

Marquette Law School Poll Methodology Statement

U.S. Supreme Court and National Issues Survey, Sept. 15-24, 2025

The Marquette Law School Poll national survey of public views of the U.S. Supreme Court and national issues was conducted Sept. 15-24, 2025. A total of 1043 adults were interviewed by SSRS of Glen Mills PA, using the SSRS Opinion Panel, a representative probability-based panel of adults ages 18 and over living in the United States, recruited using the SSRS Omnibus poll and through address-based sampling (ABS). The margin of error is +/-3.3 percentage points for the full sample.

The sample is weighted by several demographic variables described in the attached statement by SSRS and also by recalled vote, home ownership and number of adults in HH and partisan identification based on the Pew National Public Opinion Reference Survey.

The survey is a general population sample of U.S. adults ages 18 and over living in the 50 states.

The partisan composition of the weighted sample is 32% Republican, 27% Democrat and 41% independent. When independents who lean to a party are included as partisans the sample is 43% Republican, 39% Democrat and 17% independent.

As described below SSRS Opinion Panel members are recruited randomly based on nationally representative ABS (Address Based Sample) design (including Hawaii and Alaska). ABS respondents are randomly sampled by Marketing Systems Group (MSG) through the U.S. Postal Service's Computerized Delivery Sequence (CDS), a regularly-updated listing of all known addresses in the U.S. For the SSRS Opinion Panel, known business addresses are excluded from the sample frame. Additionally, the SSRS Opinion Panel recruit hard-to-reach demographic groups via the SSRS Omnibus survey platform. The SSRS Omnibus survey is a nationally representative (including Hawaii and Alaska) bilingual telephone survey.

AAPOR Transparency Initiative Information

The Marquette Law School Poll Supreme Court Survey follows the guidelines for disclosure of the American Association for Public Opinion Research Transparency Initiative. For more information on the initiative see: <https://aapor.org/standards-and-ethics/transparency-initiative/>

- The poll is sponsored by Marquette Law School.
- The Marquette Law School Poll, under the direction of Prof. Charles Franklin, designed the survey instrument and performed all statistical analysis. The data

collection was administered by SSRS of Glen Mills PA, using the SSRS Opinion Panel, a representative probability-based panel of adults ages 18 and over living in the United States.

- Funding for this study was provided by the Marquette Law School Alumni Annual Fund. Their support is gratefully acknowledged.
- The full survey instrument for this study is available online at <https://law.marquette.edu/poll/category/results-and-data/>
- The population surveyed consists of the general population of U.S. adults age 18 and over living in the 50 states.
- The sample frame is a nationally representative ABS (Address Based Sample) design (including Hawaii and Alaska). ABS respondents are randomly sampled by MSG through the U.S. Postal Service's Computerized Delivery Sequence (CDS), a regularly-updated listing of all known addresses in the U.S.. Additionally, the SSRS Opinion Panel recruits hard-to-reach demographic groups via the SSRS Omnibus survey platform. The SSRS Omnibus survey is a nationally representative (including Hawaii and Alaska) bilingual telephone survey.
- The sample uses the SSRS Opinion Panel and is based on address and telephone samples supplied by Marketing Systems Group (MSG). Details of design and response rate are given below.
- The sample was designed to be representative of the adult population of the United States. The sample size is 1043. The margin of error, including design effects due to post-stratification is +/-3.3 percentage points for the full sample. The sample size and margin of error for subsamples are shown in Table 1 above.
- The design effect for this survey is 1.2 which has been incorporated in the calculation of all reported margins of error.
- The survey was administered in English only and was administered on the web. The data were collected Sept. 15-24, 2025.
- Results for all items in the survey, including the full instrument, topline results, crosstabs and this methodological report are available online at <https://law.marquette.edu/poll/category/results-and-data>
- For further information contact the survey director, Prof. Charles Franklin at Charles.franklin@marquette.edu.
- Further methodological details, including weighting methodology, is included in the following report from SSRS.

September Court Survey

Methods Report

Prepared for:

Dr. Charles Franklin

Marquette University Law School



MARQUETTE
UNIVERSITY

LAW SCHOOL

September 29, 2025

Prepared by:

SSRS

David Rodbart

Julia Dalagan

Jessica Stapleton



Table of Contents

Table of Contents	1
Overview	6
Sample Design: SSRS Opinion Panel	6
Survey Sampling	6
Questionnaire Design	7
Data Collection	7
Screening	7
Web Contact Procedures	7
Programming, Data Processing, and Integration	8
Programming	8
Quality Control Checks	8
Weighting and Design Effects	8
Panel-Wide Base Weight	9
Recruitment Design Weight	9
ABS Recruits	9
Prepaid Cell Recruits	9
Telephone Omnibus Recruits	9
Recruitment, Non-Response, and Attrition Adjustments	9
Non-Internet Adjustment	10
Panel-Wide Raking	10
Study-Level Base Weight	10
Study-Level Calibration	11
Table 2. Calibration Variable Sources	11
Table 3. Sample Demographics	12
Effects of Sample Design on Statistical Inference	15
Sample Disposition and Response Rate	15
Cumulative Response Rate	16
Deliverables	16

Overview

Marquette University Law School (MULaw) engaged SSRS to conduct the September Court Survey via the SSRS Opinion Panel among U.S. adults age 18 and older. Data collection was conducted from September 15-24, 2025 among a sample of 1,043 respondents.

The survey was conducted via web in English and data were weighted to represent the target population of U.S. adults ages 18 or older. Two weights were provided for this wave: Weight1 based on demographic variables, and Weight2 based on the same demographic variables plus 2024 Presidential Recalled Vote. The margin of sampling error for the entire sample using Weight1 or Weight2 is ± 3.3 percentage points.

