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# Political Lawyers: The Structure of a National Network

Anthony Paik, John P. Heinz, and Ann Southworth

*Some research on lawyers active in politics has found that the ties among them create networks in which a center or core of influential actors is surrounded by more peripheral participants. Other studies, however, found more segmented networks, sometimes lacking central players. This research examines the structure and determinants of political ties among forty-seven elite lawyers who served organizations prominent in fourteen national policy issues in 2004–05. The analysis finds a network structure that resembles a rough circle with Republicans on one side and Democrats on the other. Lawyers affiliated with organizations representing a broad constellation of interests are closer to the center of the network, while those working for specialized or narrow causes tend to be located in the periphery. Ties are more dense among conservatives than among liberals. Lawyers who work as organizational leaders or managers are more likely to be near the center than are litigators. Central actors contribute larger amounts to election campaigns. The organized bar, especially the American Bar Association, appears to provide links between liberals and conservatives in one segment of the network.*

## INTRODUCTION

Given the prominence of lawyers in politics, one might expect scholarly attention to the networks of relationships among politically active lawyers. The structure of such networks and the positions of particular types of lawyers within them reflect and influence the power, resources, and missions of the organizations that the lawyers serve (Southworth, Paik, and Heinz 2011). Most research on the political networks of lawyers, however, has focused on specific contexts, such as the Supreme Court bar (McGuire 1993) and lawyers working for conservative and libertarian organizations (Heinz, Paik, and Southworth 2003; Paik, Southworth, and Heinz 2007). Little of the scholarly work has studied lawyers who represent diverse constituencies spanning the ideological spectrum (but see Laumann et al. 1985).

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In this article, we investigate the structure and determinants of networks among a broad set of lawyers involved in national policymaking. We examine the observed patterns of ties and assess the extent to which they reflect social and political cleavages—that is, the tendency for network ties to occur more frequently among lawyers sharing characteristics such as gender, party affiliation, work roles, geographic region, and law school prestige. We also examine whether lawyers' positions in this network are related to ideological commitments and issue agendas of the organizations they serve.

There is a considerable scholarly literature arguing that networks of relationships among elites active in American politics are characterized by clear hierarchies in which peripheral players surround a dense core of influential, well-connected actors. That work includes Mills's *The Power Elite* (1956), William Domhoff's *The Bohemian Grove and Other Retreats* (1974) and *Who Rules America Now?* (1983), Gwen Moore's "The Structure of a National Elite Network" (1979), and Michael Useem's *The Inner Circle* (1984), among many other accounts. A survey of Washington lawyers and lobbyists in the 1980s, however, concluded that the relationships among them were divided into clusters or segments associated with distinct specialties defined by policy areas and clientele (Heinz et al. 1993). The core of the network structure was empty—that is, there were few, if any, central actors.<sup>1</sup> It is not clear whether the difference in findings was attributable to the research methods used, time (i.e., historical effects), or differences among the populations studied. For example, the shared professional training of lawyers and the institutions of the legal profession, including the courts and the organized bar, may increase the likelihood of contact among members of that occupational "community." A recent study of lawyers serving conservative political organizations found a stable core in the center of the network (Paik, Southworth, and Heinz 2007; Southworth 2008). Because that finding could be attributable to the ideological affinity of the set of actors examined, however, a comparable analysis of lawyers representing a larger range of interest groups may be informative.

Several theoretical models of political networks have been posited. Knoke's (1990, 135) typology presents four hypothesized structures: centrally administered, polarized, bargaining, and polycentric (see also Laumann and Marsden 1979). The centralized network consists of a subset of actors that dictate decisions, while the more peripheral blocks exert little influence. The polarized network lacks central actors—coalitions are clustered in two opposing camps, due to a dominant cleavage. In the bargaining model, core actors serve as mediators among and representatives for competing political constituencies. In the polycentric network, multiple cleavages separate coalitions, so that key actors are decentralized. Importantly, the mechanism giving rise to these distinct network structures is the degree of dissimilarity among the underlying constituencies of political actors (Laumann and Marsden 1979). The centrally administered network, for example, lacks cleavages among competing political interests, and, in the polarized model, there is only a single division among the parties. The bargaining and polycentric models both reflect multiple cleavages.

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1. Networks lacking central actors have also been observed in studies of gift giving (Malinowski [1922] 1984), marriage ties across subgroups (Bearman 1997), and sexual relationships (Bearman, Moody, and Stovel 2004).

Since a previous survey of Washington lawyers and lobbyists found a network lacking central actors (see Heinz et al. 1993), we designed this research to provide a stringent test of that finding. On the assumption that lawyers' shared skills and knowledge would tend to draw them together, creating a set of core actors, we chose to focus on lawyers involved in a set of issues on which lawyers are especially active and in which their professional knowledge and skills are highly relevant. Thus, the question is, will we find some lawyers acting as mediators or brokers, occupying the center of the network and serving to bridge left and right, or does the network have a hollow core, lacking actors who provide links between contending partisans?

### LAWYERS' CHARACTERISTICS, ROLES, POLITICAL TIES, AND INFLUENCE

Social and political factors influence network structures. Political cleavages, reflecting ideological differences or varying political constituencies, create both ties and structural holes. Ties spanning multiple political boundaries may be especially difficult to create and maintain. Homophily—the tendency of individuals to associate with others who are similar (“birds of a feather flock together”)—often influences connections. But, while gender, age, education, race, and ethnicity are well-known determinants of contact, less is known about the effects of lawyers' professional roles. Some lawyers attempt to influence public policy in courts, of course, while others work in legislatures, government agencies, the media, and grassroots campaigns (Laumann et al. 1985). These different types of political work often reinforce one another, and lawyers may engage in several strategies simultaneously and collaborate with other types of actors—for example, lobbyists, media-relations personnel, and community organizers—to accomplish their goals.

Lawyers who engage in legislative work may seek to forge compromises among varying constituencies in order to create a winning coalition, while those who focus primarily on litigation might be less likely to build bridges across issue areas or ideological divides (although they sometimes build litigation alliances within their issue areas). Litigators may more often interact with other litigators than with lawyers who engage primarily in lobbying, media work, or grassroots strategies, and lawyer-lobbyists may be more likely to interact with others who engage in legislative work (see Heinz et al. 1993, 99–100, tables 4.4, 4.5).

The issue agendas of organizational clients influence the network roles of their lawyers. Advocates for umbrella groups, for example, are more likely to serve as brokers than are lawyers who serve single-issue advocacy organizations, and representatives of broad economic interests may be more likely to bridge constituencies than are advocates for groups committed to symbolic crusades (Salisbury et al. 1987). Moreover, particular policy issues are associated with particular strategies. For example, because obscenity and pornography are subject to settled (if vague) legal precedents that do not invite high-profile litigation, lawyers involved in those issues generally fight their battles in legislatures and the press rather than in the courts. Their patterns of interaction may reflect this. In contrast, we might expect litigators—especially appellate advocates—to be prominent in the networks of political actors involved in unsettled

and highly contested constitutional issues such as abortion, gun control, property rights, and the relationship between church and state. Thus, we hypothesize that political ties will be more likely between lawyers who share work roles.

Finally, there are likely to be relationships between positions in the network and the relative influence of the actors in those positions. Lawyers who serve large, well-funded, stable organizations are more likely to hold pivotal positions in political networks than are lawyers who serve small, poor, and ephemeral groups (Paik, Southworth, and Heinz 2007). “Centrality” measures identify persons occupying core positions that are correlated with power, influence, status, and control of information (Freeman 1979; Bonacich 1987; Friedkin 1991; Paik, Southworth, and Heinz 2007). Because these centrality measures assess relationally defined power, prestige, or influence, they are proxies for ability to lead. As a validity check, we examine the extent to which structural positions in this network are correlated with an exogenous measure of influence. Specifically, we analyze the relationship between network centrality and the lawyers’ political contributions to federal election campaigns. Lawyers’ political contributions may reflect their status, political visibility, and/or level of commitment to the causes they serve.

