## **Analyzing the Supreme Court Citation Network**

December 2, 2017

#### **Abstract**

### 1 Introduction

Majority opinions written by the United States Supreme Court exercise their authority and influence, in part, through their roles as precedents in future Supreme Court decisions and opinions. The findings regarding the extent and exact nature of the influences of precedent have been mixed, but the balance of the literature finds that past decisions exert some form of influence on the justices' decision making (Knight and Epstein, 1996; Gillman, 2001; Richards and Kritzer, 2002; Hansford and Spriggs, 2006; Bailey and Maltzman, 2008, 2011). Despite a considerable body of research that focuses on the way in which relevant precedents shape decision making on the Court, relatively little work has focused on understanding which past opinions are cited by an opinion. Our focus in this paper is to provide what is, to our knowledge, the first comprehensive analysis of exactly which cases are cited by a case. We follow? and?, and treat the citations between cases as forming a network.

# 2 Network Approaches to Studying Citations

**TED**, would you write a section that covers the ways in which network scholars have studied citations in the past, focusing on scientific papers, patents, and court cases?

# 3 The Exponential Random Configuration Model

Let  $c(t) \in \{0,1\}^N$  be a vector indicating which Supreme Court case has been cited at time t, where  $c_i(t) = 1, i \in \{1, ..., N\}$  indicates that the ith case has been cited

at time t and  $c_i(t) = 0$  indicates that the ith case has not been cited at time t. Furthermore, let

$$C_t(N) = \{c(t) \in \{0, 1\}^N : c_i(t) \in \{0, 1\}\}$$

be the set of all possible citation combinations at time t. Note that the cardinality of  $C_t(N)$  increases exponentially for every newly added case, which results in  $2^N$  elements.

The probability function of the ERCM is defined as

$$P_{\theta}(c(t) \mid c(t-)) = \frac{\exp\left(\theta^T \cdot h(c(t) \mid c(t-))\right)}{\sum_{c(t)^* \in \mathcal{C}} \exp\left(\theta^T \cdot h(c(t) \mid c(t-))\right)}$$
(1)

where  $c(t-) \in \{0,1\}^{N \times (t-1)}$  is a matrix that indicates which cases have been citing in each other before time t,  $\theta \in \mathbb{R}^q$  is a q-dimensional vector of parameters,  $h: \mathcal{C}_t(N) \to \mathbb{R}^q$ ,  $(t) \to (h_1(c(t)), \dots, h_q(c(t)))^T$  is a q-dimensional vector of different statistics and  $\kappa(\theta) := \sum_{c(t)^* \in \mathcal{C}} \exp(\theta^T \cdot h(c(t)|c(t-)))$  is a normalization constant that ensures that (1) defines a probability function on  $\mathcal{C}_t$ .

The generative process of a model are informed by the decision regarding which network statistics  $h(\cdot)$  are incorporated. We include the following statistics for the Supreme Court citation network:

$$h_{edges}: \mathcal{C}(N) \to \mathbb{R} \quad , \quad c(t) \to \sum_{i=1}^{N} c_i(t)$$

the number of citations made at time t.

$$h_{outstar}: \mathcal{C}(N) \to \mathbb{R}$$
 ,  $c(t) \to \sum_{j < i}^{N} c_i(t) \cdot c_j(t) \cdot \sqrt{\frac{(t-a)(t-a-b)}{t^2}}$ 

the number of weighted outstars occurring at time t. We argue that it should be more likely to cite more recent cases than cases that have been decided further in the past. For the weight

$$w(a,b) := \sqrt{\frac{(t-a)(t-a-b)}{t^2}}$$

we define a and b as the elapsed time since case i and j have been introduced to the

network.

$$h_{triangle} : \mathcal{C}(N) \to \mathbb{R}$$
 ,  $c(t) \to \sum_{j < i}^{N} c_i(t) \cdot c_j(t) \cdot c_j(t) \cdot w(a, b)$ 

where  $c_j(t_{-i})$  indicates whether case j was cited at the time case i was introduced into the network. Just as for the outstar statistic, we include a weighting factor to favor more recent cases.

