## Supplemental Appendix

## Treatments

## Abortion Vignette:

The Supreme Court strengthened constitutional protections for abortion rights this week, striking down parts of a restrictive Texas law that would have drastically reduced the number of abortion clinics in the state. The decision, written by one of the Court's [liberal/conservative] [male/female] justices, reaffirmed the constitutional right to an abortion, ruling that Texas's law placed an undue burden on a woman's ability to obtain an abortion.

Figure A1: Abortion Experiment Sample Vignette: Liberal Male Opinion Author


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special issue
Supreme Court Reafirms Abortion Rights


Washington, D.C.
(AP Photo/J. Applewhite)

The Supreme Court strengthened constitutional protections for abortion rights this week, striking down parts of a restrictive Texas law that would have drastically reduced the number of abortion clinics in the state. The decision, written by one of the Court's liberal male justices, reaffirmed the constitutional right to an abortion, ruling that Texas's law placed an undue burden on a woman's ability to obtain an abortion.

## Death Penalty Vignette:

This week, the Supreme Court ruled against three death row inmates who claimed the drugs that would be used in their executions would cause them excruciating pain, violating the Eighth Amendment's protections against cruel and unusual punishment. The decision, written by one of the Court's [liberal/conservative] [male/female] justices, said the inmates' executions could go forward as they failed to identify a preferable execution method or make the case that the challenged drug entailed a substantial risk of severe pain

Figure A2: Death Penalty Experiment Sample Vignette: Liberal Male Opinion Author


Supreme Court Allows Executions to Proceed


Washington, D.C.
(AP Photo/J. Applewhite)

This week, the Supreme Court ruled against three death row inmates who claimed the drugs that would be used in their executions would cause them excruciating pain, violating the Eighth Amendment's protections against cruel and unusual punishment. The decision, written by one of the Court's liberal male justices, said the inmates' executions could go forward as they failed to identify a preferable execution method or make the case that the challenged drug entailed a substantial risk of severe pain.

## Participant Demographics from Experiments

We treat participants as Democrats if they identified as a "Strong Democrat," "Not very strong Democrat," "Independent Democrat," or "Other - leaning Democrat." We follow the same coding scheme for Republicans. Participants who answered "Independent - neither" or "Other - neither" are coded as Independents. Questions are available later in the appendix.

Table A1: Participant Demographics

| Variable | Abortion | Death Penalty |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Democrat | 354 (48\%) | 703 (47\%) |
| Republican | 259 (35\%) | 492 (33\%) |
| Independent | 120 (16\%) | 302 (20\%) |
| Male | 321 (44\%) | 719 (48\%) |
| Female | 412 (56\%) | 778 (52\%) |
| White | 571 (78\%) | 1110 (74\%) |
| Black | 61 (8\%) | 178 (12\%) |
| Asian or Pacific American | 47 (6\%) | 83 (6\%) |
| Native American | 10 (1\%) | 29 (2\%) |
| Some other race | 20 (3\%) | 91 (6\%) |
| Prefer not to answer | 24 (3\%) | 6 (1\%) |
| Some high school or less education | 29 (4\%) | 82 (5\%) |
| High school graduate | 134 (18\%) | 402 (27\%) |
| Other post high school vocational training | 29 (4\%) | 49 (3\%) |
| Completed some college, but no degree | 123 (17\%) | 275 (18\%) |
| Associate's degree | 70 (9\%) | 158 (11\%) |
| Bachelor's degree | 187 (26\%) | 335 (22\%) |
| Master's or professional degree | 115 (16\%) | 143 (10\%) |
| Doctorate degree | 30 (4\%) | 42 (3\%) |
| None of the above | 16 (2\%) | 11 (1\%) |
| Not of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin | 659 (90\%) | 1307 (87\%) |
| Mexican | 30 (4\%) | 91 (6\%) |
| Cuban | 4 (1\%) | 10 (1\%) |
| Puerto Rican | 2 (1\%) | 0 (0\%) |
| Another Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin | 16 (2\%) | 79 (5\%) |
| Prefer not to answer | 22 (3\%) | 10 (1\%) |
| Less than \$14,999 | 103 (14\%) | 274 (18\%) |
| \$15,000 to \$19,999 | 39 (5\%) | 84 (6\%) |
| \$20,000 to \$24,999 | 44 (6\%) | 114 (8\%) |
| \$25,000 to \$29,999 | 32 (4\%) | 96 (6\%) |
| \$30,000 to \$34,999 | 46 (6\%) | 64 (4\%) |
| \$35,000 to \$39,999 | 24 (3\%) | 85 (6\%) |
| \$40,000 to \$44,999 | 28 (4\%) | 53 (4\%) |
| \$45,000 to \$49,999 | 28 (4\%) | 60 (4\%) |
| \$50,000 to \$54,999 | 27 (4\%) | 82 (5\%) |
| \$55,000 to \$59,999 | 11 (2\%) | 39 (3\%) |
| \$60,000 to \$64,999 | 26 (4\%) | 43 (3\%) |
| \$65,000 to \$69,999 | 15 (2\%) | 25 (2\%) |
| \$70,000 to \$74,999 | 25 (3\%) | 56 (4\%) |
| \$75,000 to \$79,999 | 25 (3\%) | 45 (3\%) |
| \$80,000 to \$84,999 | 11 (2\%) | 19 (1\%) |
| \$85,000 to \$89,999 | 12 (2\%) | 26 (2\%) |
| \$90,000 to \$94,999 | 12 (2\%) | 18 (1\%) |
| \$95,000 to \$99,999 | 17 (2\%) | 27 (2\%) |
| \$100,000 to \$124,999 | 52 (7\%) | 78 (5\%) |
| \$125,000 to \$149,999 | 39 (5\%) | 64 (4\%) |
| \$150,000 to \$174,999 | 16 (2\%) | 58 (4\%) |
| \$175,000 to \$199,999 | 16 (2\%) | 22 (1\%) |
| \$200,000 to \$249,999 | 9 (1\%) | 20 (1\%) |
| \$250,000 and above | 11 (2\%) | 23 (2\%) |
| Prefer not to answer | 65 (9\%) | 22 (1\%) |

