Monday, November 20th

The Supreme Court: A Guide for Advocates

*This survey was prepared and fielded before the Supreme Court announced its new code of ethics.
Key Takeaways:

• Nearly half of Americans view the Supreme Court unfavorably, as a majority say they don’t trust the Court to make the right decisions in the future.

• Large majorities support reforming the Supreme Court, including through term limits for justices, Congressional ethics investigations, and legislation that would require the Court to adopt a code of conduct for justices, as a plurality say Congress does not currently have oversight of the Court.

• Those who are unfavorable to the Supreme Court call it “ultra-conservative,” “MAGA,” “imbalanced,” and “politicians in robes” after messaging.
### The Supreme Court Is Viewed Negatively by Nearly Half of Americans

A majority of Democrats (64% unfavorable) and a plurality of independents (45%) view the Court unfavorably, as do majorities or pluralities of every racial group.

**Please indicate how favorable or unfavorable you are to:** the U.S. Supreme Court.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Favorable</th>
<th>Don't know</th>
<th>Unfavorable</th>
<th>Net Favorable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Overall</strong></td>
<td>42</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Democrats</strong></td>
<td>28</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>-36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Independents</strong></td>
<td>32</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>-13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Republicans</strong></td>
<td>60</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>+31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **Black**: 40 Favorable, 15 Don't know, 45 Unfavorable, Net Favorable -5
- **Hispanic**: 40 Favorable, 9 Don't know, 51 Unfavorable, Net Favorable -11
- **White**: 43 Favorable, 10 Don't know, 47 Unfavorable, Net Favorable -4
- **AAPI**: 38 Favorable, 18 Don't know, 44 Unfavorable, Net Favorable -6
Biden and Democrats Are More Trusted on SCOTUS Oversight, Less on Addressing Corruption in the Court

Majorities of independents say they don’t know enough to say on each of the below: 64% say they do not know enough to say on “providing oversight,” 60% say the same on “corruption in government,” and 56% say the same on “addressing corruption in the court system.”

Below is a list of issues. Please indicate who you trust more to handle each one.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Biden and the Democratic Party</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>The Republican Party</th>
<th>Net Biden and Democrats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*Providing oversight of the court system, including the Supreme Court</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>5          +73             -4    -69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corruptioin in government</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>3          +64             -2    -67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**Addressing corruption in the court system, including the Supreme Court</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>0          +64             0     -72</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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A Slim Majority of Americans Do Not Trust the Supreme Court, With a Plurality Calling It Too Conservative

Nearly three in five independents (58%) say they don’t trust the Supreme Court “that much” or “at all” to make the right decisions in the future. Almost two in five Americans say the Supreme Court is too conservative, including pluralities across racial groups.

How much do you trust the Supreme Court to make the right decisions in the future?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trust</th>
<th>Don’t trust</th>
<th>Net Trust</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Overall</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrats</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republicans</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Would you say the United States Supreme Court has been too conservative, too liberal, or middle of the road?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Too conservative</th>
<th>Middle of the road</th>
<th>Too liberal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Overall</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrats</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republicans</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AAPI</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Bipartisan Majorities Support Term Limits for Supreme Court Justices

Majorities across party lines support term limits for justices, including 76% of Democrats, 53% of independents, and 58% of Republicans.

Do you support or oppose term limits for U.S. Supreme Court justices?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Support</th>
<th>Not sure</th>
<th>Oppose</th>
<th>Net Support</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Overall</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>+47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrats</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>+66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>+31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republicans</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>+30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>+46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>+52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>+47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AAPI</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>+57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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While One in Three Don’t Know Enough to Say, a Plurality Say Congress Does Not Have Oversight Over the Supreme Court

Pluralities across party lines say Congress has “not much oversight” or “no oversight” over the Supreme Court (45% of Democrats and independents and 48% of Republicans).

As far as you know... how much oversight does Congress have over the Supreme Court?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A lot/Some oversight</th>
<th>Don’t know</th>
<th>Not much/No oversight</th>
<th>Net Oversight</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Overall</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>-21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrats</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>-17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>-30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republicans</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>-23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>-25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AAPI</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>-27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Nearly Seven in Ten Support Congressional Investigations of Ethics Violations by Supreme Court Justices

Four in five Democrats (82% support), along with majorities of independents (56%) and Republicans (55%), support Congressional investigations of potential ethics violations by Supreme Court justices.

Do you support or oppose Congress investigating potential ethics violations by Supreme Court justices?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Support</th>
<th>Not sure</th>
<th>Oppose</th>
<th>Net Support</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Overall</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>+51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrats</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>+75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>+39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republicans</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>+27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>+58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>+58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>+48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AAPI</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>+59</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Bipartisan Majorities Support a Supreme Court Code of Ethics, Stricter Financial Disclosure Rules, and Formal Complaints

Four in five Democrats (82% support), along with majorities of independents (58%) and Republicans (55%), support legislation to require the Supreme Court to adopt a code of conduct for justices, implement stricter financial disclosure rules, and allow for the investigation of formal complaints against justices.