The individual entries  $c_i(t)$  can be taken as a manifestation of single Bernoulli variables  $C_i(t)$ . This interpretation allows the following calculation regarding the conditional distribution of  $C_i(t)$ :

$$\frac{P_{\theta}(C_{i}(t) = 1 \mid C_{i}(t)^{c} = c_{i}(t)^{c})}{P_{\theta}(C_{i}(t) = 0 \mid C_{i}(t)^{c} = c_{i}(t)^{c})} = \frac{P_{\theta}(C_{i}(t) = 1, C_{i}(t)^{c} = c_{i}(t)^{c})}{P_{\theta}(C_{i}(t) = 0, C_{i}(t)^{c} = c_{i}(t)^{c})}$$

$$= \frac{P_{\theta}(C(t) = c_{i}^{+}(t))}{P_{\theta}(C(t) = c_{i}^{-}(t))}$$

$$= \frac{\exp(\theta^{T} \cdot h(c_{i}^{+}(t) \mid c(t-)))}{\exp(\theta^{T} \cdot h(c_{i}^{-}(t) \mid c(t-)))}$$

$$= \exp(\theta^{T} \cdot (h(c_{i}^{+}(t) \mid c(t-)) - h(c_{i}^{-}(t) \mid c(t-)))$$

This implies the following equation:

$$logit(P_{\theta}(C_i(t) = 1 \mid C_i(t)^c = c_i(t)^c)) = \theta^T \cdot (h(c_i^+(t) \mid c(t-)) - h(c_i^-(t) \mid c(t-)))$$
(2)

In the equation above the following notations were used:

- $c_i^+(t)$  emerges from c(t), while assuming  $c_i(t) = 1$
- $c_i^-(t)$  emerges from c(t), while assuming  $c_i(t) = 0$
- The condition  $C_i(t)^c = c_i(t)^c$  is short for:  $C_j(t) = c_j(t)$  for all  $j \in \{1, ..., N\}$  with  $i \neq j$
- The expression  $(\Delta c_i)(t) := h(c_i^+(t) \mid c(t-)) h(c_i^-(t) \mid c(t-))$  is called the change statistic. The kth component of  $(\Delta c_i)(t)$  captures the difference between citation networks  $c_i^+(t)$  and  $c_i^-(t)$  on the kth integrated statistic in the model

#### 4 Estimation

#### Maximum Pseudo-Likelihood Estimator

One can assume that the dyads are independent of each other, which means that the random variables  $C_i(t)$  inside the random vector C(t) are independent of each other. In this case, the equation (2) reduces to

$$logit(P_{\theta}(C_i(t) = 1)) = \theta^T \cdot (\Delta c_i)(t)$$

This corresponds with the logistic regression approach, where the observations of the dependent variables are simply edge values of the observed citation vector, and the observations of the covariate values are given as the scores of every single change statistic. Therefore, the resulting likelihood function is of the following form:

$$\operatorname{lik}(\theta) = P_{\theta}(C(t) = c(t)) = \prod_{i} \frac{\exp\left(\theta^{T} \Delta(c_{i})(t)\right)}{1 + \exp\left(\theta^{T} \Delta(c_{i})(t)\right)}$$
(3)

#### **Maximum Likelihood Estimator**

The more rigorous technique is to estimate the parameters directly with the loglikelihood function derived from (1), which has the following form:

$$loglik(\theta) = \theta^{T} \cdot h(c(t)|c(t-)) - log(\kappa(\theta))$$
(4)

The problem resulting from estimating the parameters with (4) is that the term

$$\kappa(\theta) := \sum_{c(t)^* \in \mathcal{C}(N)} \exp(\theta^T \cdot h(c(t)^* | c(t-)))$$

which sums up the weighted statistics of all possible binar vectors of length N, has to be evaluated. However, the cardinality of  $\mathcal{C}(N)$  ( $\#(\mathcal{C}) = 2^N$ ) is incredibly large and a direct calculation of this sum is for already small N not feasible.

An solution for this limitation is based on the following consideration: Fix a vector of parameters  $\theta_0 \in \Theta$  from the underlying parameter range  $\Theta$  and compute for  $\theta \in \Theta$ 

the expected value

$$\mathbb{E}_{\theta_0} \left[ \exp\left( (\theta - \theta_0)^T \cdot \Gamma(C(t)) \right) \right] = \sum_{c(t) \in \mathcal{C}(N)} \exp\left( (\theta - \theta_0)^T \cdot \Gamma(c(t)) \right) \cdot \mathbb{P}_{\theta_0}(C(t) = c(t))$$

$$= \sum_{c(t) \in \mathcal{C}(N)} \exp\left( (\theta - \theta_0)^T \cdot \Gamma(c(t)) \right) \cdot \frac{\exp(\theta_0^T \cdot \Gamma(c(t)))}{\kappa(\theta_0)}$$

