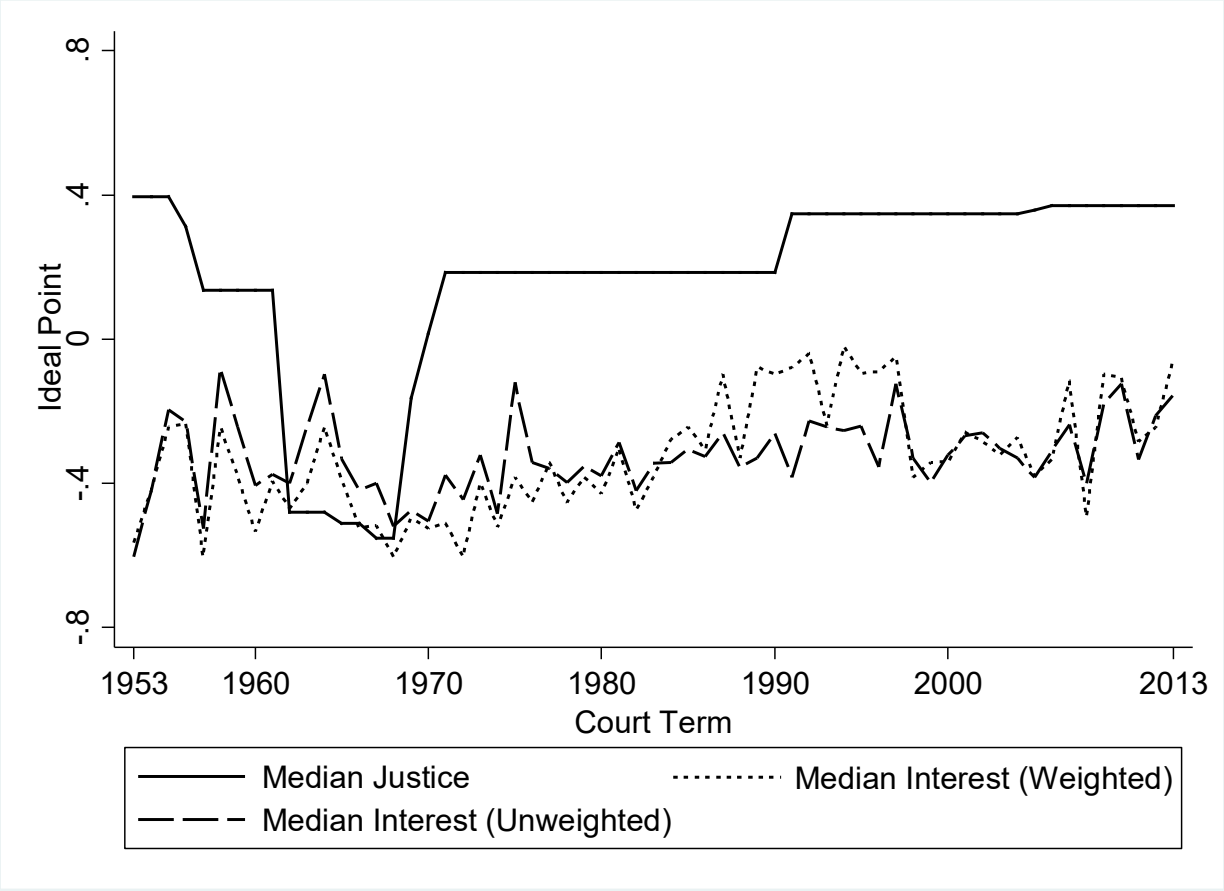
liberal organizations in the Court's legal policy space but are somewhat more moderate in legislative policy space. It could very well be the case that our estimates better capture these interests' sincere positions in policy space, as their PAC contributions may be influenced by both ideological considerations and candidate gender. That is, it is possible that the Feminist Majority Foundation's contributions go primarily towards female candidates, somewhat irrespective of their ideological orientation, which could moderate its legislative ideal point estimate somewhat.

Interest Representation at the Court over Time

With ideal point estimates for both organized interests and justices in the same legal policy space, researchers will be able to examine various questions of interest representation at the Court. To illustrate this point, we tentatively consider how the spatial location of amici has changed over time (from the 1953 through 2013 Court terms) and how these changes track with the location of the justices. Figure 4 displays the Amici Space locations of the median justice, the unweighted median amicus-filing organized interest, and the brief-weighted median interest. The former measure of the median interest depicts the median location of all the interests that filed an amicus brief in the given term. The latter indicates the median interest weighted by the number of times each interest filed an amicus brief in the term.

The median ideal point estimates for the justices are highly consistent with conventional wisdom. The median is most liberal during the 1960s and then moves rapidly towards a more conservative location at the end of that decade. There are three noteworthy features of the location of the median amicus-filing interest. First, with the exception of the 1960s the median organized interest is to the left of the median justice, ideologically speaking. On average, the weighted median interest is 0.49 units to the left of the median justice, which, to put it in perspective, is slightly greater than the distance between Justices Ginsburg and O'Connor.

Figure 4. Location of the median justice and median amicus, 1953-2013



Note: The unweighted median interest is the median of the organized interests that filed an amicus brief in the given term. The weighted median is weighted by the number of amicus briefs each interest filed in the given term

Second, the median interest did track in a more conservative direction during the 1970s and 1980s, which comports with the rise of conservative, Court-active interests discussed by O'Connor and Epstein (1983).

Third, it appears that, while there is typically a substantial gap between the median justice and the median interest, these medians might move together to some degree (r = .43 for the median justice and median weighted interest). This would imply that while there is typically a liberal bias to the amicus-provided information environment in which the justices operate, there may be some mechanism that links together the positions of the justices and the positions of the

organized interests active in a given Court term. We cannot at this point make any claims about the nature of such a mechanism, though other work suggests that organized interest advocacy activities are responsive to changes at the Court (Hansford 2004; Hansford and Johnson 2014). The relative lack of variation in the Court median during this time span, however, makes any comparison of trends difficult.

Issue-Specific Estimates

We have thus far proceeded under the typical assumption that the Supreme Court's legal policy space is unidimensional (e.g., Hammond, Bonneau, and Sheehan 2005; Martin and Quinn 2002). To assess of this assumption and examine whether there is meaningful variation in the ideal points of organized interests when the vote data are limited to specific issue areas, we use the Supreme Court Database's "Issue Area" variable to create four distinct subsets of Court cases: civil rights cases, criminal procedure cases, First Amendment cases, and economic cases. For each of these issue areas, we then identify the organized interests who filed a minimum of 10 amicus briefs. We also include the votes of the justices in these cases and use the Rosas, Shomer, and Haptonstahl (2015) model to estimate ideal points for both types of actors in each of these issue areas.

The Online Appendix presents these estimates, but the central takeaways are that: 1) the distributions of issue-specific ideal points are fairly similar to those obtained when all votes are pooled together and 2) the ideal points in the civil rights, criminal procedure, and First

Amendment domains match very closely with the ideal points estimated with all case types.[15] In the economic domain, issue-specific ideal points align closely with the pooled estimates with the exception of state and local government associations (e.g., the National League of Cities). These associations have liberal ideal points in economic cases and moderately conservative ideal points when all cases are considered. It could thus be said that the positions of government associations are not well captured by the same single dimension on which the justices and other organized interests can be placed. At the same time, though, it should be noted that it appears that all the other organized interests and the justices can be reasonably placed on the same single dimension on which we locate the justices.

Conclusion

Despite the long-standing scholarly interest in the incidence and implications of organized interest involvement at the Supreme Court, researchers have been limited by the inability to measure the locations of these actors in the Court's legal policy space. We combine amicus-based "votes" by organized interests and the votes of the justices with an IRT model to provide Amici Space estimates, which we believe are valid, useful estimates of the ideal points of active organized interests in the Court's legal policy space. Simply from a descriptive perspective, these estimates provide several interesting implications. While Court-active organized interests may trend liberal, they hold less extreme, polarized positions in legal policy space than perhaps previously thought (e.g., Dunworth, Fischman, and Ho 2009). Interestingly,

[15] Figures A2 and A3 of the Online Appendix provide the distributions of ideal point estimates and comparisons with the issue-pooled estimates, respectively. Figures A4-A7 present issue-specific ideal point estimates for select interests and justices.

these positions roughly track the position of the median justice over time. The ideal points of organized interests who are active at both the Court and in congressional campaigns are quite similar across both policy spaces, which suggests that, at least to organized interests, these policy domains are quite similar. Finally, the fairly strong associations between issue-specific and issue-pooled estimate suggest that it is not unreasonable to treat the Court's policy space as unidimensional.

Our hope is that these ideal points will be useful to those seeking to test spatial theories of interest involvement at the Court. For example, why do interests opt to expend resources lobbying the Supreme Court as opposed to another venue such as Congress (Cortner 1968; Hansford 2004; Holyoke 2003)? Theories attempting to explain the choice to engage in advocacy at the Court implicitly rely on spatial logic. It has been hypothesized that any given organized interest is more likely to lobby the Court when the interest and the Court are close to each other in legal policy space (e.g., Hansford 2004). Efforts to test this hypothesis have been hampered, however, by the inability to properly measure the policy distance between interests and the Court.

A related line of inquiry examines whether legal mobilization begets counter-mobilization (Epstein 1985; Hansford 2011; Solowiej and Collins 2009). This question has important implications for the representation of interests before the Court, as counter-mobilization means that over time information and arguments will be provided to the Court from opposing sources. Presumably, this balancing of interest representation ought to result in a better-informed, and perhaps more representative, policy making. It also implies that organized interests cannot expect to easily "capture" the Court. Again, however, scholars have had to test for the presence of counter-mobilization in a crude fashion, owing to the lack of a measure of the

ideal points of the involved interests. Extant tests must assume that all opposing positions on cases equally indicate the presence of interests on different ends of legal policy continuum. This vein of research can be advanced now that scholars can assess the responsiveness of interests on one end of the legal policy dimension to the advocacy activities of interests on the other.

Another important, implicated question is whether the advocacy efforts of organized interests have any effect on the Court's decisions and the hypotheses here often have a spatial component to them (e.g., Collins 2008; Manzi and Hall 2017). It should be noted that as with any vote-generated measure of ideal points, it would be circular and thus inappropriate to use these ideal points to explain votes on the merits (Ho and Quinn 2010). But, there are several possible applications for which votes on the merits would not be the dependent variable. Spriggs and Wahlbeck (1997), for example, seek to test whether the Court's majority opinions are more likely to incorporate the arguments made by ideologically proximate amici. Due to a lack of ideal points for organized interests, however, they have to assume that all briefs on one side of a case are either all equally liberal or equally conservative. This approach glosses over a good deal of variation in the types of interest and brief that may be taking the same overall position in a particular case. With more precise locations for the organized interests filing the briefs, tests of the conditional influence of amicus briefs can now utilize a finer-grained measure of preference proximity or distance between a justice and a brief. This may allow researchers to test whether opinion language is particularly influenced by briefs that adopt positions that are apparently counter to the filing interest's spatial location (see Calvert 1985). Finally, these ideal points may also allow researchers to test whether amicus briefs filed by heterogeneous coalitions of organized interests are more effective than those filed by a homogenous set of interests (Canelo 2020; Goelzhauser and Vouvalis 2015; Swenson 2016).