## Additional Death Penalty Experiment

In the manuscript, we show the results from two experiments: an abortion experiment conducted in April 2021 and a larger death penalty experiment conducted in October 2022. We also conducted the death penalty experiment in April 2021 and we present the results of the baseline and full models in the last column (3) of Tables A2 and A3 as well as in Figures A3 and A4. As the results presented here show, while some of the conditional effects are different in the October 2022 sample, our broad findings remain substantively similar across the two experiments and align with our expectations.

Table A2: April 2021 Death Penalty Experiment OLS, Decision Thermometer, Direct Effects

|  | $(1)$ | $(2)$ | $(3)$ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Abortion | Death Penalty | Death Penalty |
|  | Manuscript | Manuscript | Additional |
|  | April 2021 | October 2022 | April 2021 |
| Liberal Male Justice | $-9.5^{*}$ | $-4.9^{*}$ | -0.2 |
|  | $(3.4)$ | $(2.3)$ | $(3.1)$ |
| Conservative Male Justice | $-8.4^{*}$ |  |  |
|  | $(3.5)$ | -3.3 | -2.0 |
|  |  | $(2.3)$ | $(3.2)$ |
| Liberal Female Justice | -5.7 | -3.4 | -6.2 |
|  | $(3.4)$ | $(2.3)$ | $(3.1)$ |
| Conservative Female Justice | $-8.9^{*}$ |  | 1.2 |
|  | $(3.4)$ | $(2.3)$ | -3.6 |
| Constant | $65.8^{*}$ | $60.6^{*}$ | $(3.1)$ |
| Observations | $(2.4)$ | $(1.6)$ | $62.2^{*}$ |
| $R^{2}$ | 733 | 1497 | $(2.2)$ |
| F Statistic | 0.014 | 0.007 | 747 |



Figure A3: Mean differences in participant feelings toward Supreme Court's decision upholding the use of the death penalty for Democratic (left) and Republican (right) participants in the April 2021 experiment. Vertical bars show $95 \%$ confidence intervals.

Table A3: April 2021 Death Penalty Experiment OLS, Decision Thermometer, Expanded Models

|  | (1) | (2) | (3) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Abortion | Death Penalty | Death Penalty |
|  | Manuscript | Manuscript | Additional |
|  | April 2021 | October 2022 | April 2021 |
| Liberal Male Justice | $\begin{array}{r} \hline-15.6^{*} \\ (7.6) \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline-5.9 \\ (4.7) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline 15.1^{*} \\ (6.9) \end{gathered}$ |
| Conservative Male Justice | $-15.9 *$ | -6.9 | 14.9* |
|  | (7.8) | (4.5) | (6.7) |
| Liberal Female Justice | $-9.0$ | $1.2$ | $-1.5$ |
|  | $(7.3)$ -20.3 | $(4.5)$ | (6.8) |
| Conservative Female Justice | (7.0) | (4.7) | (6.7) |
| Female Respondent | $\begin{gathered} -10.0 \\ (6.5) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{array}{r} -11.0^{*} \\ (4.6) \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.4 \\ (6.4) \end{gathered}$ |
| Liberal Male Justice x Female Respondent | $\begin{aligned} & 18.8 \\ & (9.6) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 7.9 \\ (6.4) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{array}{r} -14.8 \\ (9.1) \end{array}$ |
| Conservative Male Justice | 15.2 | 7.7 | -20.4* |
|  | (10.0) | (6.5) | (8.9) |
| Liberal Female Justice x Female Respondent | 17.9 | 3.7 | 0.3 |
| x Female Respondent | (9.7) | (6.6) | (9.1) |
| Conservative Female Justice | 19.4* | 6.6 | -7.7 |
| x Female Respondent | (9.1) | (6.7) | (9.0) |
| Independent Respondent | -19.9 | 0.7 | 22.9* |
|  | (10.3) | (5.6) | (10.2) |
| Republican Respondent | $-27.7^{*}$ | 9.9 | 28.2* |
|  | (8.7) | (5.2) | (7.1) |
| Female <br> x Independent Respondent | 12.5 | -5.2 | -23.6 |
|  | (13.8) | (8.2) | (12.6) |
| Female <br> x Republican Respondent | 24.8* | 4.7 | -15.2 |
|  | (11.2) | (7.4) | (9.4) |
| Liberal Male Justice | 10.4 | -12.6 | -42.1* |
|  | (14.6) | (9.3) | (13.7) |
| Conservative Male Justice x Independent Respondent | 11.3 | 2.0 | -24.2 |
|  | (14.9) | (8.4) | (18.8) |
| Liberal Female Justicex Independent Respondent | 8.4 | -13.8 | $-29.8{ }^{*}$ |
|  | (14.7) | (8.2) | (14.6) |
| Conservative Female Justice x Independent Respondent | $17.3$ |  |  |
|  | (14.0) | (8.4) | (13.3) |
| Liberal Male Justice <br> x Republican Respondent | 10.6 | -8.3 | $-31.5^{*}$ |
|  | (11.7) | (7.6) | (10.4) |
| Conservative Male Justice x Republican Respondent | 18.9 | 3.1 | -22.9* |
|  | (12.0) | (7.2) | (10.1) |
| Liberal Female Justice | 7.6 | $-16.0^{*}$ | -15.9 |
| x Republican Respondent | (11.4) | (7.2) | (9.9) |
| Conservative Female Justice x Republican Respondent | 23.0* | 0.9 | -4.3 |
|  | (11.5) | (7.3) | (10.1) |
| Liberal Male Justice x Female x Independent Respondent | -26.4 | 16.7 | 44.3* |
|  | (19.5) | (12.3) | (17.6) |
| Conservative Male Justice <br> x Female x Independent Respondent | $-18.3$ | -0.2 | 36.1 |
|  | (19.2) | (11.8) | (21.4) |
| Liberal Female Justice | -21.9 | 5.3 | 27.1 |
| x Female x Independent Respondent | (19.3) | (11.7) | (18.3) |
| Conservative Female Justice | $\begin{gathered} -42.6^{*} \\ (20.3) \end{gathered}$ | 7.3 $(11.8)$ | $\begin{gathered} 47.7^{*} \\ (17.2) \end{gathered}$ |
|  |  |  |  |
| Liberal Male Justicex Female x Republican Respondent | $-33.7^{*}$ | 1.3 | 39.0* |
|  | (15.3) | (10.3) | (13.6) |
| Conservative Male Justice | $-31.3^{*}$ | $-10.3$ | 20.8 |
| x Female x Republican Respondent | (15.6) | (10.3) | (13.5) |
| Liberal Female Justice x Female x Republican Respondent | $-30.1^{*}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 5.7 \\ (10.3) \end{array}$ | $11.2$ |
| Conservative Female Justice x Female x Republican Respondent | $-37.2^{*}$ | (10.3) | (13.3) |
|  | (15.3) | (10.2) | (13.4) |
| Constant | $\begin{aligned} & 77.4^{*} \\ & (5.1) \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 62.6^{*} \\ & (3.2) \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 54.1^{*} \\ & (4.4) \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ |
| Observations | 733 | 1497 | 747 |
|  | 0.110 | 0.062 | 0.132 |
| F Statistic | $3.02 *$ ( $\mathrm{df}=29 ; 703$ ) | $3.35{ }^{*}(\mathrm{df}=29 ; 1467)$ | $3.76{ }^{*}(\mathrm{df}=29,717)$ |