$$= \frac{1}{\kappa(\theta_0)} \sum_{c(t) \in \mathcal{C}(N)} \exp\left( \theta^T \cdot \Gamma(c(t)) \right)$$

$$= \frac{\kappa(\theta)}{\kappa(\theta_0)}$$

This equation offers the following possibility: If one draws L random vectors  $c^{(1)}(t), \ldots, c^{(L)}(t)$  out of a distribution  $\mathbb{P}_{\theta_0}$  appropriately, one gets with the law of big numbers and a big enough sample L the following relation:

$$\frac{1}{L} \cdot \sum_{i=1}^{L} \exp\left((\theta - \theta_0)^T \cdot \Gamma(c^{(i)}(t))\right) \approx \mathbb{E}_{\theta_0} \left[\exp\left((\theta - \theta_0)^T \cdot \Gamma(C(t))\right)\right] = \frac{\kappa(\theta)}{\kappa(\theta_0)}$$
(5)

This approximate can then be used to approximate the log likelihood function.

Next, we will discuss how a sufficient number of suitable drawings  $c^{(1)}(t), \ldots, c^{(L)}(t)$  can be sampled from the distribution  $\mathbb{P}_{\theta_0}$ .

For this purpose, the Markov Chain Monte Carlo (MCMC) methods can be used.

#### Gibbs sampling for the ERCM

To be able to compute the approximate likelihood function one needs a sufficiently large number of random vectors from the distribution  $\mathbb{P}_{\theta_0}$ . Snijders? introduces an approach to sample random networks for the ERGM framework by using MCMC methods. We adapt this approach for sampling appropriate binary vectors for the ERCM.

Gibbs sampling

Choose any vector  $c^{(0)}(t) \in \mathcal{C}(N)$  (e.g. observed vector)

for i in 1:N do

Compute 
$$\pi := \frac{\exp(\theta^T \cdot \Delta(c_i)(t))}{1 + \exp(\theta^T \cdot \Delta(c_i)(t))}$$
  
Draw a random number Z from Bin(1, $\pi$ )

if  $Z=1$  then
$$\begin{vmatrix} \sec c_i^{(k+1)} = 1 \text{ and } c_j^{(k+1)} = c_j^{(k)}, \text{ if } i \neq j \end{vmatrix}$$
else
$$\begin{vmatrix} \sec c_i^{(k+1)} = 0 \text{ and } c_j^{(k+1)} = c_j^{(k)}, \text{ if } i \neq j \end{vmatrix}$$
end
end

Start all over using  $c^{(k+1)}$ 

**Algorithm 1:** Simulation of vectors of  $\mathbb{P}_{\theta}$  using Gibbs sampling

Using the depicted algorithm, a sequence of random vectors  $c^{(0)}(t), ..., c^{(L)}(t)$  can be simulated. Since the original vector was chosen randomly and the first simulated vectors are very dependent on the chosen mvector (only one entry is changed per iteration!), usually the first B vectors, where  $N \ll B \ll L$ , are discarded as the so called Burn-In.

#### Metropolis Hastings for the ERCM

Choose any vector  $c^{(0)}(t) \in \mathcal{C}(N)$  to start with (e.g., the observed vector). For  $k \in \{0, ..., L-1\}$  recursively proceed as follows:

- 1. Randomly choose a number  $i \in \{1, ..., N\}$
- 2. Compute, using the equation (2) the value

$$\pi := \frac{\mathbb{P}_{\theta}(C_i(t) \neq c_i^{(k)}(t) \mid C_i(t)^c = c_i(t)^c)}{\mathbb{P}_{\theta}(C_i(t) = c_i^{(k)}(t) \mid C_i(t)^c = c_i(t)^c)}$$

3. Define  $\delta := \min\{1, \pi\}$  and draw a random number Z from Bin(1,  $\delta$ ). If

• 
$$Z = 0$$
, let  $c^{(k+1)}(t) := c^{(k)}(t)$ 

• Z=1, define  $c^{(k+1)}(t)$  as

$$c_p^{(k+1)}(t) = \begin{cases} 1 - c_p^{(k)}(t) & \text{if } p = i \\ c_p^{(k)}(t) & \text{if } p \neq i \end{cases}$$

4. Start at step 1 with  $c^{(k+1)}(t)$ .

The first  $B \ll L$  vectors are discarded as Burn-In.

