

# Provisional Data Report on the 2021 Term\*

Lee Epstein, Andrew D. Martin, & Kevin Quinn<sup>†</sup>

June 30, 2022

Unless otherwise indicated, the data are from the [Supreme Court Database](#) and include all orally argued cases with a signed opinion (per curiams are excluded), but the analysis counts only the lead case when one or more cases are consolidated under a single citation.

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\*Prepared for the *New York Times*.

<sup>†</sup>[Lee Epstein](#) is the Ethan A.H. Shepley Distinguished University Professor at Washington University in St. Louis. After July 1, 2022 she will be the University Professor of Law & Political Science and the Hilliard Distinguished Professor of Law at the University of Southern California. [Andrew D. Martin](#) is the Chancellor of Washington University in St. Louis; [Kevin Quinn](#) is Professor of Political Science at the University of Michigan. Epstein thanks the John Simon Guggenheim Foundation, the National Science Foundation, and Washington University for supporting her research on judicial behavior.

# 1 Control of the Court

## 1.1 Majority Voting

|             | % In Majority |                     |    |
|-------------|---------------|---------------------|----|
|             | All Cases     | Non-Unanimous Cases |    |
| BMKavanaugh | 95            | BMKavanaugh         | 93 |
| JGRoberts   | 93            | JGRoberts           | 90 |
| ACBarrett   | 91            | ACBarrett           | 88 |
| SAAlito     | 84            | SAAlito             | 79 |
| CThomas     | 81            | CThomas             | 74 |
| NMGorsuch   | 74            | NMGorsuch           | 64 |
| EKagan      | 66            | EKagan              | 52 |
| SGBreyer    | 64            | SGBreyer            | 50 |
| SSotomayor  | 57            | SSotomayor          | 40 |
| Average     | 78            | Average             | 70 |

Table 1: Voting with the majority by justice, 2021 Term. Calculated by Lee Epstein and Andrew D. Martin, Washington University in St. Louis, and Kevin Quinn, University of Michigan from the [Supreme Court Database](#).

|             | % in Majority |             |    |
|-------------|---------------|-------------|----|
|             | 2020 Term     | 2021 Term   |    |
| BMKavanaugh | 93            | BMKavanaugh | 93 |
| JGRoberts   | 86            | JGRoberts   | 90 |
| ACBarrett   | 79            | ACBarrett   | 88 |
| NMGorsuch   | 75            | SAAlito     | 79 |
| CThomas     | 61            | CThomas     | 74 |
| SGBreyer    | 61            | NMGorsuch   | 64 |
| SAAlito     | 59            | EKagan      | 52 |
| EKagan      | 57            | SGBreyer    | 50 |
| SSotomayor  | 50            | SSotomayor  | 40 |
| Average     | 69            | Average     | 70 |

Table 2: Voting with the majority by justice, 2020 Term versus 2021 Term. Includes only non-unanimous decisions. Calculated by Lee Epstein and Andrew D. Martin, Washington University in St. Louis, and Kevin Quinn, University of Michigan from the [Supreme Court Database](#).

## 1.2 Partisan Majority Voting

| Term    | All Cases           |                     |             |
|---------|---------------------|---------------------|-------------|
|         | % in the Majority   |                     | %-Point Gap |
|         | Republican Justices | Democratic Justices | (R-D)       |
| 2010    | 89                  | 75                  | 14          |
| 2011    | 83                  | 76                  | 7           |
| 2012    | 82                  | 79                  | 3           |
| 2013    | 89                  | 85                  | 4           |
| 2014    | 72                  | 88                  | -16         |
| 2015    | 83                  | 88                  | -5          |
| 2016    | 89                  | 88                  | 1           |
| 2017    | 84                  | 70                  | 14          |
| 2018    | 80                  | 78                  | 2           |
| 2019    | 85                  | 75                  | 10          |
| 2020    | 87                  | 77                  | 10          |
| 2021    | 86                  | 62                  | 24          |
| Average | 84                  | 79                  | 5           |

| Term    | Non-Unanimous Cases |                     |             |
|---------|---------------------|---------------------|-------------|
|         | % in the Majority   |                     | %-Point Gap |
|         | Republican Justices | Democratic Justices | (R-D)       |
| 2010    | 79                  | 56                  | 23          |
| 2011    | 74                  | 62                  | 12          |
| 2012    | 66                  | 62                  | 4           |
| 2013    | 71                  | 61                  | 10          |
| 2014    | 55                  | 81                  | -26         |
| 2015    | 70                  | 79                  | -9          |
| 2016    | 74                  | 73                  | 1           |
| 2017    | 76                  | 55                  | 21          |
| 2018    | 68                  | 64                  | 4           |
| 2019    | 77                  | 63                  | 14          |
| 2020    | 75                  | 56                  | 19          |
| 2021    | 81                  | 48                  | 33          |
| Average | 72                  | 64                  | 8           |