## RESEARCH DESIGN

The sample consists of forty-seven elite lawyers who worked for organizations involved in national policy issues during 2004 and 2005. To select this sample, we first specified a population of organizations involved in national policy making and then identified lawyers who served those organizations. The organizations were active on matters classified as “legal affairs” issues by the *Congressional Quarterly Almanac* in 2004 and 2005.<sup>2</sup> We chose legal affairs in order to make it more likely that lawyers would play salient roles. We wanted a set of issues in which lawyers would be involved, would be likely to be influential, and might serve as bridges among contending interest groups. The particular events (listed in Appendix Table A.1) concerned abortion, gay rights, asbestos compensation, class action lawsuits, DNA testing/victims’ rights, flag desecration, identity theft, medical malpractice liability, guns, bankruptcy, judicial nominations, federal court jurisdiction, eminent domain, and the Terri Schiavo case.<sup>3</sup> More than 2,000 interest groups appeared in news stories about these events in twenty newspapers and magazines (see Appendix Table A.2). We employed a “prominence criterion” (Knoke 1994, 282) and focused on a subset of 119 organizations found in six

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2. One of the vexing problems in network analysis is the definition of system boundaries (Laumann, Marsden, and Prensky 1989). Networks may, potentially, extend far afield. One must decide where to stop. The “issue events” method is a standard technique for dealing with the boundary specification problem (Knoke 1994). Each policy issue is an “event” made up of a set of actions—meetings, hearings, press conferences, debates, votes, etc.—in each of which the participants elect whether or not to participate (Knoke and Yang 2008, 20).

3. The choice of “legal affairs” as the set of issues used to identify organizations is also likely to produce more lawyers’ associations and lawyer-dominated organizations than would a broader set of public policy issues.

or more news accounts.<sup>4</sup> Those organizations, listed in Appendix Table A.3, include businesses, trade associations, membership organizations, religious groups, think tanks, and many of the best-known liberal, conservative, and libertarian policy organizations.

In previous work, we examined the relationships among the organizations (see Southworth, Paik, and Heinz 2011). We first analyzed the pattern of foundation grants to the nonprofit associations. Using multidimensional scaling, we found a network with several distinct clusters, organized in a rough circle with a mostly empty center. One cluster is composed of organizations advocating conservative social and religious causes (e.g., Focus on the Family, Alliance Defense Fund, and Family Research Council). This grouping is separate from one that includes the Cato Institute, Heritage Foundation, American Enterprise Institute, and Federalist Society, among others. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers are located near them. Continuing on around the circle, the next cluster includes “liberal establishment” organizations (e.g., the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People [NAACP], Consumer Federation, American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations [AFL-CIO], and Brookings). This group is near but separate from a relatively tight grouping of “liberal activist” organizations (e.g., Public Citizen, Lambda Legal, Planned Parenthood, NARAL Pro-Choice America [NARAL], and Sierra Club). In a second analysis of the relationships among the organizations, we used a measure that combined four variables—joint participation in litigation, joint participation in legislative testimony, use of the same lobbying firms, and shared board members. This analysis included businesses as well as nonprofits. Unlike the funding network, this structure has a dense core of organizations centered on major corporations and their trade associations—for example, Citigroup, American Bankers Association, General Electric (GE), Ford, U.S. Chamber of Commerce. Surrounding these organizations, in more peripheral locations, are organizations less exclusively focused on business issues, with conservatives on one side of the structure and liberals on the other.

We found that 1,149 lawyers served the 119 organizations in litigation or legislative testimony on the fourteen issues, as registered lobbyists, or as members of the organizations’ boards of directors. Because prior research on Washington lawyers and lobbyists had found a network structure without central actors, we wanted to design this analysis to maximize the likelihood of finding core elites. In order to test the prior findings, therefore, we sought to identify lawyers who were especially likely to serve as bridges or connectors among the several constituencies. It is possible that communication among the constituencies could occur through low-visibility mediators or message carriers, but such actors are difficult to identify and reputational methods for selecting them are likely to be unreliable, underinclusive, and possibly biased (Knoke and Yang 2008, 17–18). We therefore chose to focus on the lawyers who were most active and prominent in these issues.

To select the lawyers who were most likely to be key players, we identified 98 lawyers who served more than one of the 119 organizations or who played multiple roles within an organization (e.g., as advocate and officer or as board member and lobbyist). We then searched for the names of those 98 lawyers in four online sources: the

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4. Some of the nonprofit organizations listed “related” organizations on their IRS Form 990s. We included data about those organizations in our analysis.



Lexis/Nexis “major newspapers” database, CQ *Congressional Testimony*, *Roll Call*, and *National Journal*. Forty-seven of the 98 lawyers were mentioned 100 or more times in those sources from 2000 through 2007.<sup>5</sup> We recognize that visibility is only one possible measure of influence and that it may indicate only a particular type of influence. Unlike reputation, however, it has the virtue of being replicable, and it is less likely to direct the research toward a particular, limited circle of acquaintance. For each of these 47 lawyers, we gathered biographical information, data on campaign contributions to presidential races and the major parties from 2000 through 2008, and organizational ties (including employment, board memberships, and volunteer activities) during the same period, and we coded party affiliation based on the lawyers’ patterns of contributions. We then constructed an affiliation matrix consisting of lawyers and their ties to organizations.<sup>6</sup>

Restricting the analysis to this admittedly arbitrary slice of the potentially relevant data was dictated by practical considerations, and we should be cautious about possible consequences of this narrowing of observations. It is likely that other organizations, which were noted in the news media less frequently, also played important roles in these issues. In the future, an alternative research strategy might use a stratified sample of organizations, perhaps drawing some from each of three tiers or levels of activity—the organizations most visible, those least visible, and those in an intermediate category. We would have liked to pursue that approach as well, but concentration on the most active organizations and the most prominent lawyers seemed the most efficient way to locate central actors given available resources. Any research design will leave potentially relevant phenomena unexplored. With enough time, we could do more. Another set of issues might well give us a different picture; a broader sample of organizations would provide a more complete story; a larger number of lawyers would probably include other key players. Case studies, however, have shown us that slices can be informative.<sup>7</sup>

## FINDINGS

### Sample Characteristics

The lawyers examined here are leaders of the organizations they serve and prominent advocates in the arenas that shape public policy, including courts, Congress, administrative and regulatory agencies, and the media. Collectively, they have held a variety of important positions in politics and government. Two were presidential

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5. The median number of media mentions for these forty-seven lawyers was 340, as compared to a median of seventeen for the remaining fifty-one lawyers.

6. We converted the affiliation matrix (**A**) into a  $47 \times 47$  matrix, **N**, by multiplying **A** by its transpose ( $\mathbf{N} = \mathbf{A} * \mathbf{A}'$ ). Cell values in the **N** matrix indicate the number of shared ties to organizations for each pair of lawyers.

7. See Knoke and Yang (2008) at 17:

Researchers may apply nominalist criteria, setting an arbitrary threshold for their inclusion rules even where positions vary continuously. For example, to study large business firms, researchers might slice 50, 100, or 500 companies from the Fortune list. Where to draw a boundary may depend more on time and budget constraints than on some “natural” division between the included and excluded actors.

TABLE 1.  
Descriptive Statistics for Variables

Variable	Mean or Prop	SD*
Gender		
Male	83%	
Female	17%	
Party affiliation		
Republican	43%	
Democrat	49%	
Other	09%	
Lawyer role		
Litigator	19%	
Legislative advocate	21%	
Other role	60%	
Region		
D.C.	66%	
South	11%	
Northeast	13%	
West/Midwest	11%	
Law school category		
Elite	28%	
Prestige	34%	
Regional	15%	
Local	23%	
Degree centrality	7.28	5.19
Political contributions (dollars)	13,012	62,291
Political contributions (logged)	6.22	3.52
N	47	

\* Standard deviation

candidates, one was attorney general, two were governors, four were congressmen, one was a state supreme court justice, one was counsel to the president, one was a cabinet secretary, five held White House staff positions, and two were US attorneys. Many of the lawyers are founders and leaders of influential organizations—four were presidents of the American Bar Association (ABA), and one was a founder of the Federalist Society, an association of conservative and libertarian lawyers dedicated to “reordering priorities within the legal system to place a premium on individual liberty, traditional values, and the rule of law” (Federalist Society 2010). Some are accomplished appellate advocates, while others are among the most effective lobbyists in Washington. Still others are prominent partners in major law firms. Brief biographies of the forty-seven lawyers are included in Appendix Table A.4.