Figure A4: First differences of participant feelings toward Supreme Court's decisions strengthening the death penalty by (a) participant gender (Democrats left, Republicans right) and (b) participant partisanship (men left, female right) in the April 2021 experiment. Vertical bars represent $95 \%$ confidence intervals.

Table A4: April 2021 Death Penalty Experiment, Participant Demographics

| Variable | Death Penalty |
| :---: | :---: |
| Democrat | 348 (46\%) |
| Republican | 274 (37\%) |
| Independent | 125 (17\%) |
| Male | 307 (41\%) |
| Female | 440 (59\%) |
| White | 577 (77\%) |
| Black | 77 (10\%) |
| Asian or Pacific American | 46 (6\%) |
| Native American | 4 (1\%) |
| Some other race | 27 (4\%) |
| Prefer not to answer | 16 (2\%) |
| Some high school or less education | 25 (3\%) |
| High school graduate | 132 (18\%) |
| Other post high school vocational training | 26 (3\%) |
| Completed some college, but no degree | 151 (20\%) |
| Associate's degree | 77 (10\%) |
| Bachelor's degree | 180 (24\%) |
| Master's or professional degree | 121 (16\%) |
| Doctorate degree | 26 (3\%) |
| None of the above | 9 (1\%) |
| Not of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin | 661 (88\%) |
| Mexican | 32 (4\%) |
| Cuban | 4 (1\%) |
| Puerto Rican | 3 (1\%) |
| Another Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin | 21 (3\%) |
| Prefer not to answer | 26 (3\%) |
| Less than \$14,999 | 97 (13\%) |
| \$15,000 to \$19,999 | 41 (5\%) |
| \$20,000 to \$24,999 | 32 (4\%) |
| \$25,000 to \$29,999 | 38 (5\%) |
| \$30,000 to \$34,999 | 37 (5\%) |
| \$35,000 to \$39,999 | 25 (3\%) |
| \$40,000 to \$44,999 | 30 (4\%) |
| \$45,000 to \$49,999 | 29 (4\%) |
| \$50,000 to \$54,999 | 33 (4\%) |
| \$55,000 to \$59,999 | 19 (3\%) |
| \$60,000 to \$64,999 | 21 (3\%) |
| \$65,000 to \$69,999 | 25 (3\%) |
| \$70,000 to \$74,999 | 17 (2\%) |
| \$75,000 to \$79,999 | 29 (4\%) |
| \$80,000 to \$84,999 | 11 (1\%) |
| \$85,000 to \$89,999 | 15 (2\%) |
| \$90,000 to \$94,999 | 10 (1\%) |
| \$95,000 to \$99,999 | 21 (3\%) |
| \$100,000 to \$124,999 | 52 (7\%) |
| \$125,000 to \$149,999 | 49 (7\%) |
| \$150,000 to \$174,999 | 16 (2\%) |
| \$175,000 to \$199,999 | 11 (1\%) |
| \$200,000 to \$249,999 | 17 (2\%) |
| \$250,000 and above | 13 (2\%) |
| Prefer not to answer | 59 (8\%) |

Table A5: April 2021 Death Penalty Experiment, Manipulation Check

| Treatment | Incorrect <br> Profile Selected | Correct <br> Profile Selected | Don't <br> Remember | No <br> Answer | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Liberal Male Justice | 28 | 60 | 50 | 11 | 149 |
| Conservative Male Justice | 30 | 45 | 60 | 10 | 145 |
| Liberal Female Justice | 36 | 58 | 45 | 10 | 149 |
| Conservative Female Justice | 55 | 44 | 43 | 10 | 152 |

## Power Analysis

We conducted a power analysis using the pwr package in $R$ to confirm the minimum sample size required to test the study hypotheses.