As you may know, several Senators introduced a bill that would require the Supreme Court to adopt a code of conduct for justices, implement stricter financial disclosure rules, and allow formal complaints against justices to be investigated by judges serving on lower courts. Knowing this, do you support or oppose this legislation?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Support</th>
<th>Not sure</th>
<th>Oppose</th>
<th>Net Support</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Overall</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>+51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrats</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>+77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>+42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republicans</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>+25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>+58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>+56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>+50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AAPI</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>+52</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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## Justices’ Refusal to Testify Before Congress on Ethics, Thomas’ Actions Most Concerning on the Supreme Court

Independents say several justices’ refusal to testify before Congress (65% concerning) and Thomas’ actions (61%) are most concerning. Below is a list of statements about the Supreme Court. Please indicate whether you find each one concerning.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Very concerning</th>
<th>Somewhat concerning</th>
<th>Don’t believe</th>
<th>Not concerning</th>
<th>Total Concerning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Several Justices on the Supreme Court have been accused of corruption and violations of their ethical code and refuse to testify before Congress on the issue</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Justice] Thomas is deeply corrupt and the Supreme Court is doing nothing about it, letting him take undisclosed luxury trips funded by a Republican donor, as well as receiving other expensive gifts, despite federal law requiring the disclosure of such gifts</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Supreme Court is rolling back crucial freedoms like the federal right to have an abortion, setting our country back decades and overturning precedents</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Supreme Court is supposed to be independent and above politics, but conservatives have stacked the court with political appointees who act on their beliefs instead of the Constitution</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Supreme Court is filled with MAGA extremists who are pushing for things like eliminating the federal right to an abortion, undermining our ability to combat climate change, and endangering free and fair elections</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Supreme Court is too conservative and is out of touch with the beliefs of the country on issues like abortion</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Independents and Republicans who view the Court unfavorably are most likely to describe it as “politicians in robes” (32% and 31%, respectively) and “imbalanced” (26% and 23%), while Democrats drive the share saying it is “ultra-conservative” and “MAGA” (35% each).

[Among unfavorable to SCOTUS] Which of the following phrases do you think best describes the current Supreme Court?

- Ultra-conservative Court: 28% (Dem: 35, Ind*: 35, Rep: 26)
- MAGA Court: 25 (Dem: 35, Ind*: 12, Rep: 7)
- Imbalanced Court: 25 (Dem: 26, Ind*: 26, Rep: 23)
- Politicians in robes: 25 (Dem: 22, Ind*: 32, Rep: 31)
- Trump Court: 24 (Dem: 33, Ind*: 12, Rep: 8)
- Republican Court: 21 (Dem: 27, Ind*: 14, Rep: 9)
- Political Court: 14 (Dem: 11, Ind*: 24, Rep: 18)
- Extreme Court: 12 (Dem: 12, Ind*: 8, Rep: 14)
- Activist Court: 5 (Dem: 3, Ind*: 9, Rep: 7)
- McConnell Court: 4 (Dem: 5, Ind*: 3, Rep: 3)

*Small sample size; results are directional.

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About Navigator

In a world where the news cycle is the length of a tweet, our leaders often lack the real-time public-sentiment analysis to shape the best approaches to talking about the issues that matter the most. Navigator is designed to act as a consistent, flexible, responsive tool to inform policy debates by conducting research and reliable guidance to inform allies, elected leaders, and the press. Navigator is a project led by pollsters from Global Strategy Group and GBAO along with an advisory committee, including: Jessica Floyd, The Hub Project; Christina Reynolds, EMILY's List; Mike Podhorzer, AFL-CIO; Jesse Ferguson, progressive strategist; Navin Nayak, Center for American Progress Action Fund; Stephanie Valencia, EquisLabs; and Melanie Newman, Planned Parenthood Action Fund.

For Press inquiries contact:
press@navigatorresearch.org

To learn more about Navigator:
http://navigatorresearch.org
@NavigatorSurvey on Twitter

About the Study

Global Strategy Group conducted public opinion surveys among a sample of 1,000 registered voters from November 9-November 13, 2023. 105 additional interviews were conducted among Hispanic voters. 72 additional interviews were conducted among Asian American and Pacific Islander voters. 100 additional interviews were conducted among African American voters. 103 additional interviews were conducted among independent voters. The survey was conducted online, recruiting respondents from an opt-in online panel vendor. Respondents were verified against a voter file and special care was taken to ensure the demographic composition of our sample matched that of the national registered voter population across a variety of demographic variables.