Table 1 presents descriptive statistics for the 47 lawyers. Perhaps reflecting the elite character of this set of lawyers, 83 percent were men and 66 percent were based in Washington, DC. Forty percent were known primarily as litigators or legislative advocates, while 60 percent played broader roles in the organizations and causes they served as organizational leaders. Roughly half were Democrats (49 percent) and 43 percent



were Republicans; the remaining lawyers were not clearly identified with either major party. Nearly two-thirds of the lawyers were educated in top law schools: 28 percent have law degrees from “elite” law schools, defined as the top 6 schools in the 2000 *U.S. News & World Report* rankings, and 34 percent from schools ranked 7 through 20. In general, the 47 lawyers are well connected and active in political campaigns. Their mean number of organizational ties and amount of political contributions were 7.3 and \$13,012, respectively. The latter figure reflects the exceptionally large contributions of C. Boyden Gray during this period; he alone gave \$428,000. The median contribution level was \$1,300.

## The Network Structure

Figure 1 presents an analysis of ties among the forty-seven lawyers in the sample.<sup>8</sup> The ties used here are joint affiliations with organizations. This is a “two-mode” analysis, meaning that we show both the individual lawyers and the organizations that connect pairs of lawyers.<sup>9</sup> The data concerning ties are drawn from records of litigation and lobbying on the set of “legal affairs” issues, boards of directors lists, and lawyers’ biographies.<sup>10</sup>

In the figure, liberals and the organizations that pursue their causes usually appear on the left side of the space, while conservatives are on the right. At the upper right is the conservative establishment: the Heritage Foundation, Federalist Society, American Enterprise Institute, RAND Corporation, U.S. Chamber of Commerce, a former US attorney general (Meese), two former congressmen (Porter and McIntosh), and two former governors (Keating and Engler). Just to the right of the middle are two very prominent Republicans—Donald Hodel, secretary of the interior in the Reagan administration and a former president of both the Christian Coalition and Focus on the Family, and C. Boyden Gray, counsel to the president in the first Bush administration and ambassador to the European Union in the second. The positions of these two lawyers suggest that they could serve as mediators among differing elements of the Republican coalition, especially between business interests, in the middle right, and social conservatives, on the lower right.

Connections, indicated by lines linking organizations to lawyers, are especially dense just to the right of the center, where we find the Federalist Society, American Enterprise Institute, U.S. Chamber of Commerce, Bretton Woods Committee, Council

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8. One lawyer, Keane, does not appear in the figure because he does not share an organizational affiliation with any of the other forty-six lawyers.

9. The analysis uses a “spring-embedding” algorithm. The lawyers and organizations, represented by points, are pulled together or apart by their varying ties to others. In the algorithm, these competing forces correspond to tension exerted by springs, and the springs pull against a constant force, pushing the actors apart. The resulting location of each point in the solution is a product of these several forces, operating simultaneously.

10. Not all organizations that are included here appear in the news stories about the issues. Although many of them do appear there, this set of organizations is broader. The initial set of 119 organizations (those found in six or more news accounts) was used to specify the boundaries of the network. Here, however, we have a different purpose—we are looking for organizations that link the lawyers through overlapping activity. When we are able to identify link organizations that are not in the list of 119 (e.g., Georgetown University, John McCain 2008, and Hogan & Hartson), there is no valid reason to exclude them.



for National Policy,<sup>11</sup> Bush and McCain presidential campaigns, Citizens for a Sound Economy, and Brookings Institution (see regions 2, 3, and 4). This indicates that organizations and lawyers representing business interests, such as Gray and Engler (president and CEO of the National Association of Manufacturers), are especially well integrated. A smaller area with dense connections is below the center and a bit to the left (see regions 5 and 6). This area includes Thurgood Marshall, Jr. and some former presidents of the ABA (Grey, Greco, and Curtin) as well as the ABA's chief lobbyist, Robert D. Evans. Note the presence here of Democratic election campaign organizations—the Obama and Hillary Clinton presidential campaigns and the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee. The ABA appears to connect business interests to these liberal groups.

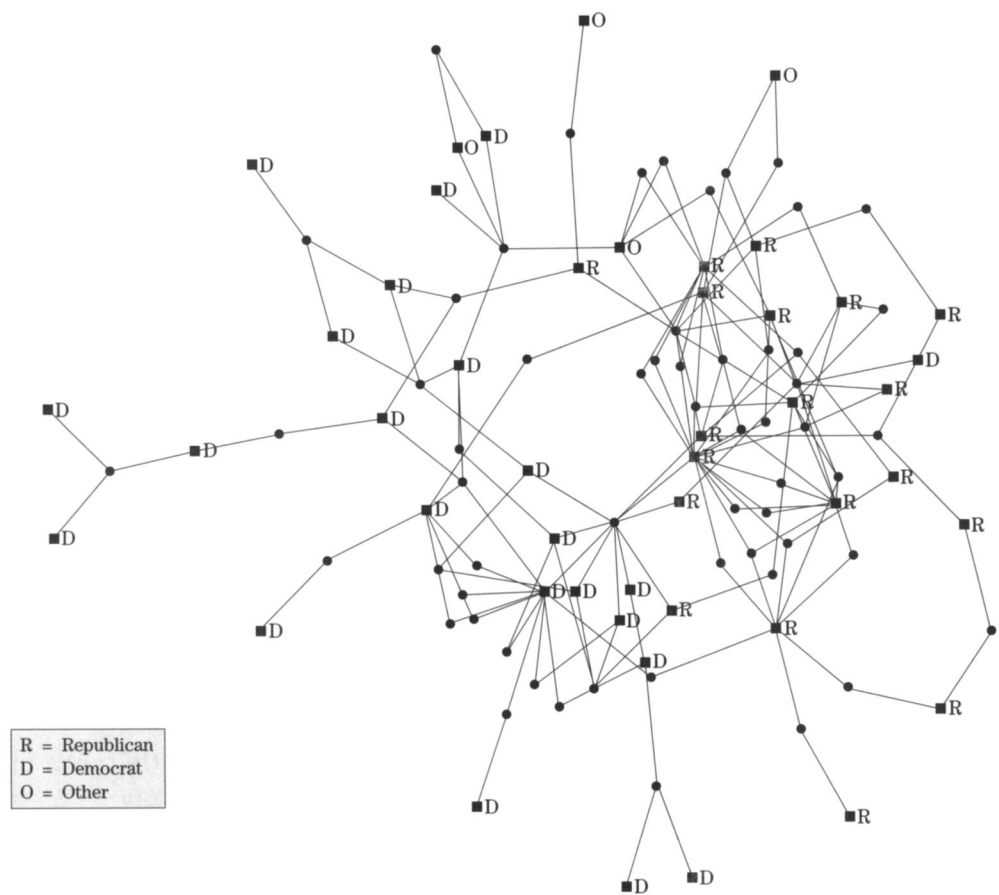
At the left of the space are organizations and lawyers devoted to particular liberal causes—Planned Parenthood, People for the American Way, NAACP, Consumers Union, Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, Alliance for Justice, Brady Campaign to Prevent Gun Violence, and Third Way (formerly, Americans for Gun Safety). All but one of the eight women in the sample and all of the four African American lawyers appear on the left side. The ties in this broad region are generally more sparse than they are on the right. This suggests that the liberals are less well integrated, less densely connected than are conservatives, especially business interests. We test this proposition more formally in the next section of the article.

Libertarians and their advocates—Bob Barr (2008 Libertarian presidential candidate), Robert Levy (Cato Institute senior fellow), and Dana Berliner (Institute for Justice senior attorney)—appear at the top center. In structural as well as ideological terms, these lawyers stand between liberals and conservatives.