For the abortion experiment, the results indicated the required sample size to achieve $90 \%$ power for detecting a small effect size $\left(f^{2}=0.04\right)$, at a significance criterion of $\alpha=0.05$, was $\mathrm{N}=741$; to achieve $80 \%$ power under the same conditions, the sample size would need to be 598. Our sample has 733 participants ( $\mathrm{f}^{2}=0.042$ at $90 \%$ power, $\mathrm{f}^{2}=0.034$ at $80 \%$ power).

For the death penalty experiment, the results indicated the required sample size to achieve $90 \%$ power for detecting a small effect size ( $\mathrm{f}^{2}=0.02$ ), at a significance criterion of $\alpha=0.05$, was $\mathrm{N}=1,491$. Our sample has 1,497 participants.

Both studies are adequate to test the study hypotheses.

## Manipulation Checks

As a manipulation check, we asked participants that were not in the control group, "What was the profile of the justice that wrote the opinion? Liberal male; Conservative male; Liberal female; Conservative female; Don't remember." As Table A6 and Table A7 show, most participants did not answer the question incorrectly. They either got it right or admitted they did not remember which justice wrote the opinion. To ensure participants knew who wrote the opinion, we restated the profile of the justice in their vignette before asking them about their feelings toward the decision itself.

Table A6: Abortion Vignette Manipulation Check

| Treatment | Incorrect <br> Profile Selected | Correct <br> Profile Selected | Don't <br> Remember | No <br> Answer | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Liberal Male Justice | $28(18 \%)$ | $60(40 \%)$ | $50(33 \%)$ | $11(7 \%)$ | 149 |
| Conservative Male Justice | $30(21 \%)$ | $45(31 \%)$ | $60(41 \%)$ | $10(7 \%)$ | 145 |
| Liberal Female Justice | $36(24 \%)$ | $58(39 \%)$ | $45(30 \%)$ | $10(7 \%)$ | 149 |
| Conservative Female Justice | $55(35 \%)$ | $44(29 \%)$ | $43(28 \%)$ | $10(7 \%)$ | 152 |

Table A7: Death Penalty Vignette Manipulation Check

| Treatment | Incorrect <br> Profile Selected | Correct <br> Profile Selected | Don't <br> Remember | No <br> Answer | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Liberal Male Justice | $116(38 \%)$ | $96(32 \%)$ | $90(30 \%)$ | $0(0 \%)$ | 302 |
| Conservative Male Justice | $81(27 \%)$ | $108(36 \%)$ | $108(36 \%)$ | $0(0 \%)$ | 297 |
| Liberal Female Justice | $114(38 \%)$ | $107(35 \%)$ | $81(27 \%)$ | $0(0 \%)$ | 302 |
| Conservative Female Justice | $116(38 \%)$ | $96(32 \%)$ | $89(30 \%)$ | $0(0 \%)$ | 301 |

## Alternative Dependent Variables

In addition to the dependent variable we use for analysis in the paper, we ran the same models using a simpler, two-part dependent variable. In the manuscript, we used responses to the question, "On a scale from 0 to 100 , how would you rate the [liberal/conservative] [male/female] justice's decision in this case?" Here, we ask, "Do you agree or disagree with the Supreme Court's decision in this case?" ${ }^{15}$ We asked this question shortly after the one we used in the manuscript. These results are in Table A8, and they are substantively similar to the ones we present in the manuscript, with one exception: we do not have estimates for the seven female Independent participants from the abortion experiment. While their feeling thermometers vary between 0 and 55 degrees, none of the participants agreed with the decision, and their unanimous response thus offered no variation.

We also analyzed our results using a feeling thermometer toward the Court itself. We asked, "On a scale from 0 to 100, how would you rate the Supreme Court?" We asked this question immediately following the question we used in the manuscript. These results are in Table A9. Following long-established findings that a single decision does not fundamentally alter support for the Supreme Court (see Gibson and Nelson 2014 for a full overview), the results presented in Table A9 suggest feelings are stable across treatments. Notably, however, the results from the death penalty experiment show an ideological split in support, with Democrat participants feeling less warmly toward the Court overall and Republican participants feeling more warmly toward the Court. This finding is not surprising; the Court's explosive ruling in Dobbs v. Jackson Women's Health Organization (2022) capped several years of politicized responses to the Court (Armaly 2020; Carrington and French 2021; Krewson and Schroedel 2020), and surveys suggest Democrats and Republicans split in their support for the Court after the Dobbs ruling. ${ }^{16}$

