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



Supreme Court Reaffirms 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.

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 \$125,000 to \$140,000	52(7%)	78 (5%)
5120,000 to \$149,999 \$150,000 to \$174,000	39 (5%)	64(4%)
\$150,000 to \$174,999 \$175,000 to \$100,000	10(2%)	58(4%)
9179,000 to 9199,999 9200,000 to 9240,000	10(2%)	$\frac{22}{10}$
\$200,000 to \$249,999 \$250,000 and above	9(170) 11(907)	20(170)
Prefer not to answer	11(2/0) 65(9%)	23 (270) 22 (1%)
I TOTOL HOU TO ALLOWED	00 (0/0)	44 (1/0)

Table A1: Participant Demographics

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.

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Abortion	Death Penalty	Death Penalty
	Manuscript	Manuscript	Additional
	April 2021	October 2022	April 2021
Liberal Male Justice	-9.5^{*} (3.4)	-4.9^{*} (2.3)	-0.2 (3.1)
Conservative Male Justice	-8.4^{*} (3.5)	-3.3 (2.3)	-2.0 (3.2)
Liberal Female Justice	-5.7 (3.4)	-3.4 (2.3)	-6.2 (3.1)
Conservative Female Justice	-8.9^{*} (3.4)	1.2 (2.3)	-3.6 (3.1)
Constant	65.8^{*} (2.4)	60.6^{*} (1.6)	62.2^{*} (2.2)
Observations	733	1497	747
F Statistic	$\begin{array}{c} 0.014\\ 2.59^* \ (df = 4; 728) \end{array}$	0.007 $2.54^* (df = 4; 1492)$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.007\\ 1.33 \; (df = 4; 742) \end{array}$

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

p < 0.05

Approval for Pro-Death Penalty Decision April 2021 Experiment



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)
	(1)	(2)	
	Abortion	Death Penalty	Death Penalty
	Manuscript	Manuscript	Additional
	April 2021	October 2022	April 2021
Liberal Male Justice	-15.6^{*}	-5.9	15.1^{*}
	(7.6)	(4.7)	(6.9)
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)	(4.5)	(6.8)
Conservative Female Justice	-20.3^{*}	-0.3	3.3
	(7.0)	(4.7)	(6.7)
	10.0	11.0*	0.4
Female Respondent	-10.0	-11.0°	-0.4
	(0.5)	(4.8)	(0.4)
Liberal Male Justice	18.8	7.0	-14.8
x Female Respondent	(9.6)	(6.4)	(9.1)
Conservative Male Justice	15.2	7 7	-20.4*
x Female Respondent	(10.0)	(6.5)	(8.9)
Liberal Female Justice	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	12.5	-5.2	-23.6
x Independent Respondent	(13.8)	(8.2)	(12.6)
Female	24.8*	4.7	-15.2
x Republican Respondent	(11.2)	(7.4)	(9.4)
Liberal Male Justice	10.4	12.6	49.1*
r Independent Respondent	(14.6)	(0.2)	(12.7)
Conservative Male Justice	(14.0)	2.0	-24.2
x Independent Respondent	(14.9)	(8.4)	(18.8)
Liberal Female Justice	8.4	-13.8	-29.8*
x Independent Respondent	(14.7)	(8.2)	(14.6)
Conservative Female Justice	17.3	-11.3	-39.2*
x Independent Respondent	(14.0)	(8.4)	(13.3)
	. ,		. ,
Liberal Male Justice	10.6	-8.3	-31.5^{*}
x Republican Respondent	(11.7)	(7.6)	(10.4)
Conservative Male Justice	18.9	3.1	-22.9^{*}
x Republican Respondent	(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	23.0*	0.9	-4.3
x Republican Respondent	(11.5)	(7.3)	(10.1)
Liberal Male Justice x Female	-26.4	16.7	44.3*
x Independent Bespondent	(10.5)	(12.3)	(17.6)
Conservative Male Justice	-18.3	-0.2	36.1
x Female x Independent Bespondent	(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	-42.6^{*}	7.3	47.7*
x Female x Independent Respondent	(20.3)	(11.8)	(17.2)
Liberal Male Justice	-33.7^{*}	1.3	39.0^{*}
x Female x Republican Respondent	(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	-30.1^{*}	5.7	11.2
x Female x Republican Respondent	(15.1)	(10.3)	(13.3)
Conservative Female Justice	-37.2	-5.9	4.8
x remaie x Republican Respondent	(15.3)	(10.2)	(13.4)
Constant	77 4*	62.6*	5/ 1*
Constallt	(5.1)	(3.2)	$(4 \ A)$
	(0.1)	(0.2)	(-1-11)
Observations	733	1497	747
R ⁻	0.110	0.062	0.132
r Statistic	3.02 (dI = 29; 703)	a.ab ($ai = 29; 1467$)	3.70° (di = 29, 717)