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Estimating the Ideal Points of Organized Interests in Legal Policy Space: Online Appendix

This is the online appendix for:

Hansford, Thomas G., Sarah Depaoli, and Kayla S. Canelo. N.d. "Estimating the Ideal Points of Organized Interests in Legal Policy Space." Forthcoming, *Justice System Journal*.

Contents:

IRT Model Details

We use item response theory (IRT) to estimate the locations of organized interests and justices in the Supreme Court's legal policy space. The typical IRT approach, such as the one used by Martin and Quinn (2002) to estimate the ideal points of the justices, treats each Supreme Court case *j* as presenting an actor *i* with the choice of voting to reverse ($v_{ij} = 1$) or affirm ($v_{ij} = 0$) the lower court decision. The probability of a vote to reverse can then be simply modeled as:

$$v_{ij} = \begin{cases} 1 & \text{if} \quad v_{ij}^* \geq 0 \\ 0 & \text{if} \quad v_{ij}^* < 0 \end{cases}$$

$$v_{ij}^* = \alpha_j + \beta_j x_i + \varepsilon_{ij}$$

$$Pr(v_{ij} = 1) = \Phi(\alpha_j + \beta_j x_i),$$

where ε_{ij} represents an error term that is normally distributed with a mean of 0 and a variance of 1, Φ(.) represents the standard normal distribution function, α_j is a case-specific "difficulty" parameter, β_j is a case-specific "discrimination" parameter, and x_i is the ideal point of voter *i* in unidimensional legal policy space. The difficulty parameters essentially allow case-to-case variation in the location of the "cut point", separating the votes to reverse and affirm. The discrimination parameters allow cases to vary in terms of how well they sort the voters along the lines of a single policy dimension. These parameters also capture the ideological directionality of votes to reverse. As is convention (e.g., Martin and Quinn 2002), our choice of priors ultimately orients these measures so that lower values of *x* correspond with more liberal ideal points and higher values correspond with conservative ideal points. Thus, for example, a positive β means that for the case in question a vote to reverse is a conservative vote while a vote to affirm is liberal. As β approaches zero, the case stimuli in question does not lead to voting based on the latent trait, i.e., the spatial locations of the justices and organized interests.

There is an important potential issue with using amicus positions to estimate the ideal points of organized interests, however. A sitting justice will cast a vote in all Court cases heard (rare recusals aside), while even a relatively active organized interest will only cast amicus-based votes in a small fraction of these cases. For the ACLU, for instance, the value of v_j will be missing for most j (i.e., cases).[1] If these votes are missing-at-random (MAR), then this missingness is not an issue and the above model can be used. Indeed, we will refer to the above model as the MAR Model from this point forward, as it is implicitly based on the MAR assumption.

On the other hand, if missing organized interest votes do not meet the MAR assumption, then the above model could lead to biased estimates of the locations of organized interests in the Court's legal policy space. Work on the use of legislative votes to estimate ideal points reveals the adverse consequences of missingness when the MAR assumption does not hold (Rosas, Shomer, and Haptonstahl 2015).

Theoretically, if an organized interest chooses not to file an amicus brief and express a position in a case, can this missing vote be considered as MAR? The same spatial logic that underlies the IRT ideal point estimation model implies that these missing votes are not MAR. Justices choose to vote to reverse a lower court decision if the utility of reversal is even slightly

[1] There are also a large number of missing votes for all the justices in the data in the sense that Justice Scalia, for example, did not vote in any of the cases prior to his appointment in 1986. This form is missingness is ignored in all IRT models of justice ideal points and we likewise ignore it here. Importantly, this form of missingness is not determined by any sort of indifference-generated abstention process.

larger than the utility of affirming, since they are expected to vote in all cases. These utilities are determined by the distance between the ideal point of the voter and the location of the two potential outcomes. Organized interests are not expected to "vote" in all cases and will likely opt not to vote if the utility of one outcome (e.g., reversal) is only slightly greater than that of the other (e.g., affirmance). Instead, an organized interest is likely to abstain from voting unless the difference in the utilities associated with the two possible outcomes is sufficiently large. In other words, an organized interest will not vote in a case if, due to its ideal point, the interest is indifferent or sufficiently close to indifferent to the two possible outcomes in the case. If this is so, then the missing votes for an organized interest are not random and are instead a function of the quantity of interest; the interest's ideal point in the Court's legal policy space. The MAR model would then produce biased estimates of the ideal points of the interests.

To address this problem, Rosas, Shomer, and Haptonstahl (2015) develop an IRT model (referred to from here on as the RSH Model) in which a voter abstains if the difference in utility between the two outcomes is within a range defined by $-\gamma_i$ and γ_i.[2] This gamma parameter varies from voter to voter, meaning that some voters are quick to abstain while others will vote even if there is a vanishingly small difference between the two outcomes. Unlike the MAR Model, the RSH Model provides for three types of vote:

$$v_{ij} = \begin{cases} 2 & \text{if} \quad v_{ij}^* \geq \gamma_i \\ 1 & \text{if} \quad \gamma_i > v_{ij}^* \geq -\gamma_i \\ 0 & \text{if} \quad -\gamma_i > v_{ij}^* \end{cases}$$

$$v_{ij}^* = \alpha_j + \beta_j x_i + \varepsilon_{ij}$$

[2] This specific model is developed in the Supplemental Information for Rosas, Shomer, and Haptonstahl (2015).

Where ε_{ij} is normally distributed with a mean of 0 and variance of σ_j^2.[3]

In our context, these three outcomes are: vote to reverse (2), "abstain" (1), and vote to affirm (0). As with the MAR Model, α_j is a case-specific "difficulty" parameter, β_j is a case-specific "discrimination" parameter, and x_i is the ideal point of voter i. The probability for each of the three outcomes is then:

$$Pr(v_{ij} = 2) = \Phi\left(\alpha_j + \beta_j x_i - \frac{\gamma_i}{\sigma_j}\right)$$

$$Pr(v_{ij} = 1) = \Phi\left(\frac{\gamma_i}{\sigma_j} - (\alpha_j + \beta_j x_i)\right) - \Phi\left(-\frac{\gamma_i}{\sigma_j} - (\alpha_j + \beta_j x_i)\right)$$

$$Pr(v_{ij} = 0) = 1 - \Phi\left(\alpha_j + \beta_j x_i + \frac{\gamma_i}{\sigma_j}\right)$$

Note that if a voter has a gamma of zero, then they will never abstain (i.e., $Pr(v_{ij} = 1) = 0$).[4]

The RSH Model is well-suited for estimating the location of organized interests and justices in the Court's legal policy space. Abstentions are no longer viewed as missing data and are instead treated as potentially informative. Justices can have gammas that approach zero, meaning that they effectively cast votes in all cases. Organized interests can have larger though varying gammas, allowing them to abstain at differing rates independent of their ideal point. This means that, holding the ideal point constant, the RSH Model allows two different organized

[3] For identification purposes, σ_1 is set to one.

[4] These probabilities are taken from Rosas, Shomer, and Haptonstahl's (2015) Supplemental Information. Note, however, that to keep the notation consistent with the MAR Model we switch the sign for α_j, which simply means that the difficulty parameters have the opposite sign in our notation than they do for Rosas, Shomer, and Haptonstahl.

interests to abstain at very different rates due to non-spatial reasons. Substantively, the gamma parameter can be interpreted as capturing the reality that organized interests vary greatly, for non-spatial reasons, in the rate at which they participate at the Court.

We employ a standard Bayesian Markov chain Monte Carlo (MCMC) approach to estimate the parameters in the RSH Model presented above (as well as for the MAR Model, for purposes of comparison). Once convergence is established, we determine the characteristics of the posterior distribution such as the mean and the variance.[5] These characteristics of the posterior distributions are then used to summarize features of the population parameters, which in our model are the case-specific parameters (α_j, β_j), voter-specific indifference parameters (γ_i), and ideal points (x_i).[6]

For both the MAR and RSH Models, we use the same informative priors for a handful of the justices that Martin and Quinn (2002, 147) use.[7] Since we are interested here in estimating

[5] We use the Geweke (1992) convergence diagnostic and the Heidelberger and Welch (1983) diagnostic to assess chain convergence for all model parameters. These diagnostics reveal that the 20,000 iterations used for burn-in were sufficient, and the 50,000 posterior samples showed stability (i.e., convergence).

[6] For the RSH Model, we use Rosas, Shomer, and Haptonstahl's (2015) JAGS code from their Supplemental Information. We utilize Martin and Quinn's (2002) unidimensional dynamic IRT model in MCMCpack, as implemented in R, to perform the MCMC estimations for the MAR Model. See http://mcmcpack.berkeley.edu/index.html.

[7] Harlan, Douglas, Marshall, Brennan, Frankfurter, Fortas, Rehnquist, Scalia, and Thomas have prior means of 1.0, -3.0, -2.0, -2.0, 1.0, -1.0, 2.0, 2.5, and 2.5, respectively. Their prior variances

the ideal points of organized interests we use diffuse priors (i.e., N(0,1.0)) for all of these voters. Other than orienting and scaling the policy dimension, the informative priors are in no way driving the posterior estimates for the organized interests.