There is an open area in the center of the space. The Hogan & Hartson law firm (H & H) is within this hole in the doughnut because Barnes (a Democrat) and Porter (a Republican) were both partners in that firm. (They are also both former congressmen.) If we focus on the lawyers, not the organizations, we see that those closest to the center are Porter, Hodel, Gray, Archer, Henderson (president of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights), and Levy, arranged in a rough circle. Of these six, three held high office in the federal government and a fourth, Archer, was mayor of Detroit and president of the ABA. Meese, Barr, and Conrad are also near the center, and two of those three are also former federal officials. The organizations that provide the most links—the ABA and the Federalist Society—are located on the rim of this inner circle. Both are lawyers' professional associations. The ABA, the older and larger of the two, lobbies on a diverse range of public policy issues. The Federalist Society, a newer organization that presents itself as a conservative/libertarian "counter-ABA" (Teles 2008, 167), does not itself take formal policy positions. However, its fifteen nationwide practice groups facilitate members' involvement in public policy controversies ranging from securities and antitrust to religious liberties (Southworth 2008).

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11. The Council for National Policy was founded in 1981 by Tim LaHaye, then head of the Moral Majority. It has been described as "a little-known club of a few hundred of the most powerful conservatives in the country [who, since 1981] have met behind closed doors at undisclosed locations for a confidential conference . . . to strategize about how to turn the country to the right" (Kirkpatrick 2004).



**FIGURE 2.**  
**Party memberships of the lawyers**

The litigators in this figure are active on policy issues in which constitutional case law is unsettled: abortion (Brown, Weber, Roger Evans), gun regulation (Henigan), property rights (Berliner), and church-state issues (Bull, Baylor, Minckberg). These lawyers are scattered in the periphery of the structure, indicating that they are not well-integrated into the network.

Figure 2 shows the lawyers' party affiliations. All of the Republicans are on the right side of the space, and all but one of the Democrats are on the left side. The exception, Jeffrey Peck, appears on the right due to his lobbying on behalf of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. Peck's Web page explains the seeming anomaly; it cites press coverage identifying him as one of the "leading Democratic lobbyists" and as the consultant "Wall Street turns to . . . for representation in the Democratic-controlled Congress."

**Determinants of Network Ties and Political Contributions**

Table 2 presents structural blockmodels examining whether characteristics of the lawyers are associated with shared organizational ties. The models partition the matrix

TABLE 2.  
Variable Homophily Blockmodels of Tie Density by  
Categories (n = 2,162)

Model	Tie Probability
1. Gender	
Intercept	0.11
Male	0.06
Female	0.07
R <sup>2</sup>	0.01
Model 2. Party	
Intercept	0.09
Republican	0.27***
Democrat	0.11*
Other	0.08
R <sup>2</sup>	0.08***
Model 3. Lawyer role	
Intercept	0.10
Litigator	0.01
Legislative advocate	0.10
Other role	0.14**
R <sup>2</sup>	0.03**
Model 4. Region	
Intercept	0.15
D.C.	0.02
South	−0.15
Northeast	−0.02
West/Midwest	0.05
R <sup>2</sup>	0.00
Model 5. Law school category	
Intercept	0.17
Elite	−0.08
Prestige	−0.05
Regional	−0.07
Local	0.05
R <sup>2</sup>	0.01

Significance tests based on 5,000 random permutations.  
\* p ≤ .05; \*\* p ≤ .001; \*\*\* p ≤ .001

of coaffiliations based on lawyers’ attributes (e.g., gender, party affiliation, etc.). The observed densities of ties within and across these categories are then compared to a distribution of densities generated by randomly permuting the rows and the columns of the matrix of lawyers. Thus, this blockmodeling approach tests whether the observed densities of ties in the blocks are significantly different from a distribution based on random interaction (Wasserman and Faust 1994, 688–89; Hanneman and Riddle 2005).<sup>12</sup>

12. These models are sometimes referred to as ANOVA density models (see Nordlund 2007).

In Model 1, we tested the hypothesis that shared ties within gender were more common than would be the case if the ties were randomly distributed. This model shows no significant parameters. The results of Models 4 and 5 are also nonsignificant, suggesting that lawyers who share geographic region or law school background are not more likely to be tied than one would expect if interactions were random. Model 2, however, shows that shared party affiliation is associated with an increased probability of ties. Party affiliation explains 8 percent of the variance in pairwise ties. Specifically, the probability of ties across parties is .09, and this estimate is nonsignificant, indicating that cross-party ties are no different from random interactions. In contrast, both Republicans and Democrats are likely to be tied to lawyers who share their party affiliation. The probability of shared ties among Republicans is 27 percentage points greater than the probability of ties across party.<sup>13</sup> For Democrats, the probability of shared ties is 11 percentage points greater than the probability of cross-party ties. Finally, Model 4 shows the presence of homophily based on lawyers' roles. Overall, shared roles explain 3 percent of the variance in pairwise ties, but the only significant coefficient is for lawyers who are not primarily litigators or lobbyists. Lawyers who play broader roles are 14 percentage points more likely to be tied to one another than to lawyers in the other categories.

Taken together, the results of the structural blockmodels suggest that party affiliation and lawyers' roles are important determinants of the network structure. We also found that homophily biases are greater for Republicans than Democrats. This is evident in Figure 2, which shows substantially more clustering on the right side of the figure than on the left. The salience of ideological differences highlights the fact that the observed structure is an oppositional network.

Table 3 presents regressions of shared ties to other lawyers, or degree centrality, and of campaign contributions (logged), using the same variables. Because of our small sample size, we estimated stepwise regressions where only significant covariates were retained.<sup>14</sup> The first model is a regression of the number of shared ties to other lawyers on party affiliation and lawyers' roles. This regression shows that lawyers who are Democrats have three fewer connections than Republicans ( $p < .05$ ), controlling for the lawyers' roles, which is consistent with our previous findings. In addition, lawyers who play broader organizational roles tend to have almost six more connections than litigators. Lobbyists have approximately four more connections than litigators, but this finding was not statistically significant ( $p < .10$ ).

In the model of political contributions, once we introduce degree centrality, none of the other covariates are significant. However, dummy variables for other-party affiliation, lawyers' roles, and attending regional law schools were significant in bivariate regressions (results available upon request). This suggests that those three variables are associated with the level of political contributions, directly or indirectly, but that those

13. While the significance test is based on the extent of difference from a random distribution, the comparison here is among observed patterns of the groups or categories.

14. Network data are not independently drawn, so standard inferential statistics will not produce correct standard errors. Instead, we employ a bootstrapping regression approach that compares obtained parameter estimates against a distribution of parameter estimates generated through random permutations (see Hanneman and Riddle 2005). The models presented in Table 3 are the final models for centrality and political donations.



TABLE 3.  
Bootstrapped Regressions of Centrality and Logged  
Contributions (n = 47)

Variable	Degree centrality M1	Political contributions, 2000–2008 (logged) M2
Democrat	–3.24*	
Other	–3.15	
Legislative advocate	4.27	
Other role	5.96***	
Degree centrality		0.30***
Intercept	4.67	4.02
R <sup>2</sup>	0.28*	0.20***

The variables for gender, region, and law school category were nonsignificant and were dropped in the stepwise regression.  
Significance tests based on 1,000 random permutations.  
\* p <= .05; \*\* p <= .001; \*\*\* p <= .001

associations are overwhelmed by the effect of network centrality, which is substantial. Each additional network tie is associated with a 30 percent increase in political contributions.<sup>15</sup> It is possible that players who occupy central positions in the network may feel greater obligations or pressure to contribute to election campaigns, or their level of commitment to the causes they advocate may be greater. Alternatively, the relationship between centrality and the level of contributions may be attributable to a third variable such as status, prominence, or visibility.

DISCUSSION

Essentially, the network structure is a variant of Knoke’s (1990) “polarized” model, where a substantial cleavage divides political actors into two factions. Certainly, we find an oppositional network in which conflicting interest groups are located in separate areas of the space. It is sharply divided by party. The structure, however, is not simply two opposing camps with open territory between their lines. Rather, we see a network that resembles a rough circle, with a hole at its center. This occurs because political blocs have edges or boundaries where there is a greater proximity to other interest groups—proximity both in terms of ideological position or programmatic goals and in terms of the likelihood of interaction. Interest group coalitions have centers and peripheries, and actors closer to the center or core of a coalition are likely to be purer in their views, stronger in their ideological commitments, and more supportive of the coalition’s goals than are those at the margins (see, generally, Miller and Komorita 1986; Hogg 1987; Levine and Moreland 1990).