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

Differences Between Female and Male Participants, Approval for Pro-Death Penalty Decision April 2021 Experiment



Opinion Writer Treatment Groups



Differences Between Republican and Democrat Participants, Approval for Pro-Death Penalty Decision April 2021 Experiment



(b) First Differences by Partisanship

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 partial partial (men left, female right) in the April 2021 experiment. Vertical bars represent 95% confidence intervals.

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 $514,999$	97(13%)
\$15,000 to $$19,999$	41(3%)
520,000 to $524,999$	32(4%)
\$23,000 to $$23,999$20,000$ to $$23,999$	30(370) 37(507)
\$30,000 to \$34,399 \$35,000 to \$34,399	37 (370) 25 (3%)
\$40,000 to \$44,999	20(370) 30(4%)
\$45,000 to \$49,999 \$45,000 to \$49,999	20(4%)
\$50,000 to \$54,999	23(470) 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 A4: April 2021 Death Penalty Experiment, Participant Demographics

	- · · ·	~ .	-		
Treatment	Incorrect	Correct	Don't	No	Total
	Profile Selected	Profile Selected	Remember	Answer	
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

Table A5: April 2021 Death Penalty Experiment, Manipulation Check

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 ($f^2 = 0.04$), at a significance criterion of $\alpha = 0.05$, was N = 741; to achieve 80% power under the same conditions, the sample size would need to be 598. Our sample has 733 participants ($f^2 = 0.042$ at 90% power, $f^2 = 0.034$ 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 ($f^2 = 0.02$), at a significance criterion of $\alpha = 0.05$, was 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.

Treatment	Incorrect Profile Selected	Correct Profile Selected	Don't Remember	No Answer	Total
Liberal Male Justice Conservative Male Justice Liberal Female Justice	$\begin{array}{c} 28 \ (18\%) \\ 30 \ (21\%) \\ 36 \ (24\%) \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 60 & (40\%) \ 45 & (31\%) \ 58 & (39\%) \end{array}$	$50 (33\%) \\60 (41\%) \\45 (30\%)$	11 (7%) 10 (7%) 10 (7%)	$149 \\ 145 \\ 149$

Table A6: Abortion Vignette Manipulation Check

Table A7:	Death	Penalty	Vignette	Manipulation	Check
				I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I	

Treatment	Incorrect Profile Selected	Correct Profile Selected	Don't Remember	No Answer	Total
Liberal Male Justice Conservative Male Justice Liberal Female Justice Conservative Female Justice	116 (38%) 81 (27%) 114 (38%) 116 (38%)	$\begin{array}{c} 96 \ (32\%) \\ 108 \ (36\%) \\ 107 \ (35\%) \\ 96 \ (32\%) \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 90 \ (30\%) \\ 108 \ (36\%) \\ 81 \ (27\%) \\ 89 \ (30\%) \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0 \ (0\%) \\ 0 \ (0\%) \\ 0 \ (0\%) \\ 0 \ (0\%) \\ 0 \ (0\%) \end{array}$	302 297 302 301

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

¹⁵Participants 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.

