# Coalition Formationand Flexible Discourse About Gun Rights Among Conservative Interest Groups at the US Supreme Court

# Coalition

flexibility for conservativæctors:in otherwords, gun rights' flexibility as an issue is a key mechanisms ustaining a broadcoalition of conservative interest groups. I unexpected by find a lack of direct investmenting un rights among two key actors (at CatoInstitute and Institute for Justice) who funded and litigated for gun rights in Heller. From this, one can infer that the group sutilized the issue as a vehicle for their main ideational objectives In this instance gunnar rative provide an adaptive discursive vehicler ather than a shared deational framework. This is explanatory of guns' diverse support in this consequential and mark case It also provides a promising explanation of guns' diverse appeal on the right more generally. Furthermore it may provide a generalizable heoretical mechanism of coalitions: i.e. that groups may unify in shared action by combining outward cohesion while retaining ideation addifferences.

The implications of this study are that co-ordination constitutes a better explanatory model of conservative interest group coalition than share dralues in this instance Co-ordination and share dralues are competing models of coalitional behavior in political studies (Hardin, 1982; Parsons 2007). My result syield the general theoretical insight that discursive props, deployed commonly among diverse actors, sustain coalitions in lieu of exact ideational alignment. Discourse must be given sufficient recognition as a mechanism Of the particularistic dynamics within the Conservative egal Movement, these results suggest hat instrument a harratives may sustain its ideational breadth while retaining individual groups' specific ideation alagend as This limits the extent to which values are a necessary binding agent, as discursive mechanisms circumvent this. This negates the necessity of ideation alcons as us, which is commonly postulate of conservative coalitions. While it appears necessary hat a discursive ocus, such as gunrights, be ideationally neutral among actors signifying ideation alcompatibility is a precondition for coalitions, this constitutes a mechanism ather than ideation alcons ensus These findings also have the particular is ticimplication that constitution a briginal is tjuris prudence and narratives of the Constitution can

is my finding that the SecondAmendment is instrumentalized owards  $% \left( 1\right) =\left( 1\right) \left( 1\right) \left$ 

victory for the right andoriginalism (Neily, 2010). Political studies of the Second Amendmentare also scarce. Recents tudies include Lacombewho proves the importance of group identity as an "ideational resource" to the National Rifle Association's (NRA) preponderanc (2019, 1344). Merry (2018) also demonstrate the NRA's use of narrative on social media. Goss (2006) has also argue of the importance of narrative in framing gunpolitics. These studies contribute in sights to groups' use of discourse of generate political and social capital. Hitherto this research as concentrate on gun advocacy groups. Interest groups are less studied. This paper in part compare show interest groups' interests in this is suediffer from gungroups (see 4.2); a question so far overlooked and which pertains more broadly to how political is sue smay be instrumentalize of reconfigured by agents It also uses the distinctive tool of 'discourse' as well as offering a distinct framework, by doing this, it adds a theoretical dimensior to the gunliterature in considering mechanisms resusvalues, which is not addresse of nor necessitate by the aforementione studies.

Secondarily,this caseaddresseshe conservative studies literature's implicit puzzle of how diverse groups converge in the 'broad

This paperobserves phenomenom *de facto* coalition. It defines coalition hereas the simultaneous upport among diverse parties. It does defined irect co-ordination as a prerequisite. This definition of coalition is distinct from de jure, or active, coalition. This paper maintains that active co-ordination is incidental to the phenomenom of share dection.

