

Table 4 Justice's Values and Votes

Justices	Values	Votes
Marshall	1	80.4
Fortas	1	79.6
Brennan	1	78.4
Harlan	0.75	41.4
Goldberg	0.5	89
Warren	0.5	78.1
Whittaker	0	42.6
Stewart	0	41.2
O'Connor	-0.17	29.4
Kennedy	-0.27	26.1
Stevens	-0.5	57.9
Powell	-0.67	36.9
Blackmun	-0.77	48.1
Burger	-0.77	28.9
Rehnquist-J	-0.91	18.8
Rehnquist-CJ	-0.91	18.4
Scalia	-1	29.5

Values: -1(extremely conservative) to +1(extremely liberal)

Votes: Percentage liberal in civil liberties cases

Values from content analysis of editorials about the Justice
during confirmation hearings