¹⁶http://bit.ly/3V5ea39

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
Liberal Female Justice	(0.6)	(0.3)
Liberal Female Justice	(0.5)	(0.2)
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^{*} (0.9)	0.02 (0.4)
Republican Respondent	-2.2^{*}	0.3
	(0.7)	(0.4)
Independent Respondent	0.3	-0.5
x remale Republican Respondent	(1.1) 1.2	(0.6)
x Female	(0.9)	(0.6)
Liberal Male Justice	0.5	0.7
x Female	(0.7)	(0.5)
Conservative Male Justice	-0.5	0.6
x Female Liberal Female Justice	(0.8)	(0.5)
v Female	(0.7)	(0.5)
Conservative Female Justice	0.03	0.6
x Female	(0.7)	(0.5)
Liberal Male Justice	-0.6	-0.9
x Independent	(1.4)	(0.7)
Conservative Male Justice	(1, 2)	-0.3
Liberal Female Justice	(1.2)	(0.0)
x Independent	(1.1)	(0.6)
Conservative Female Justice	1.3	-0.7
x Independent	(1.1)	(0.6)
Liberal Male Justice	1.0	0.2
x Republican	(0.9)	(0.6)
Conservative Male Justice	0.4	0.4
Liberal Female Justice	(1.0)	(0.3)
x Republican	(0.9)	(0.5)
Conservative Female Justice	1.3	-0.02
x Republican	(0.9)	(0.5)
Liberal Male Justice	0.8	0.1
Concernative Male Justice	(1.7)	(1.0)
x Female x Independent	(1.5)	(0.9)
Liberal Female Justice	-1.3	0.9
x Female x Independent	(1.5)	(0.9)
Conservative Female Justice x Female x Independent	_	0.3 (0.9)
Liberal Male Justice	-2.1	-1.3
x Female x Republican	(1.2)	(0.8)
Conservative Male Justice	-0.4	-1.6^{*}
x Female x Republican	(1.2)	(0.8)
Liberal Female Justice	-1.2	-0.4
x Female x Republican	(1.2)	(0.8)
Conservative Female Justice	-3.2^{*}	-0.4
x remaie x Kepublican	(1.3)	(0.8)
Constant	0.7 (0.4)	$ \begin{array}{c} 0.3 \\ (0.2) \end{array} $
	× /	×* /
Observations	732	1494

 $^{*}p{<}0.05$

	(1)	(2)
	Abortion	Death Penalty
Liberal Male Justice	-4.6	-8.4
Conconnetivo Malo Justico	(6.0)	(4.4)
Jonservative Male Justice	(6.1)	(4.3)
Liberal Female Justice	-8.6	-2.0
~	(5.7)	(4.2)
Conservative Female Justice	-11.2^{+} (5.5)	$ \begin{array}{c} 0.5 \\ (4.4) \end{array} $
Female Respondent	-16.6^{*} (5.1)	-7.5 (4.3)
Independent Respondent	-14.1	6.5
	(8.1)	(5.3)
Republican Respondent	$^{-13.3}_{(6.8)}$	14.2^{*} (4.9)
Independent Respondent	17.6	-11.2
x Female	(10.8)	(7.7)
Republican Respondent	22.3* (8.7)	-0.4
	(0.7)	(0.9)
Liberal Male Justice	12.5	11.1
Zonservative Male Justice	(7.5) 16.6*	1.6
x Female	(7.8)	(6.1)
Liberal Female Justice	15.1*	2.3
x Female	(7.6)	(6.2)
x Female	(7.1)	(6.3)
Liberal Male Justice	5.4	-9.6
x Independent	(11.4)	(8.8)
Conservative Male Justice	15.7	-16.2^{*}
x Independent iberal Female Justice	(11.7) -3.0	(7.9)
x Independent	(11.5)	(7.7)
Conservative Female Justice	4.8	-15.1
x Independent	(11.0)	(7.9)
Liberal Male Justice	7.2	5.7
x Republican Conservative Male Justice	(9.1)	(7.1)
x Republican	(9.4)	(6.8)
Liberal Female Justice	17.2	-9.1
x Republican	(9.0)	(6.8)
Conservative Female Justice x Republican	4.2 (9.0)	-2.2 (6.9)
Liberal Male Justice	-19.9	12.6
x Female x Independent	(15.3)	(11.6)
Conservative Male Justice	-25.3	19.8
x Female x Independent	(15.0)	(11.1)
x Female x Independent	(15.1)	14.3 (11.0)
Conservative Female Justice	-19.0	13.9
${\bf x}$ Female ${\bf x}$ Independent	(15.9)	(11.1)
Liberal Male Justice	-16.3	-11.4
x Female x Republican	(12.0) -27.2*	(9.7)
x Female x Republican	(12.2)	(9.7)
Liberal Female Justice	-21.5	7.0
x Female x Republican	(11.8)	(9.7)
Conservative Female Justice x Female x Republican	-21.3 (12.0)	-7.1 (9.6)
Constant	76.5^{*}	57.8^{*}
	(4.0)	(3.0)
Observations	733	1497
\mathbb{R}^2	0.058	0.075
F Statistic	1.49^* (df = 29; 703)	4.07^* (df = 29; 1467)