15. The amount donated by C. Boyden Gray is an outlier. Regression models excluding Gray, however, produce similar results.

Thus, if we think of a stylized network structure with competing interest coalitions formed into two lines, opposing phalanxes, the actors at the ends of each of those lines are less fully integrated into the respective coalitions and thus more susceptible to proposals offered across the lines. This will tend to bend the lines toward each other, perhaps in some cases forming a circle. In our case, left and right are brought together by mediating institutions such as the ABA and the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU).

In Figure 1, if we begin at the lower right and then move around the circle in a counterclockwise direction, we find that social and religious conservatives affiliated with the American Center for Law and Justice and the Alliance Defense Fund are connected to business interests through organizations like the Bush and McCain presidential campaigns and through lawyers like Sekulow.<sup>16</sup> The ties of Hodel and Gray bridge business and religious conservative constituencies. Recall that Hodel held cabinet posts in the Reagan administration and serves on various corporate boards, while also maintaining ties to Christian conservative groups. Gray, the epitome of the Washington insider and the Republican establishment, also organized the Committee for Justice, a business group that worked with social conservatives to secure confirmation of President Bush's judicial nominees, including Chief Justice Roberts and Justice Alito. The Federalist Society, the Heritage Foundation, and the American Enterprise Institute, and lawyers such as Meese and Barr, tie business conservatives to libertarians such as Levy, of the Cato Institute, and Berliner, of the Institute for Justice. Libertarians are, in turn, a bridge (albeit a rather narrow one) to the left side of the space through the ACLU, with whom they share a commitment to First Amendment issues, including freedom of speech and freedom of association. The ACLU provides ties, direct and indirect, to organizations concerned with church-and-state issues, such as People for the American Way, and with civil rights, such as the NAACP and the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights. A branch of the network at the far left of the space includes lawyers and organizations advocating consumer rights. The civil rights groups are tied to gun control groups and the Kerry and Obama presidential campaigns. Continuing counterclockwise, and reaching the bottom of the space, there are ties to the Gore and Hillary Clinton campaigns and to former presidents of the ABA. The ABA and its lawyers, in turn, are linked to businesses, which brings us back to the point at which we began this paragraph. Victor Schwartz represents one bridge between conservatives and the leadership of the ABA. He is a founder of the American Tort Reform Association and advocates restrictions on tort liability, but he also has served as chair of the ABA's Legislative Subcommittee of the Product Liability Committee.<sup>17</sup> Similarly, Robin Conrad, executive vice-president of the National Chamber Litigation Center, has directed litigation for the U.S. Chamber of Commerce on federal preemption, punitive damages, and class actions, and she also has been active in the ABA.

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16. As chief counsel for the American Center for Law and Justice, Sekulow has handled most of the religious right's most important Supreme Court cases, but he also served with Gray and Meese on a team of lawyers advising President George W. Bush on judicial strategy. This team of lawyers, which also included Leonard Leo, executive vice president of the Federalist Society, dubbed themselves "the four horsemen" (Edsall and Milbank 2005).

17. In our analysis of the lawyers' individual campaign contributions, we found that Schwartz has primarily supported Republicans but has also given money to Democrats.

Instead of displaying a simple, unidimensional cleavage, the structure is a multifaceted network in which distinct interest group constituencies overlap with others in agenda or ideology, so that one coalition shades into another through institutional ties. Work roles and geographic locations shape these ties, making some sorts of connection more likely than others. As we saw in Figure 1 and Table 3, lawyers who are primarily litigators are less well integrated than lawyers who play broader roles.

The only tie that bridges the open center of the space is that between Barnes on the left and Porter on the right, through their shared affiliation with the Hogan & Hartson law firm. This tie and those through the Georgetown Law School and the US Supreme Court Historical Society may not advance shared political goals, but they provide an institutional framework or setting in which contacts are made and operational connections can be formed.

The other striking characteristic of this network is that ties among conservatives, especially business conservatives, are notably more dense than those among liberals. It appears that liberals have not created umbrella groups that effectively integrate lawyers associated with varying liberal causes in a manner analogous to the function performed for the right by the Federalist Society, the Heritage Foundation, and the American Enterprise Institute. Conservative patrons and organizational entrepreneurs have sought to create opportunities for interaction among lawyers with diverse ideological commitments; this strategy was based on the belief that common professional perspectives and joint occupational interests would enable lawyers to promote comity among the sometimes conflicting constituencies of the Republican coalition and encourage them to cooperate in public policy making (Southworth 2008). Liberal coalitions such as the Alliance for Justice and the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights claim to speak for diverse groups on the political left,<sup>18</sup> and they may well help liberal groups forge common positions. But their integrative role is not discernable in the organizational affiliations of this sample of individual lawyers. The American Constitution Society (ACS) is an effort to create a liberal equivalent of the Federalist Society,<sup>19</sup> but the ACS does not appear in our data.

Established professional institutions, such as the Federalist Society and the ABA, which appear to play important roles in organizing this network, command their own loyalties. These organizations provide opportunities for lawyers to further their careers by increasing their visibility and acquiring contacts with other lawyers who may be in a position to refer clients or provide other professional advantages. Such organizations, as a consequence, draw lawyers together around purposes distinct from the objectives of the clients they serve. Some lawyers become institutional politicians, seeking to advance their status within the organizational hierarchy.

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18. The Leadership Conference's members include many of the 119 organizations from which our sample of lawyers was drawn, such as the ACLU, NAACP, AARP, National Consumer Law Center, Lambda Legal, National Organization of Women (NOW), National Women's Law Center, Planned Parenthood, Feminist Majority Foundation, AFL-CIO, and People for the American Way. Many members of the Alliance for Justice were also on our list of organizations—for example, Lambda Legal, NOW, National Abortion Federation, National Women's Law Center, Planned Parenthood, and the Sierra Club.

19. For analyses of the Federalist Society's role in integrating the conservative coalition, see Paik, Southworth, and Heinz (2007) and Southworth (2008).

Our research design, of course, identifies only some of the relevant links among these lawyers. We did not interview them, and we know little about their acquaintances. They may make useful connections with other lawyers at churches and synagogues, fitness classes and book groups, the opera, or their children's soccer games. Such ties might serve as a basis for cooperation on public policy through informal means that are not seen in the forms of joint participation examined here. It is also possible that these lawyers participate in joint litigation and legislative activities on matters not included in the "legal affairs" issues that are the focus of this study. Nonetheless, this research suggests that liberals do not enjoy the dense web of organizational ties that previous research documented among prominent lawyers of the right (see Heinz, Paik, and Southworth 2003; Paik, Southworth, and Heinz 2007). If lawyer networks provide channels for cooperation and serve to lessen conflict and facilitate constructive bargaining among disparate constituencies, the political right may hold a distinct advantage over its rivals.

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## CASES CITED

- District of Columbia v. Heller*, 554 U.S. 570 (2008).  
*Kelo v. New London*, 545 U.S. 469 (2005).