[^0]Table A8: Logistic Regression Results, Agree with Supreme Court Decision

|  | (1) | (2) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Abortion | Death Penalty |
| Liberal Male Justice | -0.3 | -0.01 |
|  | (0.6) | (0.3) |
| Conservative Male Justice | 0.3 | -0.1 |
|  | (0.6) | (0.3) |
| Liberal Female Justice | $-0.2$ | 0.2 |
|  | (0.5) | (0.3) |
| Conservative Female Justice | $-0.2$ | -0.1 |
|  | (0.5) | (0.3) |
| Female Respondent | 0.01 | -0.8 * |
|  | (0.5) | (0.3) |
| Independent Respondent | -2.1 * | 0.02 |
|  | (0.9) | (0.4) |
| Republican Respondent | -2.2 * | 0.3 |
|  | (0.7) | (0.4) |
| Independent Respondent x Female | 0.3 | -0.5 |
|  | (1.1) | (0.6) |
| Republican Respondent x Female | 1.2 | 0.5 |
|  | (0.9) | (0.6) |
| Liberal Male Justice x Female | 0.5 | 0.7 |
|  | (0.7) | (0.5) |
| Conservative Male Justice x Female | -0.5 | 0.6 |
|  | (0.8) | (0.5) |
| Liberal Female Justice x Female | -0.1 | 0.3 |
|  | (0.7) | (0.5) |
| Conservative Female Justice x Female | 0.03 | 0.6 |
|  | (0.7) | (0.5) |
| Liberal Male Justice x Independent | -0.6 | -0.9 |
|  | (1.4) | (0.7) |
| Conservative Male Justice x Independent | 0.7 | -0.3 |
|  | (1.2) | (0.6) |
| Liberal Female Justice x Independent | 1.6 | $-1.1$ |
|  | (1.1) | (0.6) |
| Conservative Female Justice x Independent | 1.3 | $-0.7$ |
|  | (1.1) | (0.6) |
| Liberal Male Justice <br> x Republican | 1.0 | 0.2 |
|  | (0.9) | (0.6) |
| Conservative Male Justice x Republican | 0.4 | 0.4 |
|  | (1.0) | (0.5) |
| Liberal Female Justice | 0.7 | $-0.2$ |
| x Republican | (0.9) | (0.5) |
| Conservative Female Justice x Republican | 1.3 | -0.02 |
|  | (0.9) | (0.5) |
| Liberal Male Justice x Female x Independent | 0.8 | 0.1 |
|  | (1.7) | (1.0) |
| Conservative Male Justice x Female x Independent | -0.8 | -0.1 |
|  | (1.5) | (0.9) |
| Liberal Female Justicex Female x Independent | -1.3 | 0.9 |
|  | (1.5) | (0.9) |
| Conservative Female Justice x Female x Independent | - | 0.3 |
|  | - | (0.9) |
| Liberal Male Justice x Female x Republican | $-2.1$ | $-1.3$ |
|  | (1.2) | (0.8) |
| Conservative Male Justice x Female x Republican | -0.4 | $-1.6^{*}$ |
|  | (1.2) | (0.8) |
| Liberal Female Justice | -1.2 | -0.4 |
| x Female x Republican | (1.2) | (0.8) |
| Conservative Female Justice x Female x Republican | -3.2 * | -0.4 |
|  | (1.3) | (0.8) |
| Constant | 0.7 | 0.3 |
|  | (0.4) | (0.2) |
| Observations | 732 | 1494 |
| Log Likelihood | -440.2 | -996.8 |

Table A9: OLS Results, Feeling Thermometer, Supreme Court

|  |  | (1) | (2) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Abortion | Death Penalty |
| Liberal Male Justice |  | -4.6 | -8.4 |
|  |  | (6.0) | (4.4) |
| Conservative Male Justice |  | -11.6 | -0.5 |
|  |  | (6.1) | (4.3) |
| Liberal Female Justice |  | -8.6 | $-2.0$ |
|  |  | (5.7) | (4.2) |
| Conservative Female Justice |  | -11.2 * | 0.5 |
|  |  | (5.5) | (4.4) |
| Female Respondent |  | -16.6 * | $-7.5$ |
|  |  | (5.1) | (4.3) |
| Independent Respondent |  | -14.1 | 6.5 |
|  |  | (8.1) | (5.3) |
| Republican Respondent |  | -13.3 | 14.2* |
|  |  | (6.8) | (4.9) |
| Independent Respondent x Female |  | 17.6 | -11.2 |
|  |  | (10.8) | (7.7) |
| Republican Respondent x Female |  | 22.3* | -0.4 |
|  |  | (8.7) | (6.9) |
| Liberal Male Justice x Female |  | 12.5 | 11.1 |
|  |  | (7.5) | (6.0) |
| Conservative Male Justice x Female |  | 16.6* | 1.6 |
|  |  | (7.8) | (6.1) |
| Liberal Female Justice x Female |  | 15.1* | 2.3 |
|  |  | (7.6) | (6.2) |
| Conservative Female Justice x Female |  | 16.6* | 1.4 |
|  |  | (7.1) | (6.3) |
| Liberal Male Justice x Independent |  | 5.4 | -9.6 |
|  |  | (11.4) | (8.8) |
| Conservative Male Justice x Independent |  | 15.7 | $-16.2^{*}$ |
|  |  | (11.7) | (7.9) |
| Liberal Female Justice x Independent |  | $-3.0$ | -13.7 |
|  |  | (11.5) | (7.7) |
| Conservative Female Justice x Independent |  | 4.8 | -15.1 |
|  |  | (11.0) | (7.9) |
| Liberal Male Justice <br> x Republican |  | 7.2 | 5.7 |
|  |  | (9.1) | (7.1) |
| Conservative Male Justice x Republican |  | 14.7 | $-3.7$ |
|  |  | (9.4) | (6.8) |
| Liberal Female Justicex Republican |  | 17.2 | -9.1 |
|  |  | (9.0) | (6.8) |
| Conservative Female Justice x Republican |  | 4.2 | $-2.2$ |
|  |  | (9.0) | (6.9) |
| Liberal Male Justice x Female x Independent |  | -19.9 | 12.6 |
|  |  | (15.3) | (11.6) |
| Conservative Male Justice x Female x Independent |  | -25.3 | 19.8 |
|  |  | (15.0) | (11.1) |
| Liberal Female Justice |  | -12.4 | 14.3 |
| x Female x Independent |  | (15.1) | (11.0) |
| Conservative Female Justice x Female x Independent |  | -19.0 | 13.9 |
|  |  | (15.9) | (11.1) |
| Liberal Male Justice x Female x Republican |  | -16.3 | -11.4 |
|  |  | (12.0) | (9.7) |
| Conservative Male Justice x Female x Republican |  | $-27.2^{*}$ | 3.7 |
|  |  | (12.2) | (9.7) |
| Liberal Female Justice |  | -21.5 | 7.0 |
| x Female x Republican |  | (11.8) | (9.7) |
| Conservative Female Justice |  | -21.3 | $-7.1$ |
| x Female x Republican |  | (12.0) | (9.6) |
| Constant |  | 76.5* | 57.8* |
|  |  | (4.0) | (3.0) |
| Observations |  | 733 | 1497 |
| $\mathrm{R}^{2}$ |  | 0.058 | 0.075 |
| F Statistic | 1.49* | (df = 29; 703) | $4.07^{*}(\mathrm{df}=29 ; 1467)$ |