Table 3: Voting with the majority by the justices' political party, 2010-2021 terms. Calculated by Lee Epstein and Andrew D. Martin, Washington University in St. Louis, and Kevin Quinn, University of Michigan from the [Supreme Court Database](#).

### 1.3 Cross-Party Majority Voting

|           | % Voting<br>with the Democratic<br>Appointees | N Cases |
|-----------|---|---------|
| Kavanaugh | 80  | (12/15) |
| Roberts   | 80  | (12/15) |
| Barrett   | 67  | (10/15) |
| Alito     | 40  | (6/15)  |
| Gorsuch   | 40  | (6/15)  |
| Thomas    | 27  | (4/15)  |

Table 4: Republican appointees voting with Democratic appointees when all three Democrats are in the majority, 2021 term. Includes only non-unanimous decisions. Calculated by Lee Epstein and Andrew D. Martin, Washington University in St. Louis, and Kevin Quinn, University of Michigan from the [Supreme Court Database](#).

### 1.4 Median Justice

|             | MQ Score<br>(post_mn) |
|-------------|-----------------------|
| SSotomayor  | -4.170                |
| SGBreyer    | -2.033                |
| EKagan      | -1.835                |
| JGRoberts   | 0.682                 |
| BMKavanaugh | 0.791                 |
| NMGorsuch   | 1.019                 |
| ACBarrett   | 1.318                 |
| SAAlito     | 2.458                 |
| CThomas     | 2.949                 |



Figure 1: [Martin-Quinn ideology scores](#), 2021 term. Calculated by Lee Epstein and Andrew D. Martin, Washington University in St. Louis, and Kevin Quinn, University of Michigan from the [Supreme Court Database](#).

## 2 Liberal-Conservative Outcomes & Voting

Note: This section includes only decisions coded as liberal or conservative; it excludes non-specifiable decisions.

### 2.1 Court-Level Analysis

| Term | % Conservative |                 |
|------|----------------|-----------------|
|      | All Cases      | Non-Unan. Cases |
| 1920 | 42.9           | 55.3            |
| 1921 | 45.8           | 35.1            |
| 1922 | 43.0           | 30.8            |
| 1923 | 52.0           | 66.7            |
| 1924 | 51.4           | 61.9            |
| 1925 | 49.2           | 43.8            |
| 1926 | 47.8           | 44.8            |
| 1927 | 57.1           | 57.7            |
| 1928 | 50.0           | 66.7            |
| 1929 | 50.4           | 83.3            |
| 1930 | 42.6           | 43.8            |
| 1931 | 55.6           | 76.0            |
| 1932 | 37.3           | 36.0            |
| 1933 | 41.7           | 60.9            |
| 1934 | 48.6           | 59.1            |
| 1935 | 46.4           | 52.2            |
| 1936 | 38.6           | 33.3            |
| 1937 | 39.7           | 40.5            |
| 1938 | 38.8           | 24.4            |
| 1939 | 27.4           | 18.4            |
| 1940 | 26.4           | 30.4            |
| 1941 | 37.2           | 43.1            |
| 1942 | 35.8           | 45.6            |
| 1943 | 38.6           | 41.0            |
| 1944 | 32.7           | 32.1            |
| 1945 | 27.6           | 32.9            |
| 1946 | 46.3           | 51.8            |
| 1947 | 38.0           | 40.5            |
| 1948 | 43.4           | 46.8            |
| 1949 | 55.2           | 55.2            |

Table 5: Percent conservative decisions, 1920-2021 terms. Calculated by Lee Epstein and Andrew D. Martin, Washington University in St. Louis, and Kevin Quinn, University of Michigan from the [Supreme Court Database](#).