Table A9: OLS Results, Feeling Thermometer, Supreme Court

 $^{*}p{<}0.05$

Full Models with Complete Set of Participant Controls

	(1)	(2)
Liberal Mala Instian	Abortion	Death Penalty
Liberal Male Justice	-17.6 (8.0)	(4.8)
Conservative Male Justice	-21.5^{*}	-5.7
Liberal Female Justice	(8.8) -11.6	(4.6)
	(7.7)	(4.5)
Conservative Female Justice	-20.1^{*}	-0.9
	(7.6)	(4.7)
Female Respondent	-13.1	-10.2^{*}
	(7.0)	(4.7)
Independent Respondent	-22.2^{*}	3.3
	(11.0)	(5.7)
Republican Respondent	-29.5^{*}	9.2
	(3.3)	(0.0)
ndependent Respondent	18.6	-7.0
x Female Republican Bespondent	(14.5) 26.5*	(8.3)
x Female	(11.7)	(7.4)
thenel Mele In (1)	- 	
x Female	(10.1)	8.0 (6.5)
Conservative Male Justice	21.7*	6.4
x Female	(10.9)	(6.5)
x Female	(10.3)	(6.6)
Conservative Female Justice	22.0^{*}	7.4
x Female	(9.7)	(6.7)
Liberal Male Justice	17.9	-11.0
x Independent	(15.6)	(9.5)
Conservative Male Justice	20.2 (16.7)	-1.5 (8.5)
Liberal Female Justice	10.7	-14.7
x Independent	(15.1)	(8.3)
Conservative Female Justice	24.9 (15.0)	-12.0 (8.4)
x independent	(10.0)	(0.4)
Liberal Male Justice	11.8	-7.5
X Republican Conservative Male Justice	(12.1) 22.2	(7.6)
x Republican	(13.0)	(7.3)
Liberal Female Justice	8.9	-15.7^{*}
Conservative Female Justice	24.7*	0.9
x Republican	(12.0)	(7.4)
liberal Male Justice	-40.9	17.2
x Female x Independent	(21.6)	(12.5)
Conservative Male Justice	-31.4	3.4
iberal Female Justice	(20.9) -26.7	(11.9) 7.5
x Female x Independent	(20.1)	(11.8)
Conservative Female Justice	-57.5^{*}	9.0
x remaie x independent	(21.7)	(11.9)
Liberal Male Justice	-32.9^{*}	2.0
x Female x Republican	(15.8) -33.9*	(10.4) -8.2
x Female x Republican	(16.6)	(10.4)
Liberal Female Justice	-28.2	6.5
x Female x Republican Conservative Female Justice	(15.9) -39.4^*	(10.3) -5.0
x Female x Republican	(16.0)	(10.3)
Participant Income	-0.1	0.2*
arricipant income	-0.1 (0.2)	(0.1)
Participant Education	1.5*	0.3
Participant Age	(0.6)	(0.4)
articipant age	(0.1)	(0.04)
	=0 °*	
Jonstant	70.3^{-} (7.1)	50.7* (4 0)
Observations	656	1464
\mathbb{R}^2	0.123	0.078
F Statistic	2.74^* (df = 32; 623)	3.78^* (df = 32; 1431)

Table A10: OLS Results, Decision Thermometer, Full Models

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

Treatment Group Breakdowns

Treatment	Democrat Male	Democrat Female	Independent Male	Independent Female	Republican Male	Republican Female
Liberal Male Justice	25	45	11	12	29	26
Conservative Male Justice	23	36	10	20	25	28
Liberal Female Justice	29	32	10	16	30	33
Conservative Female Justice	35	47	12	7	25	22
Control	31	51	10	12	16	25

Table A11: Abortion Group Breakdown

Table A12: Death Penalty Group Breakdown

Treatment	Democrat Male	Democrat Female	Independent Male	Independent Female	Republican Male	Republican Female
Liberal Male Justice	62	91	17	36	42	54
Conservative Male Justice	71	71	26	33	52	44
Liberal Female Justice	76	62	28	35	51	50
Conservative Female Justice	64	65	27	35	51	59
Control	74	67	35	30	43	46

Analysis of Independents in the Death Penalty Experiment



Approval for Pro-Death Penalty Decision 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

Opinion Writer Treatment Groups

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..



Differences Between Democrat and Independent Participants, Approval for Pro-Death Penalty Decision

Opinion Writer Treatment Groups

Liberal

Male

Justice

Conservative

Male

Justice

Liberal

Female

Justice

Conservative

Female

Justice

Control

(b) First Differences by Partisanship, Republicans and Independents

Control

Liberal

Male

Justice

Conservative

Male

Justice

Liberal

Female

Justice

Conservative

Female

Justice

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-\$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]
- 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]
- 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]