APPENDIX: TABLES

TABLE A1.  
The Issue Events

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<b>Fetal Protection (2004):</b> Congress passed a bill (HR 1997—PL 108–21), which President Bush signed, giving federal legal status to a fetus. The legislation made it a separate offense to harm a fetus during the commission of a federal crime against a pregnant woman.
<b>Gay Rights (2004):</b> A proposed constitutional amendment to ban gay marriage failed in the House and Senate (S J Res 40, H J Res 106). Republicans hoped to prevent judges from invalidating the 1996 Defense of Marriage Act, which defined marriage as “a legal union between one man and one woman.”
<b>Asbestos Compensation (2004):</b> Republican Senators failed to pass legislation (S 2290) to create a no-fault compensation fund for victims of asbestos exposure.
<b>Class Action Lawsuits (2004):</b> Failed Republican legislation (S 2062) would have limited plaintiffs’ opportunities to file class action lawsuits in state courts.
<b>DNA Testing/Victims Rights (2004):</b> Legislation was signed into law (HR 5107—PL 108–405) making it easier for inmates to gain access to post-conviction DNA tests, while also allowing retrials for cases in which test results indicated an inmate might not be guilty.
<b>Flag Desecration (2004):</b> A proposed constitutional amendment to criminalize physical desecration of the American flag failed to move beyond the Senate Judiciary Committee (S J Res 4).
<b>Identity Theft (2004):</b> On July 15, President Bush signed into law a bill cleared by Congress (HR 1731—PL 108–275) establishing stronger criminal penalties for identity theft.
<b>Medical Malpractice (2004):</b> Republicans attempted but failed to cap non-economic damage awards in medical malpractice suits (S 2061).
<b>Guns (2004):</b> Republican Senators failed to pass legislation (S 1805) aimed at limiting the firearm industry’s liability for gun violence. The bill would have barred civil lawsuits against manufacturers, distributors, and importers of firearms and ammunition.
<b>Bankruptcy Overhaul (2004):</b> Despite extensive bipartisan support for legislation aimed at making it more difficult for individuals to erase their debts by filing for bankruptcy protection, Congress was unable to clear the bill (HR 975, S1920). Nonetheless, Congress did pass legislation allowing family farmers to restructure their debts without losing their land (S 2864—PL 108–369).
<b>Judicial Nominations (2004):</b> Although Democratic senators blocked ten of Bush’s appellate court nominees through procedural votes, Bush nonetheless filled 203 lifetime seats on federal district and appellate courts. Republicans advocated the “nuclear option,” requiring only a fifty-one-vote majority to break filibusters of judicial nominees.
<b>Federal Court Jurisdiction (2004):</b> In an attempt to limit federal judges’ jurisdiction over certain types of cases while also redrawing appellate court maps, Congress passed three bills: HR 3313 barred federal courts from hearing cases challenging a provision of the Defense of Marriage Act, HR 2028 denied federal courts jurisdiction over challenges to the wording of the Pledge of Allegiance, and S 878 added provisions to divide the 9 <sup>th</sup> Circuit into three separate appeals courts.
<b>Judicial Nominations (2005):</b> After Rehnquist’s death, President Bush nominated John Roberts to become chief justice, and the Senate confirmed. The Senate also confirmed the nomination of Samuel Alito to the US Supreme Court and five of seven previously filibustered lower federal court nominees.
<b>Asbestos Compensation (2005):</b> On May 26, the Senate Judiciary Committee approved a bill (S 852—S Rept 109—97) creating a \$140 billion trust fund to compensate people sickened by asbestos exposure.
<b>Medical Malpractice (2005):</b> In an effort to cap non-economic damage awards in medical malpractice cases at \$250,000 and to limit punitive damages to the greater of two times the economic damages awarded or \$250,000, Republicans passed a bill in the House (HR 5) but failed in the Senate.



TABLE A1.  
(Continued)

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<b>Class Action Lawsuits (2005):</b> On Feb.18, President Bush signed a measure (S 5—PL 109–2) giving federal courts jurisdiction over class action lawsuits when the total amount in dispute exceeded \$5 million and the defendant and a large portion of the plaintiffs lived in different states.
<b>Eminent Domain (2005):</b> The House Judiciary Committee decisively approved a measure (HR 4128—H Rept 109—262) limiting the effects of a controversial Supreme Court ruling ( <i>Kelo v. New London</i> ) on eminent domain. The bill sought to prohibit states and localities receiving federal development funds from using eminent domain to seize private property for economic development.
<b>Guns (2005):</b> Legislation limiting the legal liability of firearms makers and dealers was cleared and signed into law. Democrats attached several amendments, including a requirement that child safety locks be sold with all handguns.
<b>Flag Desecration (2005):</b> The House passed a proposed constitutional amendment (HJ Res 10—H Rept 109–131) to criminalize physical desecration of the American flag, but the Senate did not clear the bill.
<b>Abortion (2005):</b> The House passed a bill (HR 748) to expand the reach of state laws requiring parental consent or notification when a minor seeks an abortion. The measure required doctors to notify parents in person or by mail of an out-of-state minor’s request for an abortion, and it gave guardians the right to sue noncompliant doctors.
<b>Terri Schiavo Case (2005):</b> The House and Senate passed a bill to allow the parents of Terri Schiavo to go to federal court and have their daughter’s feeding tube restored. However, federal courts rebuffed Schiavo’s parents’ attempt to intervene.

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TABLE A2.  
List of Media for Issue Event Searches

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Wall Street Journal
New York Times
Washington Post
Los Angeles Times
Chicago Tribune
Dallas Morning News
Atlanta Journal & Constitution
Time
Newsweek
U.S. News & World Report
National Journal
Washington Monthly
Roll Call
Washington Times
National Review
The Nation
Weekly Standard
American Spectator
The New Republic
The American Prospect

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**TABLE A3.**  
**Organizations**

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AFL-CIO  
 Allan Guttmacher Institute  
 Alliance Defense Fund  
 Alliance for Justice  
 Alliance for Marriage  
 American Association of Retired Persons  
 American Bankers Association  
 American Bankruptcy Institute  
 American Bar Association  
 American Center for Law and Justice  
 American Civil Liberties Union  
 American Conservative Union  
 American Enterprise Institute  
 American Family Association  
 American Insurance Association  
 American Legion  
 American Medical Association  
 American Tort Reform Association  
 American Values  
 Americans for Tax Reform  
 Americans United for Separation of Church and State  
 America's Health Insurance Plans  
 American Association for Justice  
 Arlington Group  
 Bank of America  
 Brady Campaign to Prevent Gun Violence  
 Brookings Institution  
 Cato Institute  
 Center for a Just Society  
 Center for Responsive Politics  
 ChoicePoint, Inc.  
 Christian Coalition of America  
 Christian Defense Coalition  
 Citigroup  
 Citizens Flag Alliance  
 Club for Growth  
 Coalition for Asbestos Reform  
 Committee for Justice  
 Concerned Women for America  
 Consumer Federation of America  
 Democratic Leadership Council  
 Democratic National Committee  
 Dupont Co.  
 Eagle Forum  
 Earthjustice  
 Environmental Working Group  
 Equitas Ltd.  
 Ethics and Religious Liberty Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention  
 Exxon Mobil Corp.  
 Family Foundation

**TABLE A3.**  
**(Continued)**

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Family Research Council, Inc.  
 Federal Mogul Co.  
 Federalist Society  
 Feminist Majority Foundation  
 Feminists for Life  
 Fidelis  
 Focus on the Family  
 Ford Motor Co.  
 Foundation for Taxpayer and Consumer Rights  
 Foundation for the Defense of Democracies  
 Free Congress Foundation  
 Freedom Works  
 GE  
 Georgia Equality  
 Georgia Hospital Association's Political Action Committee  
 Georgia-Pacific Corp.  
 Georgia Right to Life  
 Georgia Watch  
 Gun Owners of America  
 Halliburton Co.  
 Heritage Foundation  
 Human Rights Campaign  
 Identity Theft Resource Center  
 Innocence Project  
 Institute for Justice  
 Judicial Confirmation Network  
 Kaiser Family Foundation  
 Lambda Legal Defense and Education Fund  
 Leadership Conference on Civil Rights  
 Log Cabin Republicans  
 MAG Mutual Insurance Co.  
 Manhattan Institute  
 Massachusetts Family Institute  
 Medical Mutual Liability Insurance Society of Maryland  
 Medical Society of the District of Columbia  
 MoveOn  
 National Association for the Advancement of Colored People  
 NARAL Pro-Choice America  
 National Abortion Federation  
 National Association of Consumer Bankruptcy Attorneys  
 National Association of Evangelicals  
 National Association of Manufacturers  
 National Consumer Law Center  
 National Gay and Lesbian Task Force  
 National Organization for Women  
 National Retail Federation  
 National Rifle Association  
 National Right to Life Committee  
 National Shooting Sports Foundation  
 National Women's Law Center

TABLE A3.  
(Continued)