[table continues]

| Term | % Conservative |           |
|------|----------------|-----------|
|      | All Cases      | Non-Unan. |
| 1950 | 52.3           | 62.9      |
| 1951 | 58.8           | 64.5      |
| 1952 | 54.3           | 57.1      |
| 1953 | 50.8           | 60.0      |
| 1954 | 29.9           | 31.9      |
| 1955 | 30.9           | 36.0      |
| 1956 | 36.0           | 41.6      |
| 1957 | 41.3           | 47.5      |
| 1958 | 38.4           | 53.2      |
| 1959 | 37.1           | 44.7      |
| 1960 | 39.1           | 46.3      |
| 1961 | 27.1           | 30.2      |
| 1962 | 24.5           | 23.6      |
| 1963 | 25.5           | 23.9      |
| 1964 | 32.6           | 43.6      |
| 1965 | 34.0           | 37.5      |
| 1966 | 35.0           | 42.0      |
| 1967 | 24.5           | 26.9      |
| 1968 | 25.3           | 19.4      |
| 1969 | 42.0           | 49.1      |
| 1970 | 53.2           | 61.3      |
| 1971 | 48.0           | 64.2      |
| 1972 | 53.3           | 63.6      |
| 1973 | 54.7           | 68.8      |
| 1974 | 48.8           | 56.1      |
| 1975 | 60.6           | 69.0      |
| 1976 | 60.3           | 61.9      |
| 1977 | 49.6           | 48.9      |
| 1978 | 56.9           | 64.6      |
| 1979 | 47.3           | 46.3      |
| 1980 | 57.4           | 61.3      |
| 1981 | 48.2           | 46.7      |
| 1982 | 54.4           | 62.2      |
| 1983 | 59.1           | 67.1      |
| 1984 | 54.7           | 57.0      |
| 1985 | 57.2           | 63.6      |
| 1986 | 53.8           | 62.5      |
| 1987 | 50.4           | 53.8      |
| 1988 | 56.9           | 63.4      |
| 1989 | 53.9           | 60.0      |
| 1990 | 50.9           | 60.3      |
| 1991 | 51.4           | 56.9      |
| 1992 | 50.5           | 57.9      |
| 1993 | 54.8           | 58.0      |
| 1994 | 55.7           | 56.5      |
| 1995 | 51.4           | 52.4      |

[table continues]

| Term | % Conservative |           |
|------|----------------|-----------|
|      | All Cases      | Non-Unan. |
| 1996 | 58.8           | 64.3      |
| 1997 | 56.8           | 60.5      |
| 1998 | 58.7           | 64.4      |
| 1999 | 50.0           | 57.8      |
| 2000 | 48.0           | 51.2      |
| 2001 | 57.3           | 54.2      |
| 2002 | 55.7           | 46.3      |
| 2003 | 53.5           | 50.0      |
| 2004 | 43.8           | 48.9      |
| 2005 | 62.3           | 73.5      |
| 2006 | 56.7           | 59.1      |
| 2007 | 47.0           | 50.0      |
| 2008 | 62.5           | 66.0      |
| 2009 | 50.0           | 54.8      |
| 2010 | 52.1           | 48.7      |
| 2011 | 51.6           | 52.5      |
| 2012 | 49.3           | 45.0      |
| 2013 | 45.5           | 48.0      |
| 2014 | 41.5           | 39.0      |
| 2015 | 51.6           | 42.9      |
| 2016 | 49.2           | 57.7      |
| 2017 | 48.2           | 48.6      |
| 2018 | 46.2           | 47.5      |
| 2019 | 51.0           | 51.4      |
| 2020 | 56.9           | 50.0      |
| 2021 | 63.2           | 73.8      |

## 2.2 Justice-Level Analysis

|             | % Liberal<br>All Cases | % Liberal<br>Non-Unanimous Cases |
|-------------|------------------------|----------------------------------|
| SSotomayor  | 79                     | SSotomayor                       |
| EKagan      | 74                     | EKagan                           |
| SGBreyer    | 72                     | SGBreyer                         |
| NMGorsuch   | 46                     | NMGorsuch                        |
| JGRoberts   | 35                     | JGRoberts                        |
| BMKavanaugh | 33                     | ACBarrett                        |
| ACBarrett   | 31                     | BMKavanaugh                      |
| CThomas     | 29                     | CThomas                          |
| SAAlito     | 25                     | SAAlito                          |
| Average     | 47                     | Average                          |
|             |                        | 41                               |

Table 6: Percent liberal votes, 2021 term. Calculated by Lee Epstein and Andrew D. Martin, Washington University in St. Louis, and Kevin Quinn, University of Michigan from the [Supreme Court Database](#).