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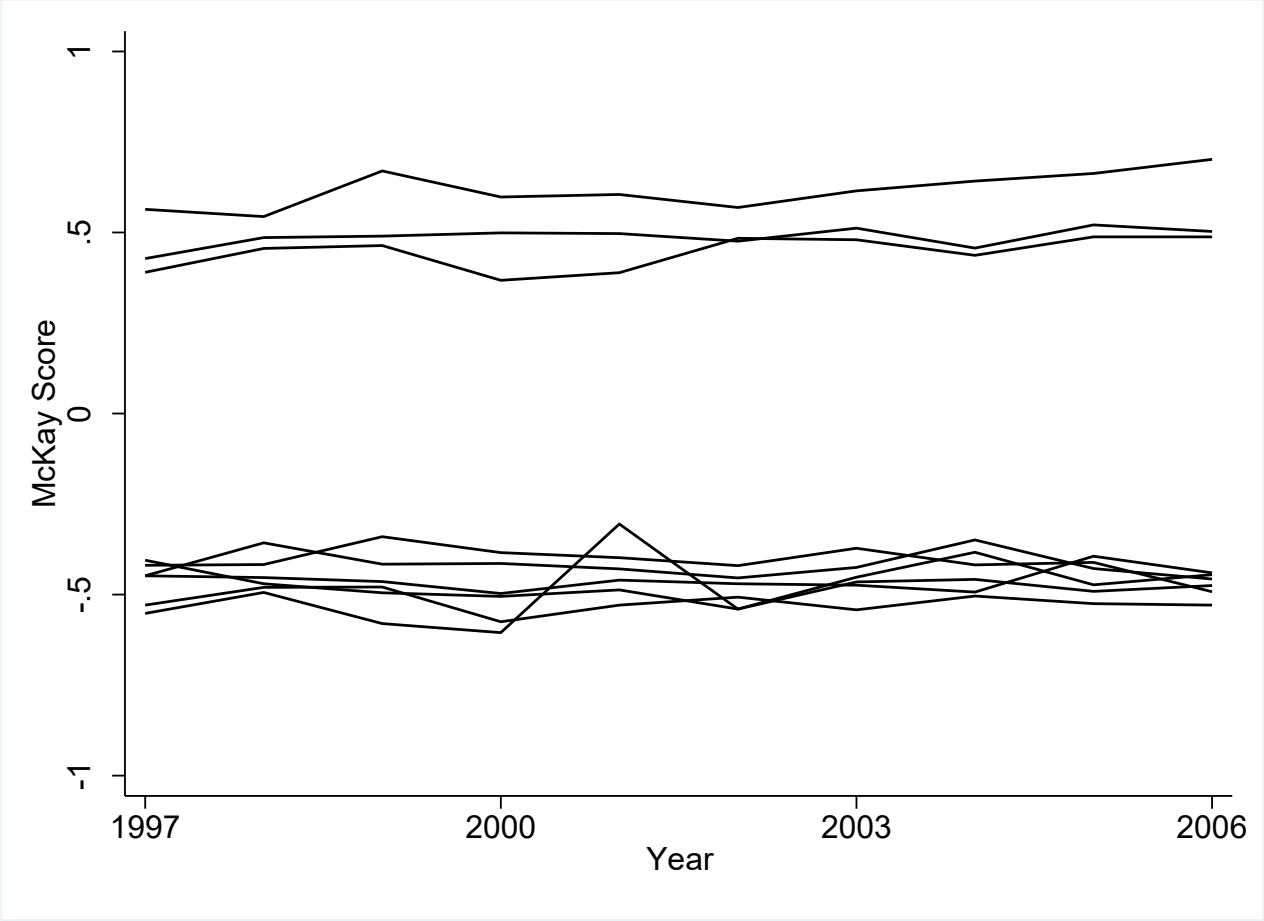
are set to 0.1. All other justices have diffuse priors with the prior mean set at 0 and the prior variance set at 1.0. Note, however, that JAGS specifies priors in terms of a mean and a precision (i.e., inverse of the variance), while MCMCpack specifies priors in terms of a mean and a variance. Therefore, a normal prior for Harlan based on Martin and Quinn (2002) would be specified as N(1.0,10) in JAGS and N(1.0,0.1) in MCMCpack.

Figure A1. McKay's (2008) dynamic estimates



Note. This figure presents McKay's (2008) measures of the ideological locations of organized interests over time. Negative scores represent liberal positions while positive scores represent conservative positions. These measures are based upon the legislative scorecards publicized by these interests. While McKay generates estimates for 72 groups, we only plot the estimates for the nine groups for which there is an estimate for all 10 years in her time frame.

Issue-Specific Models

Our IRT model assumes that the Supreme Court's legal policy space is unidimensional, which is typical in both theoretical (e.g., Hammond, Bonneau, and Sheehan 2005) and empirical (Martin and Quinn 2002) treatments of spatial decision making on the Court. To assess of this assumption and examine whether there is meaningful variation in the ideal points of organized interests when the vote data are limited to specific issue areas, we use the Supreme Court Database's "Issue Area" variable to create four distinct subsets of Court cases: civil rights cases, criminal procedure cases, First Amendment cases, and economic cases. For each of these issue areas, we identify the organized interests who filed a minimum of 10 amicus briefs. Given that we are dealing here with subsets of Court decisions, there are fewer interests that reach this threshold in these issue areas than when we include all Court cases. Specifically, we are able to include 119, 51, 102, and 96 organized interests in the civil rights, criminal procedure, First Amendment, and economic votes data, respectively. We also include the votes of the justices in these cases and use the Rosas, Shomer, and Haptonstahl (2015) model to estimate ideal points for both types of actors in each of these issue areas. Figure A1 displays the distribution of ideal point estimates for interests and justices in each of these four broad issue areas.[8]

The distributions of ideal points in the civil rights issue area are fairly similar to those obtained when all votes are pooled together. Organized interests are again somewhat more liberal than the justices, though the distributions are otherwise similarly shaped. In the criminal procedure and First Amendment issue areas, the distribution of interest ideal points is tighter than that for the justices, which, somewhat surprisingly, reveals greater ideological variation

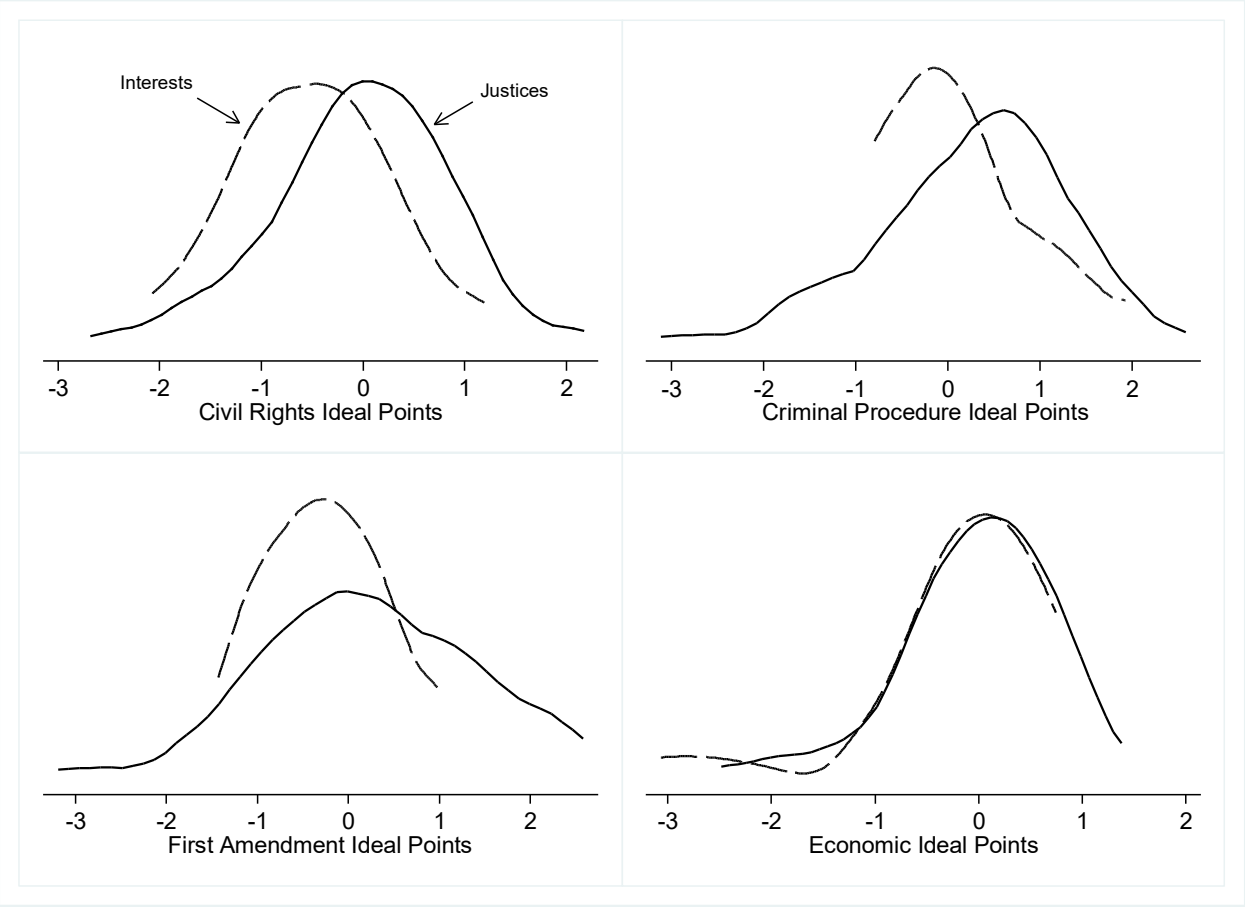
[8] Figures A4 – A7 provide issue-specific ideal point estimates for select interests and justices.

between justices than between interests. In economic cases, the distributions of interest and justice ideal points are very similar to each other.

To further assess whether the issue-specific ideal points differ from the Amici Space estimates obtained when all cases are pooled together, Figure A2 presents scatter plots of the four sets of issue-specific estimates and the Amici Space estimates. The ideal points in the civil rights, criminal procedure, and First Amendment domains match closely with the ideal points estimated with all case types (r = .914, .800, and .820, respectively). In the economic domain, most of the issue-specific ideal points align closely with the pooled estimates. There is a set of notable exceptions, however. State and local government associations (e.g., the National League of Cities) are far from the 45-degree fit line.[9] These interests have ideal points that are very liberal in economic cases and moderately conservative when all cases are considered. It could thus be said that the positions of government associations are not fairly captured by the same single dimension on which the justices and other organized interests can be placed. At the same time, though, it should be noted that it appears that all the other organized interests and the justices can be reasonably placed on the same single dimension on which we locate the justices.