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Operation Rescue
People for the American Way
Pew Research Center
Physician Insurers Association of America
Planned Parenthood Federation of America
Progress for America
Public Citizen
Rand Corp.
Sierra Club
Texas Medical Society
Third Way
Traditional Values Coalition
Trial Lawyers Association of Metropolitan Washington D.C.
U.S. Chamber of Commerce
United States Conference of Catholic Bishops
U.S. Public Interest Research Group
USG Corp.
Veterans of Foreign Wars
W.R. Grace and Company

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TABLE A4.  
Biographical Sketches

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<b>Anderson, Stanton.</b> Senior counsel, U.S. Chamber of Commerce. Heads legislative coalitions to address “Global Regulatory Divergence” and to protect the lawyer-client privilege. Chaired the Class Action Business Coalition, which won passage of the Class Action Reform Act of 2005. Counsel to the Reagan/Bush campaign in 1980 and served in the White House and State Department in the Nixon administration. Board member, Global USA, Inc., a government relations firm.
<b>Archer, Dennis.</b> Chair, Dickinson, Wright, Moon, Van Dusen & Freeman; partner since 1991. President of the ABA, 2002–03. Mayor of Detroit, 1994–2001. Justice, Michigan Supreme Court, 1986–90. Former president, National Bar Association. Life member, the NAACP.
<b>Aron, Nan.</b> President and founder, Alliance for Justice. Created AFJ’s Judicial Selection Project, which helped to defeat Robert Bork’s nomination to the US Supreme Court in 1987 and to organize Senate filibuster of some of President George W. Bush’s judicial nominees. Runs advocacy training programs to promote student social justice activism. Author of <i>Liberty and Justice for All: Public Interest Law in the 1980s and Beyond</i> . Formerly worked for the National Prison Project of the ACLU and for the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.
<b>Barnes, Michael.</b> Partner in Hogan & Hartson as of 2005. President of the Brady Campaign to Prevent Gun Violence, 2000–06. Maryland Congressman, 1979–87. Has chaired numerous committees dealing with international issues and has represented the governments of Chile, Cyprus, Panama, and South Korea. Served as chair of Center for National Policy and co-chair of the U.S. Committee for the United Nations Development Program. Member, Council on Foreign Relations.
<b>Barr, Bob.</b> President, Liberty Strategies, a consulting firm in Atlanta. Libertarian Party presidential candidate, 2008. Columnist, American Conservative Union, 2003–08. Congressman from Georgia, 1995–2003. US attorney for the Northern District of Georgia, 1986–90. President of Southeastern Legal Foundation, 1990–91. Contributing editor, <i>American Spectator</i> . Board member, NRA and IForce, a domestic and international security company.

**TABLE A4.**  
(Continued)

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- Bauer, Gary.** Founder and president, American Values, 2000-present. Founder and chairman of Campaign for Working Families, 1996-present. President of the Family Research Council from 1988 to 1999 but resigned to seek the Republican presidential nomination in 2000. Served as deputy assistant director of legal policy, 1981–82, deputy undersecretary of education, 1982–85, and undersecretary, US Department of Education, 1985–87, in the Reagan administration. Has been active on judicial nominations, the proposed federal marriage protection act, and Israeli security.
- Baylor, Gregory.** Senior counsel, Alliance Defense Fund. Litigates on behalf of Christian causes, especially to protect the rights of Christians at public colleges and universities. Formerly director of the Christian Legal Society Center for Law and Religious Freedom, Springfield, VA.
- Bennett, Matt.** Vice president for government affairs (and co-founder) of Third Way. Communications director for Clark for President campaign, 2004. Director of public affairs for Americans for Gun Safety, 2001–04. Deputy assistant to the president in the Clinton administration, responsible for liaison to governors.
- Berliner, Dana.** Senior attorney, Institute for Justice. Specializes in eminent domain and administrative law issues. Best known for role in representing the homeowners in *Kelo v. New London*.
- Brown, Jennifer.** Pro bono counsel at Morrison & Foerster, New York. Formerly legal director of Legal Momentum (now called the NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund), after serving in the Civil Rights Bureau of the NY attorney general.
- Bull, Benjamin.** Executive vice president and chief counsel of the Alliance Defense Fund. Formerly executive director of the European Center for Law and Justice, Strasbourg. Founding general counsel of the American Family Association Law Center and general counsel of the Children's Legal Foundation. Lead attorney in more than three hundred cases, many dealing with constitutional issues.
- Cavendish, Elizabeth.** Executive director, Appleseed. Interim president (2004) and legal director (1998–2003), NARAL. Formerly, office of legal counsel, US Department of Justice; assistant professor, University of Illinois College of Law.
- Chambers, Julius.** Of counsel in Ferguson Stein Chambers Gresham & Sumter, P.A., Charlotte, NC. Formerly director/counsel of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund and then chancellor of North Carolina Central University. Director of Center for Civil Rights at UNC School of Law.
- Cicconi, James.** Senior executive vice president for external and legislative affairs, AT&T. Partner, Akin Gump, 1991–98. Assistant to President Reagan, 1989–90, and deputy chief of staff to President George H.W. Bush. Director, El Paso Electric Co. Advisor to the Bush/Cheney transition. Trustee, the Brookings Institution.
- Claybrook, Joan.** President of Public Citizen, 1982–2008; lobbied for highway and auto safety laws. Chaired the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration, 1977–81. Formerly worked for the Public Interest Research Group, the National Traffic Safety Bureau, the Social Security Administration, and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Board member, Consumers Union.
- Conrad, Robin.** Executive vice president of the National Chamber Litigation Center of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. Has directed the Chamber's litigation on federal preemption, punitive damages, and class actions. Attorney/advisor to the Environmental Protection Agency in the Reagan administration. Member of ABA Committee on the Status and Future of Federal e-Rulemaking.

**TABLE A4.**  
(Continued)

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- Curtin, John.** Of counsel, Bingham McCutchen, Boston; partner, 1964–2005. ABA president, 1990–91. President, Boston Bar Association, 1979–81. Chaired Joint Bar Committee on Judicial Appointments. Formerly vice president and a director of Greater Boston Legal Services and chair of Ad Hoc Committee for Access to Justice. Board of directors, National Consumer Law Center. Board of directors, National Legal Aid and Defender Association, 1990–95. Chairman, National Association of Public Interest Law Fellowships for Equal Justice, 1992–95.
- Engler, John.** President and CEO, National Association of Manufacturers, 2004–present. President of state and local governmental sector of Electronic Data Systems. Governor of Michigan, 1991–2003. Michigan State Representative, 1970–79; Michigan State Senator, 1979–90. On boards of Delta Airlines, Universal Forest Products, and Committee for Justice.
- Evans, Robert.** Director, Washington office of the ABA. Recipient of National Legal Aid and Defender Association Special Achievement Award, 1990. President, Project Northstar, 2004–06. Member, American Law Institute.
- Evans, Roger.** Senior director of public policy litigation and law, Planned Parenthood. Counsel in major reproductive rights cases since 1983. Formerly was managing attorney of MFY Legal Services in New York City.
- George, Robert.** Professor of jurisprudence, Princeton University. Director, James Madison Program in American Ideals and Institutions. Member, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1993–98, and President's Council on Bioethics, 2002–05. Recipient of the Paul Bator Award from the Federalist Society and the Silver Gavel Award from the ABA. On numerous boards, including Institute on Religion and Democracy, Faith and Reason Institute, Family Research Council, and Council on Foreign Relations.
- Gould, James.** Partner, Capitol Counsel. Specializes in tax and international trade. Represents energy, insurance, and financial services companies. Formerly worked as counsel to Senate Finance Committee under Chairman Lloyd Bentsen. Formerly a partner in Vinson & Elkins and then Capitol Tax Partners, a tax policy lobbying firm.
- Gray, C. Boyden.** Special envoy to the European Union, 2008–09. US Representative to the European Union, 2006–07. Partner, Wilmer Cutler, Washington, D.C., 1976–81 and 1993–2005. Chairman, Citizens for a Sound Economy, 1993–2000. Counsel to the president, 1989–93. Director of the Bush-Cheney Transition Department of Justice Advisory Committee. Chairman of administrative law section of ABA, 2000–02. U.S. Marine Corps, 1964–70. On numerous boards, including FreedomWorks, the Federalist Society (board of visitors), Committee for Justice, Atlantic Council, and Harvard University's Committee on University Development.
- Greco, Michael.** Partner, K&L Gates, Boston. President of the ABA, 2005–06. Former president, Massachusetts Bar Association, New England Bar Association, and New England Bar Foundation. Active on legal services for the poor, civic education, separation of powers issues, and nuclear arms control. Member of Commission on Federal Judicial Appointments, and vice-chair of the Board of Overseers of the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court. Member, American Law Institute.
- Greenberg, Sally.** Executive director, National Consumers League and co-chair, Child Labor Coalition. Senior product safety counsel at Consumers Union, Washington, 1997–2007; lobbied on auto safety, food and drug safety, product liability. Worked on Toby Moffett's Congressional staff 1977–81, and for the Anti-Defamation League, 1985–96. Board member, Alliance for Justice, HALT.
- Greenberger, Marcia.** Founder and co-president, National Women's Law Center. Active in legislative and litigation campaigns to expand women's rights, particularly in connection with education, employment, health, reproductive rights, and family economic security. Member of the Executive Committee of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights and the American Bar Association's Commission on Diversity. American Law Institute member.