While interviews with Levy and Neily yielded significant an ecdota evidence of active co-ordination,

*ii. Implicit connection with interest groups:* Heller was conceived litigated and funded by three staff (Robert Levy, Clark Neily and Alan Gura) at two prominent interest groups (aforementioned) As the case's Question Presente (QP)

Having selected Heller as a casestudy, I inductively identified the 13 sample by identifying all 47 amici's a) political orientation and b) organizationally pe, using the criteria was that they i) explicitly identify with a form of conservativism and ii) are a type of interest group who advocate or defined political objectives. I bring together differing organizationally pes (think tanks, advocacy groups, PILFs) under the rubric of 'interest groups', like conservative ditigation scholars. Teles (2008), and Hollis-Brusky and Wilson (2017) include PILFs (e.g. IJ) alongs identify tanks (e.g. Cato) within the CLM. These groups also adhered the aforementioned descriptor (See Parrilla, Almiron and Xifra, 2016 to verify the establishing practice of discussing think tanks and PILFs under the same umbrella of 'interest groups.') The 13-sample is the total number of conservative interest group amici in the case. This inductive method found that all groups habitually engage in litigation and/oramicus submission as normative influencing strategies.

The question of ideational versus co-ordinating mechanisms particularly appropriate the subject of interest groups, which commonly participate in political action towards explicit ideological or policy goals. It pertains less well to other amici who do not by nature participate in legal cases with systematic deational agendas like academics Campaigning organizations interests are often positivistic and narrow (see 4.2). Elected representatives, uchas the 304 members of Congress can be reasonably expected or respond o electoral incentives and constraints, which produce different dynamics of coalitional behavior and litigative participation. ()] TJ ET Q q 0.0000088.266 0 594.96 842.04 re W\* n BT /F3 11.04 Tf 1 0 0 1 103.94 370.13 T

findings about NCR groups' strategicusesof secularlitigation, and the spreadof commonstrategies (Teles, 2008; Hansford 2008).

## Amici Curiae

Amicus curiaebrief submissioris

Table1: Interestgroups' organizationahistories

Interest group	Founded	Primary location	Policy priorities	Organization type	Typology
10. LibertarianNational Committee	1971	Washington D.C.	Individual / economic freedom	Committeeof po- litical party	i. Libertarian
11.Liberty LegalInstitute	1997	Planto,Texas	Religiousfreedom	Nonprofit legal or- ganization	iv. New Christian Right
12.MountainStatesLegal Foundation(MSLF)	1977	Lakewood,Colo- rado	Freemarket	Publicinterestlaw firm	

combined norder to compare them. Integrating quantitative word frequency with qualitative content analysis enables dentification of a discourse's breadth and depth within briefs and across the sample, whilst retaining a view of arguments n-context. Multi-method analysis allows for 'triangulation' (Wesleyey

originalism.(2) This discourses distinctive among the interest groups compared o gun groups, which suggests that it is not overdetermine by the

## Table3:

Dimension	Key words
ii. Contextuabrigins	"England", "origins"
iii. Constitutionalinterpretation	"miller", collective rights theory", "interpretation"

Thereareimplicit challenges quantitatively determining the threshold at which frequencies constitute discourse However, cross referencing his datawith a qualitative survey of their arguments affirms that groups make substantiative seof originalism in their main arguments. A majority of 9 of 13 (ACLJ, ACRU, ALEC, Cato, CFIF, FML, HI, IJ, MSLF) advance substantive originalist arguments or all or most of their main arguments, including the same 7 groups with high frequencies in all four dimensions. I use the established definition of originalism (see 2. Cases tudy) to identify its presence in the briefs: i.e. invocations of the historical meaning intentions provisions and context unhorms of the constitutional amendment of 1789. I also include critio Tm 0 g 0 G [(m)-4 ents

whilst this argumentis not implicitly originalist, it pertains to constitutional interpretation As a tacit critique of supposed beral revisionism, this argument bettersibly

inclusion by Georgia Carryand Gun Ownersof America (GOA), and one aforementioned use of all four dimensions (NSSA) with two (2) or one (3) used by the rest (compared o 6 and 7 interest groups using 4 and 3 respectively).