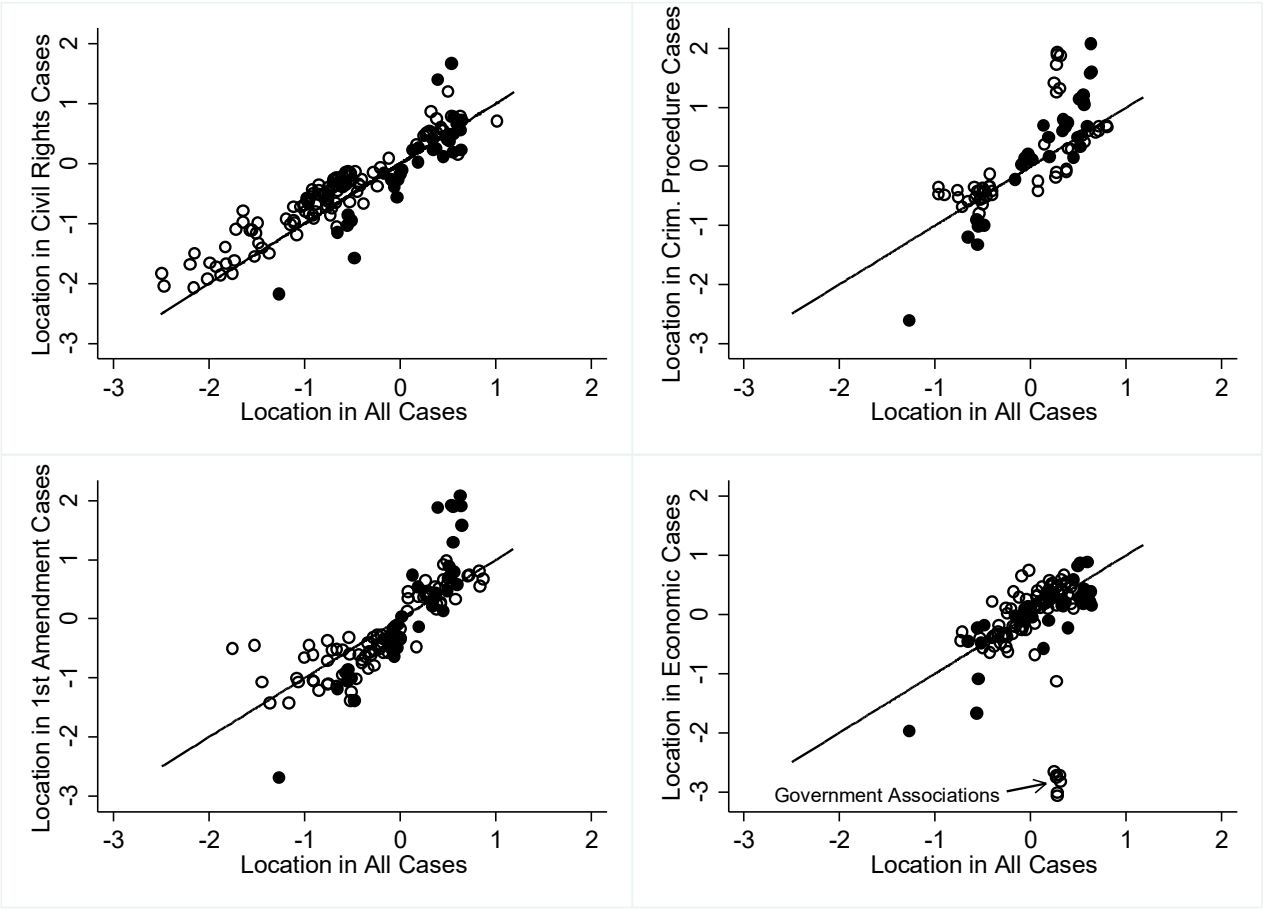
[9] If these associations are excluded, the economics ideal points correlate with the overall ideal points at r = .726.

Figure A2. Distributions of issue-specific ideal point estimates



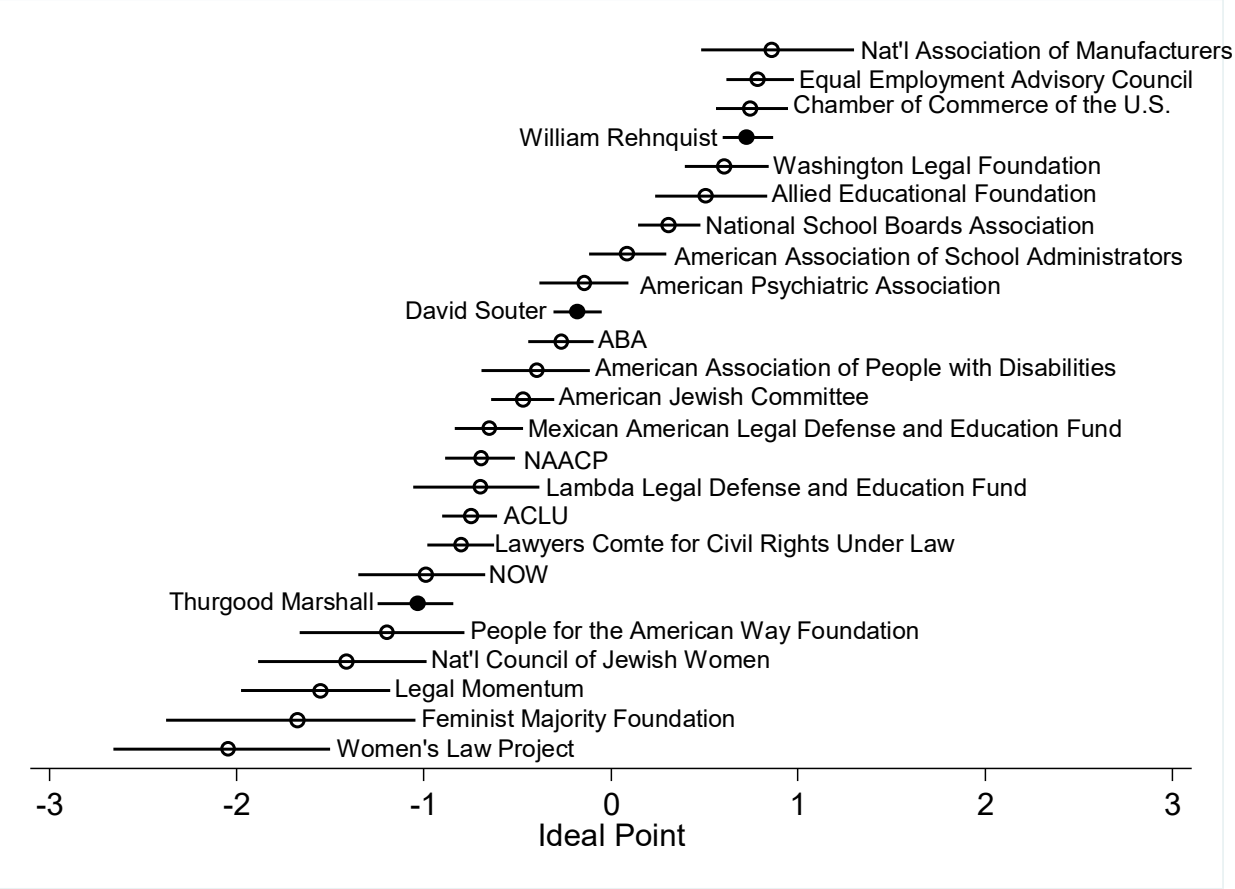
Note: Kernel density plots of the justices' (solid lines) and organized interests' (dashed lines) ideal points estimated using votes in issue-specific subsets of Court cases.

Figure A3. Comparing issue-specific estimates with pooled estimates



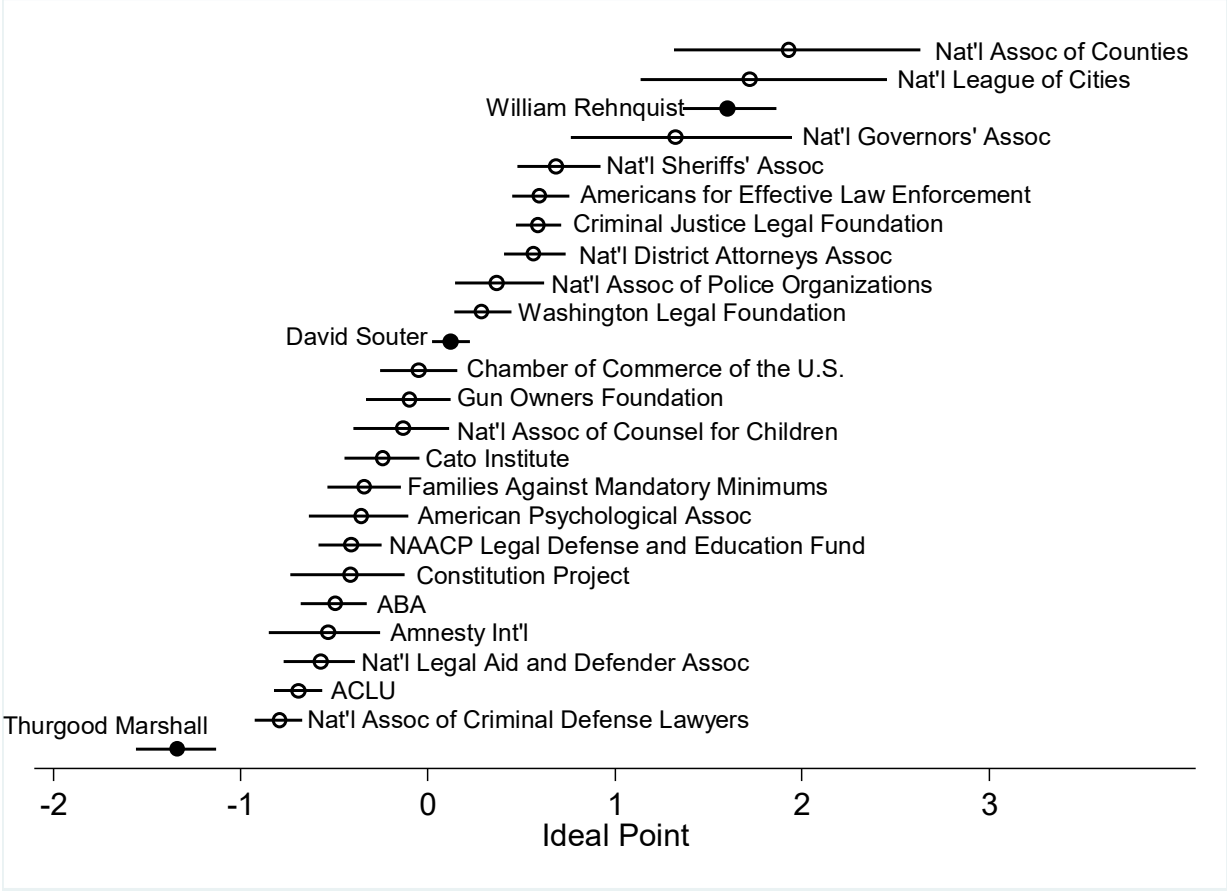
Note: For all four plots, the Amici Space estimates obtained when all cases are used are plotted on the x-axis while the estimates obtained when limiting the data to the specific issue area are plotted on the y-axis. Justices are solid circles and organized interests are hollow circles. Each plot also includes the 45-degree line representing perfect correspondence between the sets of estimates.