# Full Models with Complete Set of Participant Controls 

Table A10: OLS Results, Decision Thermometer, Full Models

|  |  | (2) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Abortion | Death Penalty |
| Liberal Male Justice | $\begin{gathered} -17.6^{*} \\ (8.0) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -6.2 \\ (4.8) \end{gathered}$ |
| Conservative Male Justice | $\begin{array}{r} -21.5^{*} \\ (8.8) \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} -5.7 \\ (4.6) \end{array}$ |
| Liberal Female Justice | $\begin{array}{r} -11.6 \\ (7.7) \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1.5 \\ (4.5) \end{gathered}$ |
| Conservative Female Justice | $\begin{array}{r} -20.1^{*} \\ (7.6) \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} -0.9 \\ (4.7) \end{array}$ |
| Female Respondent | $\begin{array}{r} -13.1 \\ (7.0) \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} -10.2^{*} \\ (4.7) \end{array}$ |
| Independent Respondent | $\begin{gathered} -22.2^{*} \\ (11.0) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3.3 \\ (5.7) \end{gathered}$ |
| Republican Respondent | $\begin{array}{r} -29.5^{*} \\ (9.3) \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} 9.2 \\ (5.3) \end{gathered}$ |
| Independent Respondent x Female | $\begin{gathered} 18.6 \\ (14.5) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -7.0 \\ (8.3) \end{gathered}$ |
| Republican Respondent x Female | $\begin{gathered} 26.5^{*} \\ (11.7) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 4.0 \\ (7.4) \end{gathered}$ |
| Liberal Male Justice x Female | $\begin{gathered} 22.3^{*} \\ (10.1) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 8.0 \\ (6.5) \end{gathered}$ |
| Conservative Male Justice x Female | $\begin{gathered} 21.7^{*} \\ (10.9) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 6.4 \\ (6.5) \end{gathered}$ |
| Liberal Female Justice x Female | $\begin{gathered} 21.9^{*} \\ (10.3) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3.4 \\ (6.6) \end{gathered}$ |
| Conservative Female Justice x Female | $\begin{gathered} 22.0^{*} \\ (9.7) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 7.4 \\ (6.7) \end{gathered}$ |
| Liberal Male Justice x Independent | $\begin{gathered} 17.9 \\ (15.6) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{array}{r} -11.0 \\ (9.5) \end{array}$ |
| Conservative Male Justice x Independent | $\begin{gathered} 20.2 \\ (16.7) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{array}{r} -1.5 \\ (8.5) \end{array}$ |
| Liberal Female Justice x Independent | $\begin{aligned} & 10.7 \\ & (15.1) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{array}{r} -14.7 \\ (8.3) \end{array}$ |
| Conservative Female Justice x Independent | $\begin{gathered} 24.9 \\ (15.0) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{array}{r} -12.0 \\ (8.4) \end{array}$ |
| Liberal Male Justice x Republican | $\begin{gathered} 11.8 \\ (12.1) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{array}{r} -7.5 \\ (7.6) \end{array}$ |
| Conservative Male Justice x Republican | $\begin{gathered} 22.2 \\ (13.0) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2.6 \\ (7.3) \end{gathered}$ |
| Liberal Female Justice x Republican | $\begin{gathered} 8.9 \\ (12.0) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{array}{r} -15.7^{*} \\ (7.2) \end{array}$ |
| Conservative Female Justice x Republican | $\begin{gathered} 24.7^{*} \\ (12.0) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.9 \\ (7.4) \end{gathered}$ |
| Liberal Male Justice x Female x Independent | $\begin{array}{r} -40.9 \\ (21.6) \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} 17.2 \\ (12.5) \end{gathered}$ |
| Conservative Male Justice x Female x Independent | $\begin{array}{r} -31.4 \\ (20.9) \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3.4 \\ (11.9) \end{gathered}$ |
| Liberal Female Justice x Female x Independent | $\begin{array}{r} -26.7 \\ (20.1) \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} 7.5 \\ (11.8) \end{gathered}$ |
| Conservative Female Justice x Female x Independent | $\begin{gathered} -57.5^{*} \\ (21.7) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 9.0 \\ (11.9) \end{gathered}$ |
| Liberal Male Justice x Female x Republican | $\begin{gathered} -32.9^{*} \\ (15.8) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2.0 \\ (10.4) \end{gathered}$ |
| Conservative Male Justice x Female x Republican | $\begin{gathered} -33.9^{*} \\ (16.6) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -8.2 \\ & (10.4) \end{aligned}$ |
| Liberal Female Justice x Female x Republican | $\begin{array}{r} -28.2 \\ (15.9) \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} 6.5 \\ (10.3) \end{gathered}$ |
| Conservative Female Justice x Female x Republican | $\begin{gathered} -39.4^{*} \\ (16.0) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -5.0 \\ (10.3) \end{gathered}$ |
| Participant Income | $\begin{gathered} -0.1 \\ (0.2) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.3^{*} \\ (0.1) \end{gathered}$ |
| Participant Education | $\begin{gathered} 1.5^{*} \\ (0.6) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.3 \\ (0.4) \end{gathered}$ |
| Participant Age | $\begin{gathered} 0.04 \\ (0.1) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.1^{*} \\ (0.04) \end{gathered}$ |
| Constant | $\begin{gathered} 70.3^{*} \\ (7.1) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 50.7^{*} \\ (4.0) \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| Observations | 656 | 1464 |
| $\mathrm{R}^{2}$ | 0.123 | 0.078 |
| F Statistic | $2.74 *$ (df $=32 ; 623)$ | $3.78 *(\mathrm{df}=32 ; 1431)$ |

