

Supplemental Information for
“Responsibility Attribution for Supreme Court Decision-Making: Politicization,
Partisanship, and *Dobbs*” by Robin Bayes, Kumar Ramanathan, and Warren Snead,
published in *Journal of Law and Courts* (DOI: [10.1017/jlc.2026.10014](https://doi.org/10.1017/jlc.2026.10014))

Appendix A – Sample Demographics

Table A1 shows the demographics of the quota-based sample in our study, as compared to national demographics benchmarks as approximated by the 2020 American National Election Studies probability sample.

Table A1.

Study sample by demographics, as compared to a probability sample.

	Sample	2020 ANES Weighted Sample
Age	18-24: 10.22% 25-34: 16.42% 35-50: 30.40% 51-65: 26.27% Over 65: 16.68%	18-24: 10.72% 25-34: 15.30% 35-50: 26.32% 51-65: 26.98% Over 65: 20.67%
Religion	Protestant: 26.37 % Catholic: 17.82 % Orthodox Christian: 0.23% Jewish: 2.13% Muslim: 0.90% Buddhist: 1.33% Hindu: 0.53% Atheist: 4.73 % Other: 18.12% Not religious: 27.84%	Protestant: 24.07% Roman Catholic: 20.65% Orthodox Christian: 2.02% Jewish: 2.16% Muslim: 0.67% Buddhist: 0.60% Hindu: 0.37% Atheist: 3.95% Other ^A : 21.36% Not religious: 24.07%
Race/Ethnicity	White, non-Hispanic: 59.37% Hispanic or Latino ^B : 13.29% Black, non-Hispanic: 12.82% Asian or Pacific Islander, non-Hispanic: 3.73% Native American or other, non-Hispanic: 1.60% Multiple: 9.19%	White, non-Hispanic: 66.10% Hispanic or Latino: 11.14% Black, non-Hispanic: 12.77% Asian or Pacific Islander, non-Hispanic: 3.76% Native American or other, non-Hispanic: 1.87% Multiple: 3.55%
Education	Less than high school: 2.46% High school graduate: 23.91% Some college: 39.53% College degree: 23.41% Advanced degree: 10.69%	Less than high school: 6.92% High school graduate: 25.44% Some college: 29.15% College degree: 23.40% Advanced degree: 13.46%
Income	Less than \$30,000: 27.87% \$30,000 - \$69,000: 36.03%	Less than \$30,000: 15.63% \$30,000 - \$69,000: 27.62%

	\$70,000 - \$99,000: 18.61% \$100,000 - \$200,000: 14.99% Over \$200,000: 2.50%	\$70,000 - \$99,000: 15.57% \$100,000 - \$250,000: 33.51% Over \$250,000 ^C : 7.66%
Ideology	Very liberal: 9.79% Mostly liberal: 12.39% Somewhat liberal: 9.52% Moderate: 37.66% Somewhat conservative: 11.22% Mostly conservative: 11.62% Very conservative: 7.79%	Extremely liberal: 4.87% Liberal: 16.05% Slightly liberal: 11.97% Moderate: 26.97% Slightly conservative: 12.19% Conservative: 21.58% Extremely conservative: 6.36%
Gender	Male: 47.12% Female: 51.25% Non-binary: 1.63%	Male: 47.70% Female: 52.30%

^A To match categories as best as possible, individuals who selected Latter-Day Saints are included under Other. Agnostic is included under Not Religious.

^B To match categories as best as possible, individuals who selected both White and Hispanic are included under Hispanic. Only individuals who selected White but not Hispanic are included under White.

^C Note that the income brackets used in the ANES and this study are slightly different.

Appendix B – Experimental Stimuli

Notes in red – not shown

[Control]

Two years since *Roe v. Wade* overturned

June 24, 2024

This month marks the two-year anniversary of a major shift in federal policy on abortion rights. From 1973 to 2022, the Supreme Court's case *Roe v. Wade* enshrined the right to abortion access as a nationwide constitutional right. Then, two years ago, the Supreme Court overturned *Roe*, now ruling that nothing in the Constitution guaranteed the right to an abortion. This means that today, the right to abortion access varies by state.

[Politicization Frame x Non-Partisan Speaker]

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Edgar Smith, director of the Bipartisan Legal Center, commented on the pivotal role that former President Donald Trump played in this Supreme Court ruling. He noted that Trump appointed three of the five Justices that overturned *Roe*. “For nearly 50 years, many people were trying to end the constitutional right to access abortion. Donald Trump did it. And he’s proud to have done it.”

[Politicization Frame x Trump Speaker]

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Former president Donald Trump commented on the pivotal role that he played in this Supreme Court ruling. He noted that he had appointed three of the five Justices that overturned *Roe*. “For nearly 50 years, many people were trying to end the constitutional right to access abortion. And I did it. I’m proud to have done it,” he said.