Figure A4. Positions of select interests and justices in civil rights cases



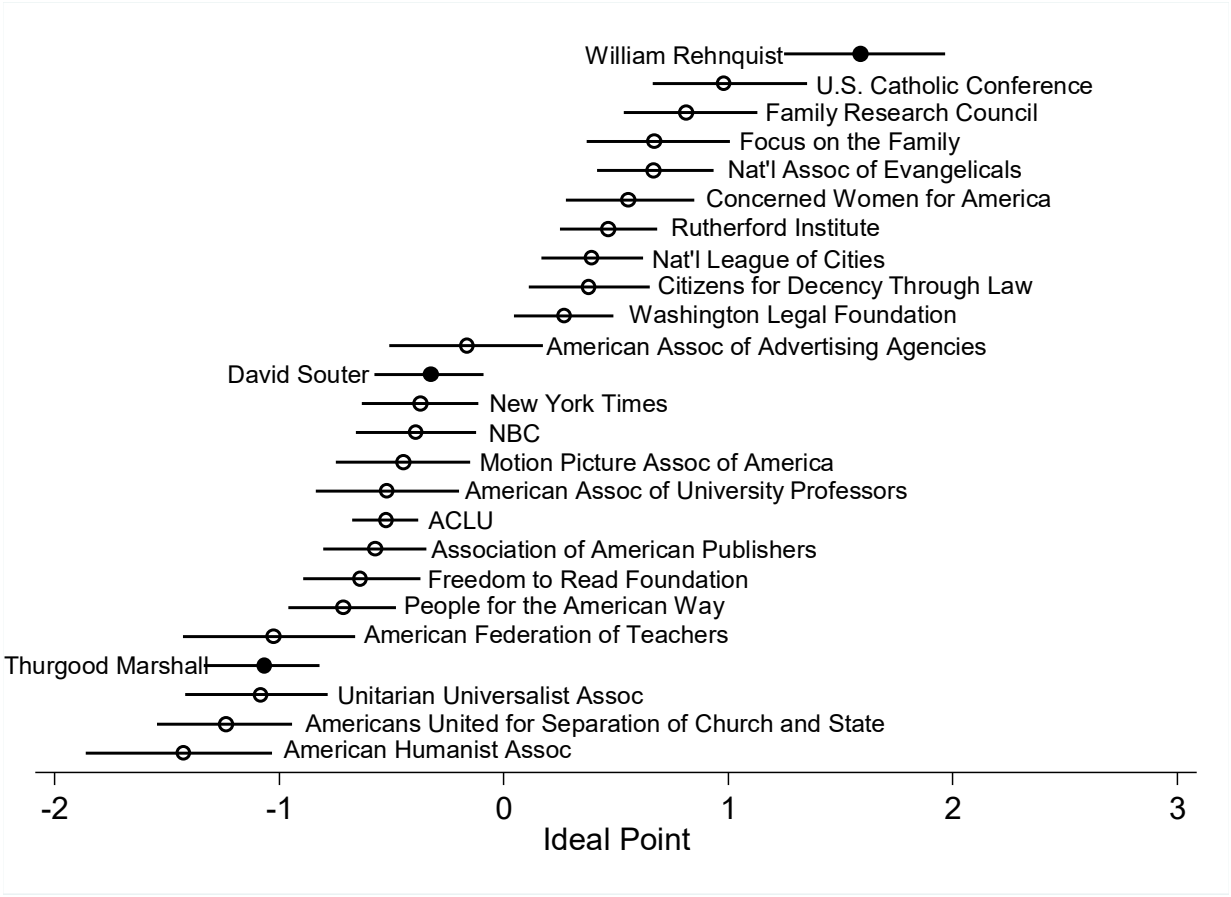
Note: Amici Space ideal point estimates (and 95% credible intervals) for select organized interests (indicated with hollow circles) and justices (indicated with solid circles). These estimates are obtained with data on votes in civil rights cases.

Figure A5. Positions of select interests and justices in criminal procedure cases



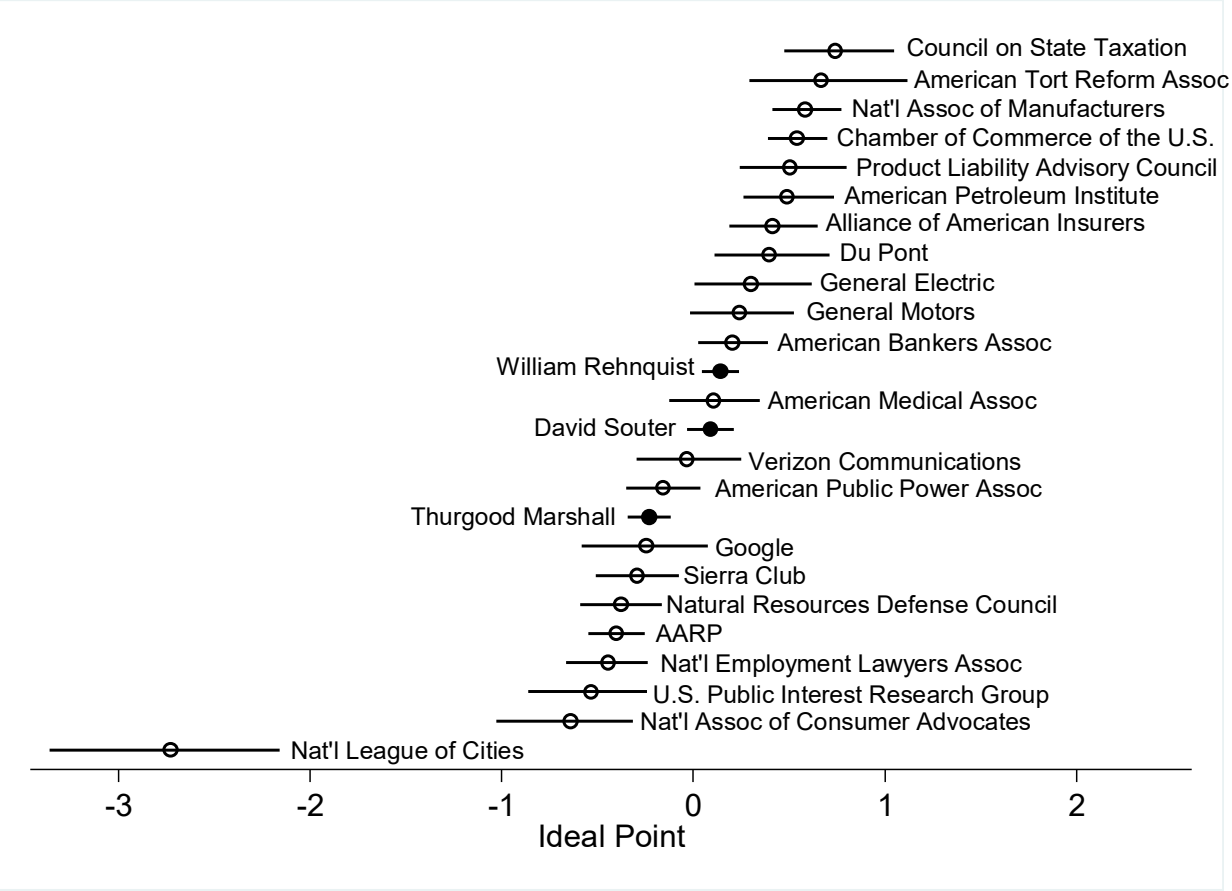
Note: Amici Space ideal point estimates (and 95% credible intervals) for select organized interests (indicated with hollow circles) and justices (indicated with solid circles). These estimates are obtained with data on votes in criminal procedure cases.

Figure A6. Positions of select interests and justices in First Amendment cases



Note: Amici Space ideal point estimates (and 95% credible intervals) for select organized interests (indicated with hollow circles) and justices (indicated with solid circles). These estimates are obtained with data on votes in First Amendment cases.

Figure A7. Positions of select interests and justices in economic cases



Note: Amici Space ideal point estimates (and 95% credible intervals) for select organized interests (indicated with hollow circles) and justices (indicated with solid circles). These estimates are obtained with data on votes in economic cases.

Table A1. Justice ideal points

Justice Name	Ideal Point
Hugo Black	-0.568
Stanley Reed	0.539
Felix Frankfurter	0.491
William Douglas	-1.266
Robert Jackson	0.452
Harold Burton	0.562
Tom Clark	0.135
Sherman Minton	0.394
Earl Warren	-0.551
John Marshall Harlan II	0.590
William Brennan	-0.512
Charles Whittaker	0.519
Potter Stewart	0.198
Byron White	0.185
Arthur Goldberg	-0.480
Abe Fortas	-0.652
Thurgood Marshall	-0.556
Warren Burger	0.511
Harry Blackmun	0.016
Lewis Powell	0.336
William Rehnquist	0.639
John Paul Stevens	-0.163
Sandra Day O'Connor	0.348
Antonin Scalia	0.550
Anthony Kennedy	0.370
David Souter	-0.002
Clarence Thomas	0.624
Ruth Bader Ginsburg	-0.093
Stephen Breyer	-0.024
John Roberts	0.554
Samuel Alito	0.636
Sonia Sotomayor	-0.063
Elena Kagan	-0.031

Note: Amici Space ideal point estimates for justices.

Table A2. Organized interest ideal points

Organized Interest Name	Ideal Point
3M CO.	-0.058
9TO5, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF WORKING WOMEN	-1.373
AARP	-0.533
ABRAHAM LINCOLN FOUNDATION FOR PUBLIC POLICY RESEARCH, INC.	0.555
ACLU FOUNDATION OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA	-0.421
ACLU OF ARIZONA	-0.593
ACLU OF FLORIDA	-0.357
ACLU OF GEORGIA	-0.659
ACLU OF ILLINOIS	-0.501
ACLU OF MASSACHUSETTS	-0.417
ACLU OF MINNESOTA	-0.377
ACLU OF NEW JERSEY	-0.348
ACLU OF NORTHERN CALIFORNIA	-0.656
ACLU OF OHIO	-0.332
ACLU OF PENNSYLVANIA	-0.637
ACLU OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA	-0.520
ACLU OF TEXAS	-0.471
ACLU OF THE NATION'S CAPITAL	-0.320
ACLU OF VIRGINIA	-0.468
ACLU OF WASHINGTON	-0.496
ADVANCE PUBLICATIONS, INC.	-0.077
AGUDATH ISRAEL OF AMERICA	0.606
AIRLINES FOR AMERICA	0.178
ALLIANCE DEFENDING FREEDOM	0.224
ALLIANCE OF AMERICAN INSURERS	0.189
ALLIANCE OF AUTOMOBILE MANUFACTURERS	0.415
ALLIED EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION	0.391
ALLSTATE INSURANCE CO.	0.109
AMERICAN ACADEMY OF CHILD AND ADOLESCENT PSYCHIATRY	-0.760

AMERICAN ACADEMY OF FAMILY PHYSICIANS	-0.448
AMERICAN ACADEMY OF PEDIATRICS	-0.633
AMERICAN ACADEMY OF PSYCHIATRY AND THE LAW	-0.505
AMERICAN ADVERTISING FEDERATION	-0.049
AMERICAN AIRLINES, INC.	0.011
AMERICAN ANTITRUST INSTITUTE	-0.237
AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR JUSTICE	-0.383
AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF ADVERTISING AGENCIES	0.000
AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF COMMUNITY COLLEGES	-0.082
AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES	-0.755
AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS	-0.116
AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF STATE COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES	-0.006
AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS	-0.660
AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN	-2.499
AMERICAN ASSOCIATION ON INTELLECTUAL AND DEVELOPMENTAL DISABILITIES	-0.583
AMERICAN ATHEISTS	-0.761
AMERICAN AUTOMOBILE MANUFACTURERS ASSOCIATION	0.123
AMERICAN BANKERS ASSOCIATION	0.127
AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION	-0.399
AMERICAN BENEFITS COUNCIL	0.259
AMERICAN BOOKSELLERS ASSOCIATION	-0.305
AMERICAN BOOKSELLERS FOUNDATION FOR FREE EXPRESSION	-0.268
AMERICAN BROADCASTING COMPANIES, INC.	-0.047
AMERICAN CANCER SOCIETY	-0.433
AMERICAN CENTER FOR LAW AND JUSTICE	0.521
AMERICAN CHEMISTRY COUNCIL	0.199
AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION	-0.710
AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION FOUNDATION	-0.540
AMERICAN CIVIL RIGHTS UNION	0.888
AMERICAN COALITION OF CITIZENS WITH DISABILITIES	-0.664
AMERICAN CONGRESS OF OBSTETRICIANS AND GYNECOLOGISTS	-0.959
AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LIFE INSURERS	0.221