|             | % Liberal<br>2020 Term | % Liberal<br>2021 Term |
|-------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| SSotomayor  | 77                     | SSotomayor             |
| EKagan      | 77                     | EKagan                 |
| SGBreyer    | 73                     | SGBreyer               |
| NMGorsuch   | 46                     | NMGorsuch              |
| BMKavanaugh | 42                     | JGRoberts              |
| ACBarrett   | 35                     | ACBarrett              |
| CThomas     | 35                     | BMKavanaugh            |
| JGRoberts   | 35                     | CThomas                |
| SAAlito     | 28                     | SAAlito                |
| Average     | 50                     | Average                |
|             |                        | 41                     |

Table 7: Percent liberal votes in non-unanimous decisions, 2020 versus 2021 term. Calculated by Lee Epstein and Andrew D. Martin, Washington University in St. Louis, and Kevin Quinn, University of Michigan from the [Supreme Court Database](#).

|                   | % Liberal | N Total Votes |
|-------------------|-----------|---------------|
| WHRehnquist       | 17        | 2320          |
| <b>CThomas</b>    | 22        | 1281          |
| WEBurger          | 23        | 1438          |
| <b>SAAlito</b>    | 25        | 620           |
| AScalia           | 26        | 1470          |
| CEWhittaker       | 26        | 340           |
| <b>ACBarrett</b>  | 26        | 65            |
| JHarlan2          | 27        | 1051          |
| JCMcReynolds      | 28        | 139           |
| SDOConnor         | 32        | 1497          |
| LFPowell          | 32        | 1314          |
| PButler           | 33        | 86            |
| BMKavanaugh       | 33        | 139           |
| HHBurton          | 35        | 869           |
| <b>JGRoberts</b>  | 37        | 637           |
| OJRoberts         | 37        | 436           |
| RHJackson         | 37        | 767           |
| AMKennedy         | 37        | 1417          |
| <b>NMGorsuch</b>  | 38        | 184           |
| SMinton           | 38        | 394           |
| FMVinson          | 38        | 492           |
| PStewart          | 41        | 1700          |
| FFrankfurter      | 42        | 1464          |
| BRWhite           | 42        | 2421          |
| TCClark           | 45        | 1095          |
| SFReed            | 46        | 1155          |
| GSutherland       | 47        | 15            |
| HABlackmun        | 52        | 1954          |
| JFByrnes          | 53        | 58            |
| HFStone           | 56        | 501           |
| CEHughes2         | 56        | 168           |
| BNCardozo         | 59        | 17            |
| LDBrandeis        | 64        | 61            |
| <b>SGBreyer</b>   | 67        | 1112          |
| DHSouter          | 67        | 882           |
| JPStevens         | 68        | 2183          |
| AJGoldberg        | 70        | 191           |
| AFortas           | 71        | 217           |
| <b>EKagan</b>     | 73        | 405           |
| RBGinsburg        | 73        | 1103          |
| WBRutledge        | 74        | 496           |
| HLBlack           | 75        | 2149          |
| EWarren           | 75        | 1004          |
| FMurphy           | 76        | 637           |
| <b>SSotomayor</b> | 76        | 460           |
| WJBrennan         | 78        | 2636          |
| WODouglas         | 79        | 2377          |
| TMarshall         | 82        | 1914          |

Table 8: Percent liberal voting, justices ranked from least to most liberal in non-unanimous cases, 1937-2021 terms. Current justices highlighted. Calculated by Lee Epstein and Andrew D. Martin, Washington University in St. Louis, and Kevin Quinn, University of Michigan from the [Supreme Court Database](#).