[Politicization Frame x Biden Speaker]

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President Joe Biden commented on the pivotal role that former President Donald Trump played in this Supreme Court ruling. He noted that Trump appointed three of the five Justices that overturned *Roe*. “For nearly 50 years, many people have tried to end the constitutional right to access abortion. Let’s remember: it was Donald Trump who did this. Trump did it. And he’s proud to have done it,” he said.

[Depoliticization Frame x Non-Partisan Speaker]

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Edgar Smith, director of the Bipartisan Legal Center, commented on the pivotal role that the Supreme Court played in addressing a longstanding constitutional debate. "For nearly 50 years, many people were trying to end the constitutional right to access abortion. The Supreme Court has the final say on matters of constitutional law, and it made a difficult legal decision in this case."

[Depoliticization Frame x Trump Speaker]

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[Depoliticization Frame x Biden Speaker]

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President Joe Biden commented on the pivotal role that the Supreme Court played in addressing a longstanding constitutional debate. "For nearly 50 years, many people have tried to end the constitutional right to access abortion. While the Supreme Court has the final say when it comes to the Constitution, it made the wrong legal decision in this case."

Appendix C – Survey Questions

Notes in red – not shown

First, please answer a few questions about yourself.

Q1. What is the highest level of education you have completed?

<u>Less than</u> <i>High school</i>	<u>High</u> <i>school graduate</i>	<u>Some</u> <i>college</i>	<u>4 year college</u> <i>degree</i>	<u>Advanced</u> <i>degree</i>
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Q2. What is your estimate of your family's annual household income (before taxes)?

<u>< \$30,000</u>	<u>\$30,000 - \$69,999</u>	<u>\$70,000-\$99,999</u>	<u>\$100,000-\$200,000</u>	<u>>\$200,000</u>
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Q3. Which of the following best describes your present religion, if any?

<u>Protestant</u>	<u>Roman Catholic</u>	<u>Eastern or</u> <i>Greek Orthodox</i>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Muslim</u>	<u>Buddhist</u>	<u>Hindu</u>
<u>Atheist</u>	<u>Not Religious</u>	<u>Other</u>				

If answer "Not Religious", skip to Q6. Otherwise, proceed.

Q4. How important is your religion to you?

<u>Not at all</u> <i>important/</i>	<u>Not very</u> <i>important</i>	<u>Somewhat</u> <i>important</i>	<u>Very</u> <i>important</i>	<u>Extremely</u> <i>important</i>
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Q5. How often do you attend religious services?

<u>Never</u>	<u>Once a year</u> <i>or less</i>	<u>Several times</u> <i>a year</i>	<u>About once</u> <i>a month</i>	<u>2-3 times</u> <i>a month</i>	<u>About once</u> <i>a week</i>	<u>More than</u> <i>once a week</i>
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Q6. Which point on this scale best describes your political views?

<u>very</u> <i>liberal</i>	<u>mostly</u> <i>liberal</i>	<u>somewhat</u> <i>liberal</i>	<u>moderate</u>	<u>somewhat</u> <i>conservative</i>	<u>mostly</u> <i>conservative</i>	<u>very</u> <i>conservative</i>
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[Page Break]

Q7. To what extent do you oppose or support this statement: Accessing abortion services in the U.S. is a constitutional right.

completely
oppose

oppose

somewhat
oppose

neither
oppose nor
support

somewhat
support

support

completely
support

[Page Break]

Next, you will read a recent news article about a U.S. Supreme Court decision regarding the constitutional right to abortion services. Then, you will give your thoughts and feelings about the topic of the article. Please click the button to continue.

[Page Break]

[RANDOM ASSIGNMENT to view one of the 7 stimuli detailed in Appendix B]

[Page Break]

Now, we will ask your thoughts and feelings about the topic of the article you just read.

Q13. In your view, how responsible are the following people or groups for ending the constitutional right to abortion access?

	Not at all responsible	A little responsible	Moderately responsible	A lot responsible	A great deal responsible
Supreme Court justices					
Joe Biden					
Donald Trump					
Republicans in Congress					
Democrats in Congress					
“Pro-choice” activists					
“Pro-life” activists					

Q14. Next, please rate how warm or cold you feel toward the following people or groups on a scale from 0 to 100.

Ratings between 50 and 100 mean that you feel favorable and warm toward them. Ratings between 0 and 50 mean you don’t feel favorable toward them and that you don’t care too much for them.

	0-100 Sliders
	0 (Cold/Unfavorable) 100 (Warm/Favorable)
Supreme Court justices	
Joe Biden	
Donald Trump	
Republicans in Congress	
Democrats in Congress	
“Pro-choice” activists	
“Pro-life” activists	

[Page Break]

Q15. Finally, please indicate your agreement or disagreement with the following statements.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
If the U.S. Supreme Court started making a lot of decisions that most people disagree with, it might be better to do away with the Supreme Court altogether.					
Justices on the U.S. Supreme Court who consistently make unpopular decisions should be removed from their position as Justice.					
The U.S. Supreme Court ought to be made less independent so that it listens a lot more to what the people want.					