AMERICAN COUNCIL OF THE BLIND	-0.674
AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION	0.065
AMERICAN DIABETES ASSOCIATION	-0.692
AMERICAN ETHICAL UNION	-0.909
AMERICAN FARM BUREAU FEDERATION	0.179
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES	-0.361
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS	-0.244
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF STATE, COUNTY AND MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES	-0.669
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS	-0.457
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TELEVISION AND RADIO ARTISTS	-0.128
AMERICAN FINANCIAL SERVICES ASSOCIATION	0.276
AMERICAN FOREST & PAPER ASSOCIATION	0.267
AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE	-0.847
AMERICAN HEALTH CARE ASSOCIATION	0.115
AMERICAN HEART ASSOCIATION	-0.400
AMERICAN HOSPITAL ASSOCIATION	0.052
AMERICAN HUMANIST ASSOCIATION	-1.362
AMERICAN IMMIGRATION LAWYERS ASSOCIATION	-0.551
AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF CERTIFIED PUBLIC ACCOUNTANTS	0.174
AMERICAN INSURANCE ASSOCIATION	0.213
AMERICAN INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY LAW ASSOCIATION	0.062
AMERICAN IRON AND STEEL INSTITUTE	0.246
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE	-0.754
AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS	-0.604
AMERICAN LAND TITLE ASSOCIATION	0.120
AMERICAN LEGION	0.281
AMERICAN LIBRARY ASSOCIATION	-0.245
AMERICAN LUNG ASSOCIATION	-0.387
AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION	-0.260
AMERICAN MEDICAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION	-0.678
AMERICAN MEDICAL WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION	-1.674
AMERICAN NETWORK OF COMMUNITY OPTIONS AND RESOURCES	-0.622

AMERICAN NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION	-0.051
AMERICAN NURSES ASSOCIATION	-0.910
AMERICAN ORTHOPSYCHIATRIC ASSOCIATION	-0.533
AMERICAN PETROLEUM INSTITUTE	0.277
AMERICAN PLANNING ASSOCIATION	-0.035
AMERICAN PSYCHIATRIC ASSOCIATION	-0.475
AMERICAN PSYCHOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION	-0.586
AMERICAN PUBLIC HEALTH ASSOCIATION	-0.755
AMERICAN PUBLIC POWER ASSOCIATION	0.048
AMERICAN RETAIL FEDERATION	0.250
AMERICAN SOCIETY OF NEWS EDITORS	-0.095
AMERICAN TORT REFORM ASSOCIATION	0.352
AMERICAN TRUCKING ASSOCIATIONS	0.185
AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE	-0.728
AMERICAN-ARAB ANTI-DISCRIMINATION COMMITTEE	-0.557
AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION	-1.425
AMERICANS FOR EFFECTIVE LAW ENFORCEMENT	0.717
AMERICANS FOR IMMIGRANT JUSTICE	-0.602
AMERICANS FOR RELIGIOUS LIBERTY	-1.164
AMERICANS UNITED FOR SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE	-0.510
AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL	-0.581
AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL OF THE U.S.A.	-0.456
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE	-0.525
APPELLATE COMMITTEE OF THE CALIFORNIA DISTRICT ATTORNEYS ASSOCIATION	0.372
ASIAN AMERICAN JUSTICE CENTER	-1.190
ASIAN AMERICAN LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATION FUND	-1.043
ASIAN AMERICANS ADVANCING JUSTICE-CHICAGO	-0.865
ASIAN AMERICANS ADVANCING JUSTICE-LOS ANGELES	-0.864
ASIAN LAW ALLIANCE	-0.794
ASIAN LAW CAUCUS	-0.933
ASSOCIATED BUILDERS AND CONTRACTORS, INC.	0.050
ASSOCIATED GENERAL CONTRACTORS OF AMERICA	0.220

ASSOCIATED PRESS	-0.041
ASSOCIATED PRESS MEDIA EDITORS	-0.098
ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN MEDICAL COLLEGES	-0.088
ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN PHYSICIANS AND SURGEONS	0.663
ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN PUBLISHERS	-0.176
ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN RAILROADS	0.239
ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES	-0.139
ASSOCIATION OF CALIFORNIA WATER AGENCIES	0.327
ASSOCIATION OF CHRISTIAN SCHOOLS INTERNATIONAL	0.188
ASSOCIATION OF GLOBAL AUTOMAKERS	0.312
ASSOCIATION OF NATIONAL ADVERTISERS	-0.080
ASSOCIATION OF PUBLIC AND LAND-GRANT UNIVERSITIES	-0.010
ASSOCIATION OF REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH PROFESSIONALS	-1.198
ASSOCIATION OF RESEARCH LIBRARIES	-0.200
ASSOCIATION ON AMERICAN INDIAN AFFAIRS, INC.	-0.212
ATLANTIC LEGAL FOUNDATION	0.463
AUTHORS LEAGUE OF AMERICA	-0.234
BAPTIST JOINT COMMITTEE FOR RELIGIOUS LIBERTY	-0.272
BAR ASSOCIATION OF SAN FRANCISCO	-1.059
BAR ASSOCIATION OF D.C. -- PATENT, TRADEMARK & COPYRIGHT SECTION	-0.039
BAY AREA LAWYERS FOR INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM	-0.919
BAZELON CENTER FOR MENTAL HEALTH LAW	-0.707
BECKET FUND FOR RELIGIOUS LIBERTY	0.260
BELLSOUTH CORPORATION	-0.001
BEVERLY HILLS BAR ASSOCIATION	-0.987
BIOTECHNOLOGY INDUSTRY ORGANIZATION	0.100
BITUMINOUS COAL OPERATORS ASSOCIATION, INC.	-0.021
BLACK WOMEN'S HEALTH IMPERATIVE	-1.568
BLUE CROSS AND BLUE SHIELD ASSOCIATION	0.194
BRENNAN CENTER FOR JUSTICE AT NEW YORK UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF LAW	-0.604
BSA | THE SOFTWARE ALLIANCE	-0.049
BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONAL WOMEN/USA	-1.646

BUSINESS ROUNDTABLE	0.224
CABLE NEWS NETWORK, INC.	-0.066
CALIFORNIA ASSOCIATION OF REALTORS	0.101
CALIFORNIA ATTORNEYS FOR CRIMINAL JUSTICE	-0.453
CALIFORNIA BUILDING INDUSTRY ASSOCIATION	0.077
CALIFORNIA DISTRICT ATTORNEYS ASSOCIATION	0.557
CALIFORNIA FARM BUREAU FEDERATION	0.038
CALIFORNIA MEDICAL ASSOCIATION	-0.418
CALIFORNIA PUBLIC DEFENDERS ASSOCIATION	-0.485
CALIFORNIA PUBLIC UTILITIES COMMISSION	-0.080
CALIFORNIA STATE ASSOCIATION OF COUNTIES	0.216
CALIFORNIA TEACHERS ASSOCIATION	-0.589
CALIFORNIA WOMEN LAWYERS	-1.648
CALIFORNIA WOMEN'S LAW CENTER	-1.926
CAPITAL CITIES/ABC, INC.	-0.051
CATHOLIC CHARITIES USA	-0.683
CATHOLIC LEAGUE FOR RELIGIOUS AND CIVIL RIGHTS	0.492
CATHOLIC LEGAL IMMIGRATION NETWORK	-0.520
CATHOLICS FOR CHOICE	-1.883
CATO INSTITUTE	0.077
CBS BROADCASTING INC.	-0.050
CENTER FOR COMPETITIVE POLITICS	0.354
CENTER FOR CONSTITUTIONAL JURISPRUDENCE	0.707
CENTER FOR CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS	-0.959
CENTER FOR DEMOCRACY & TECHNOLOGY	-0.262
CENTER FOR EQUAL OPPORTUNITY	1.011
CENTER FOR INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM	0.463
CENTER FOR INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS	0.556
CENTER FOR LAW AND EDUCATION	-0.431
CENTER FOR THE COMMUNITY INTEREST	0.361
CENTER FOR WOMEN POLICY STUDIES	-1.545
CENTER ON SOCIAL WELFARE POLICY AND LAW	-0.334

CENTER ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF CRIMINAL LAW	-0.371
CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS	-0.849
CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE U.S.	0.381
CHEVRON CORP.	0.040
CHILD WELFARE LEAGUE OF AMERICA	-0.365
CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND	-0.698
CHINESE FOR AFFIRMATIVE ACTION	-0.841
CHRISTIAN LEGAL SOCIETY	0.406
CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS	0.409
CISCO SYSTEMS, INC.	-0.139
CITIZENS FOR DECENCY THROUGH LAW	0.185
CITIZENS UNITED FOUNDATION	0.541
CLARENDON FOUNDATION	0.040
COALITION OF LABOR UNION WOMEN	-2.199
COMMON CAUSE	-0.284
COMPETITIVE ENTERPRISE INSTITUTE	0.291
COMPUTER & COMMUNICATIONS INDUSTRY ASSOCIATION	-0.096
CONCERNED WOMEN FOR AMERICA	0.835
CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS	-0.661
CONNECTICUT WOMEN'S EDUCATION AND LEGAL FUND	-1.992
CONSERVATIVE LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATION FUND	0.380
CONSTITUTION PROJECT	-0.395
CONSTITUTIONAL ACCOUNTABILITY CENTER	-0.750
CONSUMER ATTORNEYS OF CALIFORNIA	-0.317
CONSUMER BANKERS ASSOCIATION	0.230
CONSUMER FEDERATION OF AMERICA	-0.260
CONSUMERS UNION	-0.274
COPLEY PRESS, INC.	-0.039
COUNCIL FOR PERIODICAL DISTRIBUTORS ASSOCIATION, INC.	-0.320
COUNCIL OF STATE GOVERNMENTS	0.308
COUNCIL OF THE GREAT CITY SCHOOLS	-0.383
COUNCIL ON RELIGIOUS FREEDOM	-0.331