### 5 Results

#### **Descriptive Results**

The supreme court citation network from 1937 - 2005 consists of 8817 cases which got voted at 2116 different time points. The network has a total of 93, 263 ties, of which 452 are mutual. The number of triangles in the network is 211, 855. The in- and outdegree distribution is visualized in figures ?? and ??. The maximum indegree is 190 and the maximum outdegree is 159.

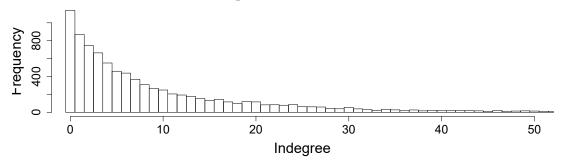
	Terms	Total Number Cases	Cases/Term
CE Hughes*	1937 - 1941	629	125.5
HF Stone	1942 - 1946	766	153.2
FM Vinson	1946 - 1953	788	98.5
E Warren	1954 - 1969	2159	127.0
WE Burger	1970 - 1986	2805	155.8
W Rehnquist**	1987 - 2001	1670	83.5

Table 1: For the time range of interest (1937 - 2001) this table displays the chief justices, the time range they served as chief justice, the number of cases in their time range as well as the average number of cases per year.

<sup>\*</sup> CE Hughes served as chief justice from 1930 - 1941.

<sup>\*\*</sup> W Rehnquist served as chief justice from 1987 - 2005.

# **Indegree Distribution**



# **Outdegree Distribution**

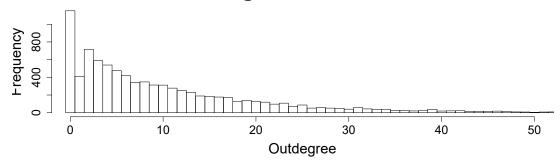


Figure 1: The in- and outdegree distribution of the Supreme Court Citation Network from 1937 - 2001. There are cases with an indegree >50, but they are not captured in this figure.

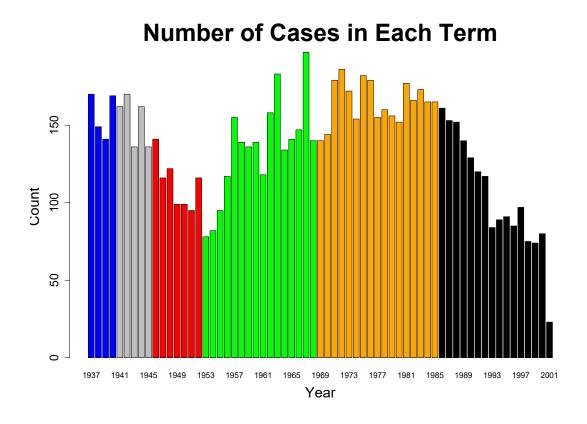


Figure 2: Number of cases in each term. Different colors indicate different chief justices.

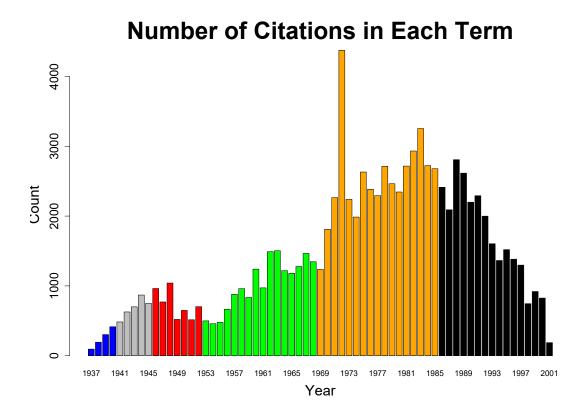


Figure 3: Number of citations for the 1937-2001 time period. Citations for cases prior 1937 are not considered in this figure. Different colors indicate different chief justices.

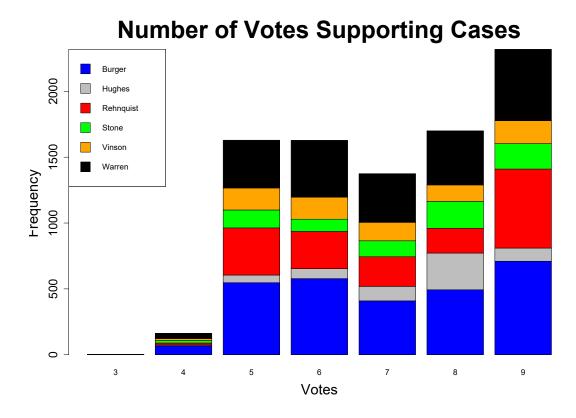


Figure 4: Number of Votes that were supporting cases between 1937-2001. Different colors indicate terms with different chief justices.