### 3 Agreement Rates

|                     | % Agreement |
|---------------------|-------------|
| Sotomayor-Thomas    | 14.3        |
| Alito-Sotomayor     | 19.0        |
| Breyer-Thomas       | 23.8        |
| Kagan-Thomas        | 26.2        |
| Barrett-Sotomayor   | 28.6        |
| Alito-Breyer        | 28.6        |
| Alito-Kagan         | 31.0        |
| Gorsuch-Sotomayor   | 33.3        |
| Kavanaugh-Sotomayor | 33.3        |
| Breyer-Gorsuch      | 33.3        |
| Roberts-Sotomayor   | 35.7        |
| Breyer-Barrett      | 38.1        |
| Barrett-Kagan       | 40.5        |
| Gorsuch-Kagan       | 40.5        |
| Breyer-Kavanaugh    | 42.9        |
| Kagan-Kavanaugh     | 45.2        |
| Breyer-Roberts      | 45.2        |
| Kagan-Roberts       | 47.6        |
| Gorsuch-Roberts     | 59.5        |
| Gorsuch-Kavanaugh   | 61.9        |
| Gorsuch-Thomas      | 66.7        |
| Roberts-Thomas      | 69.0        |
| Alito-Gorsuch       | 71.4        |
| Kavanaugh-Thomas    | 71.4        |
| Barrett-Gorsuch     | 71.4        |
| Breyer-Sotomayor    | 81.0        |
| Barrett-Thomas      | 81.0        |
| Alito-Roberts       | 83.3        |
| Barrett-Roberts     | 83.3        |
| Breyer-Kagan        | 83.3        |
| Alito-Kavanaugh     | 85.7        |
| Barrett-Kavanaugh   | 85.7        |
| Alito-Barrett       | 85.7        |
| Alito-Thomas        | 85.7        |
| Kagan-Sotomayor     | 88.1        |
| Kavanaugh-Roberts   | 97.6        |

Table 9: Agreement rates in non-unanimous cases decided by a 9-person Court, 2021 Term, ordered from low to high. Calculated by Lee Epstein and Andrew D. Martin, Washington University in St. Louis, and Kevin Quinn, University of Michigan from the [Supreme Court Database](#).

## 4 Dissent Rates

| Term | % Non-Unanimous |
|------|-----------------|
| 1937 | 28.3            |
| 1938 | 33.3            |
| 1939 | 30.7            |
| 1940 | 27.9            |
| 1941 | 38.4            |
| 1942 | 45.9            |
| 1943 | 61.2            |
| 1944 | 57.1            |
| 1945 | 54.5            |
| 1946 | 60.7            |
| 1947 | 69.1            |
| 1948 | 70.2            |
| 1949 | 66.7            |
| 1950 | 70.0            |
| 1951 | 78.3            |
| 1952 | 80.0            |
| 1953 | 69.2            |
| 1954 | 61.5            |
| 1955 | 61.0            |
| 1956 | 77.0            |
| 1957 | 76.9            |
| 1958 | 62.6            |
| 1959 | 78.4            |
| 1960 | 72.7            |
| 1961 | 62.4            |
| 1962 | 65.5            |
| 1963 | 60.4            |
| 1964 | 62.6            |
| 1965 | 57.7            |
| 1966 | 69.0            |
| 1967 | 60.9            |
| 1968 | 67.7            |
| 1969 | 64.8            |
| 1970 | 68.8            |
| 1971 | 63.6            |
| 1972 | 72.9            |
| 1973 | 69.3            |
| 1974 | 66.7            |
| 1975 | 61.6            |
| 1976 | 66.7            |
| 1977 | 68.2            |
| 1978 | 63.1            |
| 1979 | 73.5            |

Table 10: Percent cases with one or more dissenting votes, 1937-2021 terms. Calculated by Lee Epstein and Andrew D. Martin, Washington University in St. Louis, and Kevin Quinn, University of Michigan from the [Supreme Court Database](#).

[table continues]

| Term | % Non-Unanimous |
|------|-----------------|
| 1980 | 65.0            |
| 1981 | 65.2            |
| 1982 | 61.6            |
| 1983 | 55.0            |
| 1984 | 56.8            |
| 1985 | 68.5            |
| 1986 | 71.7            |
| 1987 | 57.6            |
| 1988 | 62.9            |
| 1989 | 65.9            |
| 1990 | 62.5            |
| 1991 | 60.7            |
| 1992 | 54.2            |
| 1993 | 59.5            |
| 1994 | 58.5            |
| 1995 | 56.0            |
| 1996 | 52.5            |
| 1997 | 49.5            |
| 1998 | 60.5            |
| 1999 | 60.8            |
| 2000 | 57.1            |
| 2001 | 64.0            |
| 2002 | 57.7            |
| 2003 | 56.9            |
| 2004 | 62.2            |
| 2005 | 49.3            |
| 2006 | 65.7            |
| 2007 | 70.1            |
| 2008 | 67.6            |
| 2009 | 58.9            |
| 2010 | 54.7            |
| 2011 | 62.5            |
| 2012 | 54.8            |
| 2013 | 38.8            |
| 2014 | 63.6            |
| 2015 | 56.5            |
| 2016 | 42.6            |
| 2017 | 66.1            |
| 2018 | 62.1            |
| 2019 | 66.0            |
| 2020 | 51.9            |
| 2021 | 72.4            |