COUNCIL ON STATE TAXATION	-0.023
CRIMINAL JUSTICE LEGAL FOUNDATION	0.598
CROPLIFE AMERICA	0.371
CTIA -- THE WIRELESS ASSOCIATION	0.107
DEFENDERS OF PROPERTY RIGHTS	0.120
DEFENDERS OF WILDLIFE	-0.395
DIRECT MARKETING ASSOCIATION	-0.068
DIRECTORS GUILD OF AMERICA	-0.100
DISABILITY RIGHTS EDUCATION AND DEFENSE FUND	-0.919
DISABILITY RIGHTS LEGAL CENTER	-0.646
DKT LIBERTY PROJECT	-0.308
DOW JONES & COMPANY, INC.	-0.048
DOWNSIZE DC FOUNDATION	0.284
DOWNSIZEDC.ORG	0.309
DRI -- THE VOICE OF THE DEFENSE BAR	0.340
DV LEAP	-0.325
E.I. DU PONT DE NEMOURS AND COMPANY	0.071
E.W. SCRIPPS COMPANY	-0.082
EAGLE FORUM EDUCATION & LEGAL DEFENSE FUND	0.449
EASTER SEALS, INC.	-0.509
EDISON ELECTRIC INSTITUTE	0.122
ELECTRONIC FRONTIER FOUNDATION	-0.156
ELECTRONIC PRIVACY INFORMATION CENTER	-0.304
ELI LILLY AND COMPANY	-0.124
EMPLOYERS GROUP	0.578
ENVIRONMENTAL DEFENSE FUND	-0.363
EPILEPSY FOUNDATION	-0.699
EQUAL EMPLOYMENT ADVISORY COUNCIL	0.629
EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION	-0.452
EQUAL JUSTICE SOCIETY	-1.057
EQUAL RIGHTS ADVOCATES	-1.736
ERISA INDUSTRY COMMITTEE	0.289

ETHICS & RELIGIOUS LIBERTY COMMISSION OF THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION	0.713
FAMILIES AGAINST MANDATORY MINIMUMS	-0.426
FAMILY RESEARCH COUNCIL	0.827
FEDERAL CIRCUIT BAR ASSOCIATION	0.002
FEDERAL ENERGY REGULATORY COMMISSION	0.010
FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION	0.048
FEDERALLY EMPLOYED WOMEN	-1.386
FEMINIST MAJORITY FOUNDATION	-1.823
FINANCIAL SERVICES ROUNDTABLE	0.166
FIRST AMENDMENT COALITION	-0.054
FIRST AMENDMENT LAWYERS ASSOCIATION	-0.179
FOCUS ON THE FAMILY	0.870
FORD MOTOR COMPANY	0.123
FOUNDATION FOR MORAL LAW	1.003
FREE CONGRESS RESEARCH AND EDUCATION FOUNDATION	0.567
FREEDOM TO READ FOUNDATION	-0.364
FRIENDS OF THE EARTH	-0.371
GANNETT CO., INC.	-0.078
GAY & LESBIAN ADVOCATES & DEFENDERS	-0.944
GENERAL BOARD OF CHURCH AND SOCIETY OF THE UNITED METHODIST CHURCH	-0.721
GENERAL CONFERENCE OF SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISTS	-0.122
GENERAL ELECTRIC COMPANY	0.171
GENERAL MOTORS CORP.	-0.046
GLOBAL RIGHTS	-0.704
GOOGLE, INC.	-0.106
GOVERNMENT FINANCE OFFICERS ASSOCIATION	0.321
GRAHAM HOLDINGS COMPANY	-0.070
GRAY PANTHERS	-0.514
GROCERY MANUFACTURERS ASSOCIATION	0.050
GUN OWNERS FOUNDATION	0.267
GUN OWNERS OF AMERICA, INC.	0.265
HADASSAH	-1.331

HAWAII STATE COALITION AGAINST DOMESTIC VIOLENCE	-0.590
HEALTH INSURANCE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA	0.195
HEARST CORPORATION	-0.003
HEWLETT-PACKARD COMPANY	-0.079
HISPANIC NATIONAL BAR ASSOCIATION	-0.865
HORACE MANN LEAGUE	-0.765
HUMAN RIGHTS ADVOCATES	-0.742
HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN	-1.190
HUMAN RIGHTS FIRST	-0.573
HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH	-0.554
ILLINOIS ASSOCIATION OF CHIEFS OF POLICE	0.796
ILLINOIS STATE BAR ASSOCIATION	-0.380
INDEPENDENT BOOK PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION	-0.398
INDEPENDENT COMMUNITY BANKERS OF AMERICA	0.085
INDEPENDENT SECTOR	-0.283
INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS FOUNDATION	0.818
INNOCENCE NETWORK	-0.498
INSTITUTE FOR JUSTICE	0.072
INSTITUTE ON THE CONSTITUTION	0.483
INTEL CORPORATION	-0.088
INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY OWNERS ASSOCIATION	-0.011
INTERFAITH ALLIANCE FOUNDATION	-0.789
INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF CHIEFS OF POLICE	0.714
INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF TEAMSTERS	-0.227
INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS MACHINES CORPORATION	-0.116
INTERNATIONAL CITY-COUNTY MANAGEMENT ASSOCIATION	0.281
INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF SHOPPING CENTERS	0.279
INTERNATIONAL MUNICIPAL LAWYERS ASSOCIATION	0.269
INTERNATIONAL PERIODICAL DISTRIBUTORS ASSOCIATION	-0.322
INTERNATIONAL TRADEMARK ASSOCIATION	-0.044
INTERNATIONAL UNION, UNITED AUTOMOBILE, AEROSPACE, AND AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA	-0.418
JAPANESE AMERICAN CITIZENS LEAGUE	-1.006

JEWISH COUNCIL FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS	-0.660
JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE	-0.823
JEWISH WAR VETERANS OF THE U.S.A.	-0.569
JEWISH WOMEN INTERNATIONAL	-1.701
JOHNSON & JOHNSON	-0.082
JUSTICE AND FREEDOM FUND	0.372
JUSTICE IN AGING	-0.650
JUVENILE LAW CENTER	-0.633
KENTUCKY COALITION AGAINST DOMESTIC VIOLENCE	-0.464
KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS	1.177
LAMBDA LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATION FUND	-1.005
LANDMARK LEGAL FOUNDATION	0.488
LATINOJUSTICE PRLDEF	-1.121
LAWYERS COMMITTEE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS OF THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA	-0.697
LAWYERS COMMITTEE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS UNDER LAW	-0.884
LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL AND HUMAN RIGHTS	-0.954
LEAGUE OF CALIFORNIA CITIES	0.320
LEAGUE OF UNITED LATIN AMERICAN CITIZENS	-0.652
LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF THE UNITED STATES	-0.978
LEGAL AID SOCIETY	-0.500
LEGAL AID SOCIETY, EMPLOYMENT LAW CENTER	-1.110
LEGAL FOUNDATION OF AMERICA	0.537
LEGAL MOMENTUM	-1.525
LEGAL SERVICES NYC	-0.364
LEGAL VOICE	-2.153
LIBERTY COUNSEL	0.504
LIBERTY INSTITUTE	0.100
LINCOLN INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH AND EDUCATION	0.509
LOS ANGELES TIMES	-0.041
LUTHERAN CHURCH-MISSOURI SYNOD	0.988
LUTHERAN IMMIGRATION AND REFUGEE SERVICE	-0.565
MAJOR CITIES CHIEFS ASSOCIATION	-0.005

MANA: A NATIONAL LATINA ORGANIZATION	-1.466
MARITIME LAW ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES	-0.105
MCCLATCHY COMPANY	-0.054
MEDIA INSTITUTE	-0.075
MENTAL HEALTH AMERICA	-0.645
MEXICAN AMERICAN LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND	-0.963
MIAMI HERALD PUBLISHING CO.	-0.053
MICROSOFT CORPORATION	-0.049
MID-AMERICA LEGAL FOUNDATION	0.222
MORTGAGE BANKERS ASSOCIATION	0.219
MOTION PICTURE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, INC.	-0.197
MOUNTAIN STATES LEGAL FOUNDATION	0.453
MPA THE ASSOCIATION OF MAGAZINE MEDIA	-0.101
MULTISTATE TAX COMMISSION	0.044
NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.	-0.762
NARAL PRO-CHOICE AMERICA	-1.505
NATIONAL ABORTION FEDERATION	-1.812
NATIONAL ALLIANCE ON MENTAL ILLNESS	-0.669
NATIONAL ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION	-0.941
NATIONAL ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN WOMEN'S FORUM	-1.503
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE	-0.889
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF BROADCASTERS	-0.094
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGE STORES, INC.	-0.302
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF CONSUMER ADVOCATES	-0.427
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF CONSUMER BANKRUPTCY ATTORNEYS	-0.182
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COUNSEL FOR CHILDREN	-0.426
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COUNTIES	0.280
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF CRIMINAL DEFENSE LAWYERS	-0.539
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EVANGELICALS	0.457
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF FEDERAL DEFENDERS	-0.435
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF HOME BUILDERS	0.150
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INDEPENDENT INSURERS	0.208

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS	-0.094
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INSURANCE COMMISSIONERS	-0.116
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS	0.319
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF POLICE ORGANIZATIONS	0.146
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF REALTORS	0.118
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF REGULATORY UTILITY COMMISSIONERS	-0.047
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SECONDARY SCHOOL PRINCIPALS	-0.027
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SECURITIES AND COMMERCIAL LAW ATTORNEYS	-0.239
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SHAREHOLDER AND CONSUMER ATTORNEYS	-0.203
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SOCIAL WORKERS	-1.120
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF THE DEAF	-0.693
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF WATERFRONT EMPLOYERS	0.108
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF WOMEN LAWYERS	-1.383
NATIONAL AUDUBON SOCIETY	-0.267
NATIONAL BAR ASSOCIATION	-0.789
NATIONAL BLACK POLICE ASSOCIATION	-0.768
NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY, INC.	-0.049
NATIONAL CATTLEMEN'S BEEF ASSOCIATION	0.199
NATIONAL CENTER FOR LESBIAN RIGHTS	-1.471
NATIONAL CENTER FOR MISSING AND EXPLOITED CHILDREN	0.194
NATIONAL CENTER FOR VICTIMS OF CRIME	-0.100
NATIONAL CENTER FOR YOUTH LAW	-0.787
NATIONAL CENTER ON SEXUAL EXPLOITATION	0.363
NATIONAL COALITION AGAINST CENSORSHIP	-0.349
NATIONAL COALITION AGAINST DOMESTIC VIOLENCE	-0.749
NATIONAL COALITION OF AMERICAN NUNS	-1.185
NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF BLACK LAWYERS	-0.950
NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF STATE LEGISLATURES	0.273
NATIONAL CONGRESS OF AMERICAN INDIANS	-0.284
NATIONAL CONSUMER LAW CENTER	-0.404
NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE FOR MULTIEMPLOYER PLANS	-0.064
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN	-1.449