#### 5.1 Inferential Results

#### Model updates

- Add sender issue area and receiver issue area node covariates (i.e., nodeifactor and nodeofactor applied to issue area).
- In the GLM, multiply each variable by the sender time covariate.
- Write the bootstrap coefficients to a file, send to Bruce so he can write up a code for summarizing the over-time trends in effects.
- Add a receiver variable (i.e., nodeicov) that equals the absolute difference between the maximum MQ score of a justice in the majority and a minimum MQ score of a justice in the majority.
- Add a receiver variable (nodeicov) equivalent to the number of justices in the majority

	Estimate	Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Edges	-5.319	-5.392	-5.243
Instar(2)	0.018	0.017	0.019
Outstar(2)	0.018	0.016	0.022
Mutual	3.179	2.694	3.565
Triangle	1.531	1.493	1.563
MQ Score	0.041	0.018	0.063
Same Issue Area	1.061	1.028	1.099
Year Difference	0.010	0.008	0.013

Table 2: Bootstrappped MPLE Results for the time period 1937-2001

	Estimate	Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Edges	-5.391	-5.506	-5.244
Instar(2)	0.035	0.028	0.042
Outstar(2)	0.015	0.0003	0.017
Mutual	4.785	3.616	5.749
Triangle	1.377	1.271	1.513
MQ Score	-0.018	-0.095	0.061
Same Issue Area	1.229	1.126	1.327
Year Difference	-0.077	-0.096	-0.061

Table 3: Bootstrappped MPLE Results for the time period when Fred M. Vinson was chief justice.

	Estimate	Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Edges	-5.032	-5.140	-4.931
Instar(2)	0.028	0.025	0.032
Outstar(2)	0.018	0.015	0.022
Mutual	3.166	1.826	4.565
Triangle	1.520	1.449	1.599
MQ Score	-0.101	-0.149	-0.052
Same Issue Area	1.349	1.289	1.408
Year Difference	-0.031	-0.038	-0.026

Table 4: Bootstrappped MPLE Results for the time period when Earl Warren was chief justice.

	Estimate	Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Edges	-3.952	-4.017	-3.882
Instar(2)	0.015	0.013	0.016
Outstar(2)	0.004	0.002	0.006
Mutual	2.558	1.425	3.719
Triangle	1.383	1.333	1.440
MQ Score	-0.084	-0.101	-0.059
Same Issue Area	0.959	0.911	1.008
Year Difference	-0.017	-0.019	-0.015

Table 5: Bootstrappped MPLE Results for the time period when Warren E. Burger was chief justice.

	Estimate	Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Edges	-3.614	-3.701	-3.525
Instar(2)	0.015	0.013	0.016
Outstar(2)	0.002	-0.002	0.004
Mutual	9.635	6.426	10.834
Triangle	1.551	1.489	1.620
MQ Score	-0.007	-0.039	0.028
Same Issue Area	0.855	0.794	0.916
Year Difference	-0.016	-0.018	-0.014

Table 6: Bootstrappped MPLE Results for the time period when William Rehnquist was chief justice.

## **Bibliography**

- Bailey, Michael A and Forrest Maltzman. 2008. "Does legal doctrine matter? Unpacking law and policy preferences on the US Supreme Court." *American Political Science Review* 102(3):369–384.
- Bailey, Michael A and Forrest Maltzman. 2011. The constrained court: Law, politics, and the decisions justices make. Princeton University Press.
- Fowler, James H and Sangick Jeon. 2008. "The authority of Supreme Court precedent." *Social networks* 30(1):16–30.
- Fowler, James H, Timothy R Johnson, James F Spriggs, Sangick Jeon and Paul J Wahlbeck. 2007. "Network analysis and the law: Measuring the legal importance of precedents at the US Supreme Court." *Political Analysis* 15(3):324–346.
- Gillman, Howard. 2001. "What's law got to do with it? Judicial behavioralists test the ?legal model? of judicial decision making." Law & Social Inquiry 26(2):465–504.
- Hansford, Thomas G and James F Spriggs. 2006. The politics of precedent on the US Supreme Court. Princeton University Press.
- Knight, Jack and Lee Epstein. 1996. "The norm of stare decisis." American Journal of Political Science pp. 1018–1035.
- Richards, Mark J and Herbert M Kritzer. 2002. "Jurisprudential regimes in Supreme Court decision making." *American Political Science Review* 96(2):305–320.