${ }^{*} \mathrm{p}<0.05$

## Treatment Group Breakdowns

Table A11: Abortion Group Breakdown

| Treatment | Democrat <br> Male | Democrat <br> Female | Independent <br> Male | Independent <br> Female | Republican <br> Male | Republican <br> Female |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Liberal Male Justice | 25 | 45 | 11 | 12 | 29 |  |
| Conservative Male Justice | 23 | 36 | 10 | 20 | 26 |  |
| Liberal Female Justice | 29 | 32 | 10 | 16 | 28 |  |
| Conservative Female Justice | 35 | 47 | 12 | 7 | 30 | 25 |
| Control | 31 | 51 | 10 | 12 | 22 | 26 |

Table A12: Death Penalty Group Breakdown

| Treatment | Democrat <br> Male | Democrat <br> Female | Independent <br> Male | Independent <br> Female | Republican <br> Male | Republican <br> Female |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Liberal Male Justice | 62 | 91 | 17 | 36 | 54 |  |
| Conservative Male Justice | 71 | 71 | 26 | 33 | 42 |  |
| Liberal Female Justice | 76 | 62 | 28 | 35 | 52 | 44 |
| Conservative Female Justice | 64 | 65 | 27 | 35 | 51 | 50 |
| Control | 74 | 67 | 35 | 30 | 43 | 46 |

## Analysis of Independents in the Death Penalty Experiment

## Approval for Pro-Death Penalty Decision <br> Independent Participants



Figure A5: Mean differences in Independent participant feelings toward Supreme Court's decision upholding the use of the death penalty. Female Independent participants are represented in light grey and male Independent participants are represented in dark grey. Vertical bars show $95 \%$ confidence intervals.

## Differences Between Female and Male Participants, Approval for Pro-Death Penalty Decision Independent Participants



Figure A6: First differences of participant feelings toward Supreme Court's decisions strengthening the death penalty by participant gender. Vertical bars represent $95 \%$ confidence intervals..


Figure A7: First differences of participant feelings toward Supreme Court's decisions strengthening the death penalty by comparing (a) participants who identified as Democrats and Independents (men left, women right) and (b) participants who identified as Republicans and Independents (men left, women right). Vertical bars represent $95 \%$ confidence intervals.

## Survey Questions

## Demographic Questions

1. What is your age? []
2. What is your gender? [Male; Female]
3. What is your current annual household income before taxes? [Less than $\$ 14,999$; \$15,000-\$19,999; \$20,000-\$24,999; \$25,000-\$29,999; \$30,000-\$34,999; \$35,000-\$39,999; $\$ 40,000-\$ 44,999 ; \$ 45,000-\$ 49,999 ; \$ 50,000-\$ 54,999 ; \$ 55,000-\$ 59,999 ; \$ 60,000-\$ 64,999$; \$65,000-\$69,999; \$70,000-\$74,999; \$75,000-\$79,999; \$80,000-\$84,999; \$85,000-\$89,999; \$90,000-\$94,999; \$95,000-\$99,999; \$100,000-\$124,999; \$125,000-\$149,999; \$150,000-\$174,999; $\$ 175,000-\$ 199,999 ; \$ 200,000-\$ 249,999 ; \$ 250,000$ and above; Prefer not to answer]
4. What is your race? [White; Black, or African American; American Indian or Alaska Native; Asian (Asian American; Chinese; Filipino; Japanese; Korean; Vietnamese; Other); Pacific Islander (Native Hawaiian; Guamanian; Samoan; Other Pacific Islander); Some other race; Prefer not to answer]
5. Are you of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin? [No, not of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin; Yes - Mexican, Mexican American, Chicano; Yes - Cuban; Yes - Puerto Rican; Yes - Another Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin (Argentina; Colombia; Ecuador; El Salvadore; Guatamala; Nicaragua; Panama; Peru; Spain; Venezuela; Other Country); Prefer not to answer]
6. What is the highest level of education you have completed? [3rd Grade or less; Middle School - Grades 4-8; Completed some high school; High school graduate; Other post high school vocational training; Completed some college, but no degree; Associate Degree; College Degree (such as B.A., B.S.); Completed some graduate, but no degree; Masters degree; Doctorate degree; None of the above]
7. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what? [Strong Democrat; Not very strong Democrat; Independent leaning Democrat; Independent - neither; Independent leaning Democrat; Other - neither; Other - leaning Republican; Not very strong Republican; Strong Republican]
8. What is your region? [Northeast; Midwest; South; West]
9. What is your zip code? []