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF LA RAZA	-0.976
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN	-1.514
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF SENIOR CITIZENS	-0.421
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN THE U.S.A.	-0.429
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS	-1.476
NATIONAL COUNCIL ON INDEPENDENT LIVING	-0.564
NATIONAL CRIME VICTIM LAW INSTITUTE	0.079
NATIONAL DISABILITY RIGHTS NETWORK	-0.671
NATIONAL DISTRICT ATTORNEYS ASSOCIATION	0.680
NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION	-0.766
NATIONAL EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE	-0.976
NATIONAL EMPLOYMENT LAW PROJECT	-0.804
NATIONAL EMPLOYMENT LAWYERS ASSOCIATION	-0.725
NATIONAL FAMILY PLANNING AND REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH ASSOCIATION	-1.282
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF INDEPENDENT BUSINESS SMALL BUSINESS LEGAL CENTER	0.504
NATIONAL GAY AND LESBIAN TASK FORCE	-1.303
NATIONAL GOVERNORS' ASSOCIATION	0.306
NATIONAL HEALTH LAW PROGRAM	-0.852
NATIONAL IMMIGRANT JUSTICE CENTER	-0.550
NATIONAL IMMIGRATION LAW CENTER	-0.667
NATIONAL IMMIGRATION PROJECT OF THE NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD	-0.502
NATIONAL JEWISH COMMISSION ON LAW AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS	0.455
NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD	-0.073
NATIONAL LAW CENTER FOR CHILDREN AND FAMILIES	0.400
NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD	-0.911
NATIONAL LEAGUE OF CITIES	0.269
NATIONAL LEGAL AID AND DEFENDER ASSOCIATION	-0.524
NATIONAL LEGAL FOUNDATION	0.723
NATIONAL MULTIPLE SCLEROSIS SOCIETY	-0.614
NATIONAL NETWORK TO END DOMESTIC VIOLENCE	-0.495
NATIONAL NEWSPAPER ASSOCIATION	-0.092
NATIONAL OFFICE FOR THE RIGHTS OF THE INDIGENT	-0.581

NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR WOMEN	-1.490
NATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF PARENTS OF MURDERED CHILDREN	0.529
NATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF SOCIAL SECURITY CLAIMANTS' REPRESENTATIVES	-0.397
NATIONAL PARTNERSHIP FOR WOMEN & FAMILIES	-1.753
NATIONAL PRESS CLUB	-0.066
NATIONAL PRESS PHOTOGRAPHERS ASSOCIATION	-0.089
NATIONAL RAILWAY LABOR CONFERENCE	0.179
NATIONAL RIGHT TO LIFE COMMITTEE	1.012
NATIONAL RIGHT TO WORK LEGAL DEFENSE FOUNDATION	0.129
NATIONAL RURAL ELECTRIC COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION	0.054
NATIONAL SCHOOL BOARDS ASSOCIATION	0.171
NATIONAL SHERIFFS' ASSOCIATION	0.792
NATIONAL TAXPAYERS UNION	-0.113
NATIONAL TREASURY EMPLOYEES UNION	-0.318
NATIONAL TRUST FOR HISTORIC PRESERVATION	-0.090
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE	-0.971
NATIONAL WILDLIFE FEDERATION	-0.329
NATIONAL WOMEN'S HEALTH NETWORK	-1.014
NATIONAL WOMEN'S LAW CENTER	-1.876
NATIONAL WOMEN'S POLITICAL CAUCUS	-1.723
NATURAL RESOURCES DEFENSE COUNCIL	-0.300
NEW ENGLAND LEGAL FOUNDATION	0.324
NEW JERSEY DEPARTMENT OF THE PUBLIC ADVOCATE	-0.344
NEW YORK CITY BAR ASSOCIATION	-0.420
NEW YORK CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION	-0.534
NEW YORK CLEARING HOUSE ASSOCIATION	-0.014
NEW YORK COUNCIL OF DEFENSE LAWYERS	-0.118
NEW YORK INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY LAW ASSOCIATION	0.070
NEW YORK LAWYERS FOR THE PUBLIC INTEREST	-0.856
NEW YORK STATE BAR ASSOCIATION	-0.367
NEW YORK STATE COALITION AGAINST DOMESTIC VIOLENCE	-0.674
NEW YORK TIMES COMPANY	-0.082

NEWSPAPER ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA	-0.011
NEWSPAPER GUILD	-0.356
NEWSWEEK, INC.	-0.097
NORTH AMERICAN SECURITIES ADMINISTRATORS ASSOCIATION, INC.	-0.187
NOW FOUNDATION	-1.427
NPR, INC.	-0.138
OCA - ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN ADVOCATES	-0.995
OLDER WOMEN'S LEAGUE	-1.151
ORGANIZATION FOR INTERNATIONAL INVESTMENT	0.299
PACIFIC LEGAL FOUNDATION	0.425
PARALYZED VETERANS OF AMERICA	-0.333
PEN AMERICAN CENTER	-0.367
PENNSYLVANIA COALITION AGAINST DOMESTIC VIOLENCE	-0.677
PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY	-0.764
PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY FOUNDATION	-1.087
PFIZER INC.	-0.122
PHARMACEUTICAL RESEARCH AND MANUFACTURERS OF AMERICA	0.210
PLANNED PARENTHOOD FEDERATION OF AMERICA, INC.	-0.953
POLICY ANALYSIS CENTER	0.437
PROCTER & GAMBLE COMPANY	-0.086
PRODUCT LIABILITY ADVISORY COUNCIL, INC.	0.241
PUBLIC ADVOCATES, INC.	-0.764
PUBLIC BROADCASTING SERVICE	-0.121
PUBLIC CITIZEN	-0.338
PUBLIC DEFENDER SERVICE FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA	-0.493
PUBLIC JUSTICE	-0.500
PUBLIC KNOWLEDGE	-0.051
RABBINICAL ASSEMBLY	-0.596
RABBINICAL COUNCIL OF AMERICA	-0.025
RADIO TELEVISION DIGITAL NEWS ASSOCIATION	-0.102
RAILWAY LABOR EXECUTIVES ASSOCIATION	-0.116
REASON FOUNDATION	0.349

RECORDING INDUSTRY ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA	-0.085
REGENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA	-0.077
RELIGIOUS COALITION FOR REPRODUCTIVE CHOICE	-1.711
REPORTERS COMMITTEE FOR FREEDOM OF THE PRESS	-0.055
REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE	0.284
RETAIL INDUSTRY LEADERS ASSOCIATION	0.138
RUTHERFORD INSTITUTE	0.078
RUTHERFORD INSTITUTE OF ALABAMA	0.579
RUTHERFORD INSTITUTE OF CONNECTICUT	1.103
RUTHERFORD INSTITUTE OF GEORGIA	0.820
RUTHERFORD INSTITUTE OF MINNESOTA	0.873
RUTHERFORD INSTITUTE OF MONTANA	0.858
RUTHERFORD INSTITUTE OF OHIO	1.061
RUTHERFORD INSTITUTE OF TENNESSEE	0.819
RUTHERFORD INSTITUTE OF TEXAS	0.829
RUTHERFORD INSTITUTE OF VIRGINIA	0.829
SARGENT SHRIVER NATIONAL CENTER ON POVERTY LAW	-1.232
SECURITIES AND EXCHANGE COMMISSION	-0.083
SECURITIES INDUSTRY AND FINANCIAL MARKETS ASSOCIATION	0.269
SECURITIES INDUSTRY ASSOCIATION	0.164
SERVICE EMPLOYEES INTERNATIONAL UNION	-0.797
SEXUALITY INFORMATION AND EDUCATION COUNCIL OF THE U.S.	-1.215
SHELL OIL CO.	0.066
SIERRA CLUB	-0.342
SOCIETY FOR ADOLESCENT HEALTH AND MEDICINE	-0.937
SOCIETY FOR HUMAN RESOURCE MANAGEMENT	0.533
SOCIETY FOR HUMANISTIC JUDAISM	-0.930
SOCIETY OF AMERICAN LAW TEACHERS	-0.990
SOCIETY OF PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISTS	-0.097
SOFTWARE & INFORMATION INDUSTRY ASSOCIATION	-0.066
SOUTH ASIAN AMERICANS LEADING TOGETHER	-0.952
SOUTHEAST ASIA RESOURCE ACTION CENTER	-0.814

SOUTHEASTERN LEGAL FOUNDATION	0.542
SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA EDISON COMPANY	0.068
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE	-0.789
SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER	-0.852
SOUTHWEST WOMEN'S LAW CENTER	-1.928
STATE PUBLIC DEFENDER OF CALIFORNIA	-0.500
STEPHENS MEDIA LLC	-0.091
STUDENT PRESS LAW CENTER	-0.215
SYNAGOGUE COUNCIL OF AMERICA	-0.394
TASH	-0.306
TAX EXECUTIVES INSTITUTE, INC.	-0.020
THE ARC	-0.573
THOMAS JEFFERSON CENTER FOR THE PROTECTION OF FREE EXPRESSION	-0.203
TIME, INC.	-0.001
TIMES MIRROR COMPANY	0.006
TRIBUNE COMPANY	-0.056
U.S. CATHOLIC CONFERENCE	0.483
U.S. CONFERENCE OF CATHOLIC BISHOPS	0.455
U.S. CONFERENCE OF MAYORS	0.248
U.S. JUSTICE FOUNDATION	0.488
U.S. PUBLIC INTEREST RESEARCH GROUP	-0.379
U.S. STUDENT ASSOCIATION	-1.352
U.S. TELECOM ASSOCIATION	-0.093
UNION FOR REFORM JUDAISM	-0.906
UNION OF ORTHODOX JEWISH CONGREGATIONS OF AMERICA	0.043
UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION	-1.064
UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST WOMEN'S FEDERATION	-1.396
UNITED CEREBRAL PALSY	-0.622
UNITED CHURCH BOARD FOR HOMELAND MINISTRIES	-1.003
UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST	-0.894
UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST OFFICE OF CHURCH IN SOCIETY	-1.475
UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST OFFICE OF COMMUNICATION	-0.462

UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA	-0.305
UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	-0.572
UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA	-0.197
UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF CONSERVATIVE JUDAISM	-0.886
VERIZON COMMUNICATIONS INC.	-0.031
VERMONT NETWORK AGAINST DOMESTIC AND SEXUAL VIOLENCE	-0.367
VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS OF THE UNITED STATES	0.131
VIETNAM VETERANS OF AMERICA	-0.254
VOLUNTEER LAWYERS FOR THE ARTS	-0.256
WASHINGTON LAWYERS' COMMITTEE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS AND URBAN AFFAIRS	-0.606
WASHINGTON LEGAL FOUNDATION	0.428
WIDER OPPORTUNITIES FOR WOMEN	-1.825
WILDERNESS SOCIETY	-0.312
WOMEN EMPLOYED	-2.160
WOMEN LAWYERS ASSOCIATION OF LOS ANGELES	-1.518
WOMEN OF REFORM JUDAISM	-1.766
WOMEN'S BAR ASSOCIATION OF MASSACHUSETTS	-1.585
WOMEN'S BAR ASSOCIATION OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA	-1.479
WOMEN'S BAR ASSOCIATION OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK	-1.256
WOMEN'S EQUITY ACTION LEAGUE	-1.477
WOMEN'S LAW CENTER OF MARYLAND	-2.016
WOMEN'S LAW PROJECT	-2.475
WOMEN'S SPORTS FOUNDATION	-1.300
WRITERS GUILD OF AMERICA, WEST	-0.105
YAHOO! INC.	0.000
YOUTH LAW CENTER	-0.678
YWCA OF THE U.S.A.	-1.569

Note: Amici Space ideal point estimates for organized interests.

Additional References

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