**TABLE A4.**  
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- Grey, Robert.** Partner in Hunton & Williams, Washington, D.C. Practice specializes in governmental relations and administrative law in state and federal agencies. Washington and Lee University Board of Trustees. President of the ABA, 2004–05.
- Henderson, Wade.** President and CEO of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights. Long-time lobbyist on civil rights issues. Formerly worked for the ACLU and the NAACP. Has lobbied for affirmative action, welfare, gun control, and immigrant rights.
- Henigan, Dennis.** Director of the Legal Action Project of the Brady Center to Prevent Gun Violence and legal director of the Brady Campaign to Prevent Gun Violence. Litigates cases against firearms dealers and manufacturers and lobbies for stronger gun-control law. Formerly a partner at Foley & Lardner.
- Hodel, Donald Paul.** Chairman of FreeEats.com/cc Advertising, which has conducted “push polls” for the Economic Freedom Fund. President of Focus on the Family, 2003–05. President of Christian Coalition, 1997–99. Secretary of the Interior, 1985–89, and Secretary of Energy, 1982–85. Member of the board, Focus on the Family, and board of visitors, the Federalist Society.
- Jenkins, Timothy.** Partner in Nossaman LLP, Washington, D.C. Specializes in federal elections and ethics law. Lobbies for financial services companies, pharmaceutical companies, and industry associations. Active in organizing and administering/managing political action committees. Former staff member, Senate committees on Government Affairs and Labor and Human Resources.
- Keane, Lawrence.** Senior vice president and general counsel, National Shooting Sports Foundation. Lobbies on behalf of the firearms industry.
- Keating, Francis.** President, American Council of Life Insurers, 2003-present. Governor of Oklahoma, 1995–2003. In the Reagan administration, he was an assistant secretary of the treasury, 1985–88, and then an associate attorney general, 1988–89. In the Bush I administration, he was general counsel and acting deputy secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development. US attorney for the Northern District of Oklahoma, 1981–84. Former chairman of the Interstate Oil and Gas Compact Commission and the Republican Governors Association.
- Levy, Robert.** Senior fellow, Cato Institute. Founder and former CEO, CDA Investment Technologies. Board member, Institute for Justice, George Mason Law School, and member of the board of advisors, the Federalist Society. Organizer and financier of litigation challenging D.C.’s gun-control statute, which the US Supreme Court invalidated in *District of Columbia v. Heller*. Co-author of *The Dirty Dozen: How Twelve Supreme Court Cases Radically Expanded Government and Eroded Freedom*.
- Lynn, Barry.** Executive Director, Americans United for Separation of Church and State, 1992-present. Legislative counsel of the ACLU, 1984–91; president of Draft Action, Inc., 1981–83. Ordained minister, United Church of Christ, since 1974. Author of *Piety & Politics: The Right-Wing Assault on Religious Freedom*.
- McIntosh, David.** Partner in Mayer Brown, Washington, D.C. Represents telecommunications, energy, and healthcare companies. Former congressman from Indiana, 1995–2001. Founder and board chairman, the Federalist Society. Special assistant to the president for domestic affairs in the Reagan administration and director of the President’s Council on Competitiveness in the Bush I administration.
- Marshall, Thurgood Jr.** Partner in Bingham McCutchen, Washington, D.C. Assistant to the president and cabinet secretary in the Clinton White House, 1997–2001, and director of legislative affairs for Vice President Gore. Previously was counsel to three Senate committees, including Judiciary. Board member, Ford Foundation, US Postal Service, and Corrections Corporation of America.

TABLE A4.  
(Continued)

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- Meese, Edwin.** Ronald Reagan distinguished fellow in public policy and chairman of the Center for Legal and Judicial Studies, Heritage Foundation. Distinguished visiting fellow, the Hoover Institution. US Attorney General in the Reagan administration, 1985–88. Serves on many boards, including the Council on National Policy, Claremont Institute, Criminal Justice Legal Foundation, the American Civil Rights Union, Capital Research Center, the Intercollegiate Studies Institute, and the Federalist Society (board of visitors).
- Minberg, Elliot.** Chief counsel for oversight and investigations, House Judiciary Committee, since 2007. Previously was vice president, general counsel, and legal director of People for the American Way. Litigated religious liberty and First Amendment cases, including those involving school prayer and vouchers. Formerly a partner in Hogan & Hartson.
- Peck, Jeffrey.** Partner, Peck, Madigan, Jones & Stewart, 2001-present. Former managing director of government and regulatory affairs of Andersen Worldwide, 1993–2000. Has lobbied on Supreme Court nominations, class action procedures, and flag burning and financial services issues. Formerly the majority staff director of the Senate Judiciary Committee (then chaired by Senator Biden). Described by National Journal (2007) as one of the “leading Democratic lobbyists” and by The Hill (2007) as the consultant “Wall Street turns to . . . for representation in the Democratic-controlled Congress.”
- Porter, John Edward.** Partner, Hogan & Hartson. Former congressman from Illinois, 1980–2001. Lobbyist on health issues. Board of directors, Corporation for Public Broadcasting, RAND Corporation, American Heart Association, Population Resource Center. Trustee, the Brookings Institution.
- Reed, Stephen.** Partner in Reed & Brown, Pasadena. Specializes in commercial real estate, general business and corporate law, and non-profit organizations. Board member, Focus on the Family and Family Research Council.
- Rich, Michael.** Executive vice president, RAND Corporation, since 1993. Formerly head of the RAND National Security Research Division and director of the National Defense Research Institute. Chair, the International Institute for Strategic Studies—US. Board member, Council for Aid to Education, Council on Foreign Relations, and WISE & Healthy Aging.
- Saperstein, David.** Director and counsel, Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism. Has led several national religious coalitions on social justice issues. Elected first chair of U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom, 1999, and appointed by President Obama to the Council on Faith-Based and Neighborhood Partnerships. Board member, the NAACP, and People for the American Way. Adjunct professor, Georgetown Law School. Author of *Jewish Dimensions of Social Justice: Tough Moral Choices of Our Time*.
- Schwartz, Victor.** Partner, Shook Hardy & Bacon, Washington, D.C. Practice specializes in insurance defense. General counsel, American Tort Reform Association. Chair, Civil Justice Reform Committee of the American Legislative Exchange Council. Chairman, Department of Commerce Task Force on Product Liability and Accident Compensation, 1977–80. Co-author of casebook: Prosser, Wade & Schwartz’s, *Cases and Materials on Torts* (10<sup>th</sup> ed. 2000). On board of visitors of the University of Cincinnati College of Law.
- Sekulow, Jay.** Chief counsel for both the American Center for Law and Justice and the European Center for Law and Justice. Has argued numerous religious liberty cases before the US Supreme Court. Host of national call-in radio program, *Jay Sekulow Live!*, and a weekly television program, *ACLJ This Week*. Adjunct professor, Regent University. Board of Trustees, Supreme Court Historical Society. Member of and lawyer for Jews for Jesus.
- Weber, Walter.** Senior litigation counsel for the American Center for Law and Justice. Formerly a staff attorney with Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights.
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