## General Dispositions toward the Court (Pre Treatment)

1. How well do you think the U.S. Supreme Court does its main job in government? Would you say it does a great job, a pretty good job, not a very good job, or a poor job? [Great job; Pretty good job; Not a very good job; Poor job]
2. In general, would you say that the Supreme Court is too liberal, or too conservative, or about just right in its decisions? [Much too liberal; Too liberal; Just right; Too conservative; Much too conservative]
3. How much confidence do you have in the U.S. Supreme Court? [A great deal of confidence; Only some confidence; Hardly any confidence]

## Legitimacy Battery (Pre Treatment)

1. 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. [Agree strongly; Agree somewhat; Neither agree nor disagree; Disagree somewhat; Disagree strongly]
2. The right of the Supreme Court to decide certain types of controversial issues should be reduced. [Agree strongly; Agree somewhat; Neither agree nor disagree; Disagree somewhat; Disagree strongly]
3. The Supreme Court can usually be trusted to make decisions that are right for the country as a whole. [Agree strongly; Agree somewhat; Neither agree nor disagree; Disagree somewhat; Disagree strongly]
4. The decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court favor some groups more than others. [Agree strongly; Agree somewhat; Neither agree nor disagree; Disagree somewhat; Disagree strongly]
5. The U.S. Supreme Court gets too mixed up in politics. [Agree strongly; Agree somewhat; Neither agree nor disagree; Disagree somewhat; Disagree strongly]
6. The U.S. Supreme Court should have the right to say what the Constitution means, even when the majority of the people disagree with the Court's decision. [Agree strongly; Agree somewhat; Neither agree nor disagree; Disagree somewhat; Disagree strongly]

## Attention Check (Pre Treatment)

1. Some people received a story about an election. If you read about the election scenario, where was the election being held? [New Jersey; A Midwestern State; Germany; New York; I did not read about an election scenario]

## Supreme Court Knowledge (Pre Treatment)

1. Who is the current Chief Justice of the United States? [Stephen Breyer; Brett Kavanaugh; John Roberts; Clarence Thomas]
2. Some judges in the U.S. are elected; others are appointed to the bench. Do you happen to know if the justices of the U.S. Supreme Court are elected or appointed to the bench? [Elected; Appointed; Don't know]
3. Some judges in the U.S. serve for a set number of years; others serve a life term. Do you happen to know whether the justices of the U.S. Supreme Court serve for a set number of years or whether they serve a life term? [Set number of years; Life term; Don't know]
4. Do you happen to know who has the last say when there is a conflict over the meaning of the Constitution - the U.S. Supreme Court, the U.S. Congress, or the President? [U.S. Supreme Court; U.S. Congress; President; Don't know]
5. Do you happen to know if the Supreme Court has made decisions on gay marriage? [Yes, it has; No, it has not; I do not know]
6. Do you happen to know if the Supreme Court has made decisions on the rights of Black Americans? [Yes, it has; No, it has not; I do not know]
7. Do you happen to know if the Supreme Court has made decisions on the maximum income tax rate? [Yes, it has; No, it has not; I do not know]

## Manipulation Check (Post Treatment)

1. What was the profile of the justice that wrote the opinion? [Liberal male; Conservative male; Liberal female; Conservative female; Don't remember]

## Opinions Regarding the Court and the Treatment Decision (Post Treatment, Abortion Vignettes Only)

1. Do you think abortion should be legal in all cases, legal in most cases, illegal in most cases, illegal in all cases? [Legal in all cases; Legal in most cases; Illegal in most cases; Illegal in all cases]
2. On a scale from 0 to 100 , how would you rate the Supreme Court? A rating of zero means you feel as cold and negative as possible. A rating of 100 means you feel as warm and positive as possible. You would rate the decision at 50 if you do not feel particularly positive or negative. [0-100]
3. On a scale from 0 to 100 , how would you rate the [liberal/conservative] [male/female] justice's decision in this abortion case? A rating of zero means you feel as cold and negative as possible. A rating of 100 means you feel as warm and positive as possible. You would rate the decision at 50 if you do not feel particularly positive or negative. [0-100]
4. Do you agree or disagree with the Supreme Court's decision in this case? [Agree; Disagree; No opinion]
5. Do you think the Supreme Court should be deciding abortion cases? [Yes, should be; No, should not be; No opinion]

## Opinions Regarding the Court and the Treatment Decision (Post Treatment, Death Penalty Vignettes Only)

1. Do you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose the death penalty for persons convicted of murder? [Strongly favor; Favor; Oppose; Strongly oppose]
2. On a scale from 0 to 100 , how would you rate the Supreme Court? A rating of zero means you feel as cold and negative as possible. A rating of 100 means you feel as warm and positive as possible. You would rate the decision at 50 if you do not feel particularly positive or negative. [0-100]
3. On a scale from 0 to 100, how would you rate the [liberal/conservative] [male/female] justice's decision in this death penalty case? A rating of zero means you feel as cold and negative as possible. A rating of 100 means you feel as warm and positive as possible. You would rate the decision at 50 if you do not feel particularly positive or negative. [0-100]
4. Do you agree or disagree with the Supreme Court's decision in this case? [Agree; Disagree; No opinion]
5. Do you think the Supreme Court should be deciding death penalty cases? [Yes, should be; No, should not be; No opinion]

[^0]:    ${ }^{15}$ Participants could select from three different potential answers for this question: "agree," "disagree," or "no opinion." In the results that we present here, our dependent variable is whether or not the participant agreed with the decision, which means we coded anyone who answered "disagree" or "no opinion" as a zero and anyone who answered "agree" as a 1 . The results remain the same if we remove the "no opinion" answers from the analysis or use multinomial logistic regression to analyze the three-part dependent variable.
    ${ }^{16}$ http://bit.ly/3V5ea39