 $\label{thm:condition} While originalism is used in the gungroups' briefs, it is more diluted, mixed with applied arguments and is not$ 

Josephine Harmon, working paper E do not culate

#### **Cohesive Discourse Binds Groups with I**

Is the use of the same discourse indicative dvalues? While the same outcome, the briefs indicated ifferent values as their ideation as spite of share ddiscourse own, then, does this discourse accommodate uchdiverse value sets? The propose stexible discourse or oppose stexible

diverseparties. Notwithstanding the inductive insights for discours coalition generally, this suggests that the Constitution possesses unique capacity to coherediverse groups. That incidentally implies it is aberrant.

In addition, originalist discourses employedevenly acrosstypes. This suggests that, unlessit constitutes shared value commonly share by all, its employments not correlated of first principles: i.e. it lacks immanent normative values content. This, in turn, supports the interpreta Q q 0.000008866 0 594.96 842.04 re W\* n BT /F.

Josephine Harmon, working paper Ë do not

#### 5. Discussion: A Mechanism for Cohesion

Thereis sufficient evidence of shared discourse owards differing constituent deational goals (values) among the conservative interest groups in Heller. This paper of fers two key contributions herein: i) discourse (specifically, originalism) is a mechanism enabling coalition between diverse parties, which ii) necessarily timits the role of shared values as a mechanism. Values alignment does not necessarily attend discursive alignment. This is because discourse operation potentially divergent first principles. A remaining question

the 'conservative coalition' is not facilitated entirely or evenmostly by sharedvalues; a premise that has not been hithertotheoretically framedor receive derecise analytical tools in answer. While a case study has limited scope for re W\* n 1 0 59842.04 re W\* n BT /F3 11.04 Tf 1 0 0 1 372.07 775.08 Tm 0 g 0 G [()] TJ 4 Tm received to the following state of the foll

This caseconstitutes an example of the SecondAmendment's apparenteleological utility on the right, not-

withstandingany values base dommitment the actors may have to it. This case implies that strategic consid-

erationsatleastpartially underliegroups' choiceto participate Hithertothis line of inquiry (regardingstrategy

in action)hasbeenexploredin CLM literaturein relationto NCR litigation. Strategicselectionof "high pro-

file" secularlitigation by NCR PILFs is convincingly argued by Hollis-Brusky and Wilson (2017,128)16 and

Blackwell (2015) explores the teleological approach (my term) of NCR litigation on the Second Amendment

specifically. Yet political studies literature on instrumentalism conservative itigation is scant, and that on

the SecondAmendmentevensmaller. This paper extends these insights and applies them to other types of

conservativegroups. It is evinced in the Heller caseby all 13 groups' lack of enthusiasmfor the Second

Amendmentoutsideof the caseand, indeed, the lead litigators' (Levy and Neily) admitted lack of interestin

theissue.

Second Amendment: Origins of a Political Issue?

The SecondAmendment's compatibility with differing first principles may be a causaly ariable enabling its

rise as a 'hot topic' on the right, as divergent groups are predisposed

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onalmechanismenablingdiversecoalitions, aligning with existing literature on this subject such as al. (2003).

#### tion

rumentalism the Second Amendmentand limited values sharing has corresponding mplications for of the Constitution in conservative itigation. The Constitution has an apparently cohesive effect on a enabling actors to affect the same rationales for their positions whilst accommodating diverse value become, it is not possible to ascertain whether this is an intentional effector defacto. However, it does that its function (regardles of actors' intention) is as a flexible discursive device.

(Phillips-Fein) at large, as well as contributing to

Josephine Harmon, working paper Ë do not cite

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#### **Appendix**

AppendixA: CatoInstitute's amicusbrief submissions 1999 2018 (Catowebsite accesse 3 July 2019).

Source:Catowebsite[accessed July 2019]

AppendixB: Breakdown

**ACRU** AmericanCivil RightsUnion

ALEC

AmericanLegislativeExchangeCouncil
CatoInstituteandProfessorJoy.05 72d] TJ 65T Q q 0.000008866 0 594.n BT /F3 9.96 Tf 1 0 0 1 242.69 Cato