This report provides information about the sampling procedures and the methods used to collect, process, and weight data for this study.

Sample Design: SSRS Opinion Panel

SSRS Opinion Panel members are recruited randomly based on nationally representative ABS (Address Based Sample) design (including Hawaii and Alaska). ABS respondents are randomly sampled by Marketing Systems Group (MSG) through the U.S. Postal Service's Computerized Delivery Sequence File (CDS), a regularly-updated listing of all known addresses in the U.S. For the SSRS Opinion Panel, known business addresses are excluded from the sample frame. Additional panelists are recruited via random digit dial (RDD) telephone sample of cell phone numbers connected to a prepaid cell phone. This sample is selected by MSG from the cell phone RDD frame using a flag that identifies prepaid numbers. Prepaid cell numbers are associated with cell phones that are "pay as you go" and do not require a contract.

The SSRS Opinion Panel is a multi-mode panel (web and phone). Most panelists take self-administered web surveys; however, the option to take surveys conducted by a live telephone interviewer is available to those who do not use the internet as well as those who use the internet but are reluctant to take surveys online.

Survey Sampling

All sample drawn for this study were SSRS Opinion Panelists who are U.S. adults ages 18 or older. Sample drawn was stratified by age, gender, race and ethnicity, education, Census region, party identification, and preferred survey language to ensure adequate representation of each demographic group.

Questionnaire Design

The questionnaire was developed by MULaw in consultation with the SSRS project team. SSRS reviewed the questionnaire primarily to identify potential problems in the instrument that might increase respondent burden, cause respondents to refuse or terminate the survey, create problems with respondent comprehension, or pose practical challenges for mode-specific administration such as complex skip patterns.

Data Collection

Screening

Panelists were screened at the start of the survey for their age. Respondents who indicated that they are less than 18 years old or refused to provide their age were not invited to continue with the survey.¹

Web Contact Procedures

A “soft launch” inviting a limited number of panelists to participate was conducted on September 15-16, 2025. Soft launch data was checked to ensure functionality of the program and administration length of the survey were within the scope of work. After checking soft launch data to ensure that all questionnaire content and skip patterns were correct, additional sample was released to ensure the final sample met the study goals.

Web panelists were emailed an invitation to complete the survey online. The email for each respondent included a unique password-embedded link. All panelists who did not respond to the email invitation received up to two reminder emails, and panelists who had opted to receive text messages from the SSRS Opinion Panel received one text message reminder.

Table 1: Field Schedule:

Touchpoint	Start	End
Soft launch	09/15/2025	09/16/2025
Full launch	09/16/2025	09/24/2025

In appreciation for their participation, panelists received post-paid compensation in the form of an electronic gift card, sent via email immediately after completion of the survey. Panelists with less than a high school education were offered a larger compensation to encourage participation.

¹ A total of N=12 panelists were screened out as ineligible (1.2%).

Median web survey length was approximately 21 minutes.

Programming, Data Processing, and Integration

Programming

Prior to the field period, SSRS programmed the study into its Forsta Plus (formerly known as Conformat) Web/CATI platform for administration in English. Extensive checking of the program was conducted to ensure that skip patterns and sample splits followed the design of the questionnaire.

Additional steps were employed to ensure a quality experience in survey administration regardless of the device utilized by respondents, whether a desktop computer, tablet, or mobile phone. The web program was optimized for administration via smartphone or other mobile handheld devices. The web program was also checked on multiple devices, including desktop computers and handheld mobile devices, and different web browsers to ensure consistent and optimized visualization across devices and web browsers. The web survey was accessed directly by respondents, using their unique survey links with embedded passwords. This also gave them the ability to return to their survey later if they chose to suspend their survey.

Quality Control Checks

For web surveys, quality checks were incorporated into the survey. For MULaw September Court Survey, respondents who failed the quality checks were not included in the final data set. This included:

1. Failed sincerity check and trap question (n=0);
2. Finished the survey under 5 minutes (n=7); and
3. Entered an AI-generated response for the open-ended questions (n=0).

A total of n=7 completed surveys were removed after applying these cleaning standards (0.7%).

Weighting and Design Effects

Data were weighted to represent the residential adult population of the United States. The weighting involves multiple stages, reflecting the nature of sampling for probability-based panels. First, to account for recruitment into the Panel, a base weight is created for the entire SSRS Opinion Panel. Then, a study-level base weight is created by adjusting this Panel-wide base weight for the probability of selection into the individual study. Finally, to create the final weight, the study-level data is calibrated to parameters for the study's target population.

Panel-Wide Base Weight

The Panel-wide base weight adjusts for the SSRS Opinion Panel recruitment and retention process—specifically, differential probabilities of being selected for the recruitment sample, completing the registration survey, joining the Panel, and remaining on the Panel.

Recruitment Design Weight

The design weight accounts for differential probabilities of selection for the recruitment sample. The design weight for the SSRS Opinion Panel was computed differently depending on whether the panelist was recruited from address-based sample (ABS), a prepaid cell sample, or the SSRS dual-frame RDD telephone Omnibus.

ABS Recruits

The design weight for ABS recruits corrects for the disproportionate ABS design by adjusting the distribution of sample across the ABS strata to match the distribution of the ABS frame across strata.

ABS recruits come from a variety of sample sources, some of which employ different stratification schemes. The design weight for ABS recruits is tailored to the stratification scheme used for the sample from which the panelist was recruited. Currently, ABS recruitment waves for the SSRS Opinion Panel are stratified on a combination of geographic region and model-based indicators of the presence of key subpopulations.

Prepaid Cell Recruits

The design weight for prepaid cell recruits accounts for any disproportionate sampling of prepaid cell phone numbers from the cell phone RDD frame.

Telephone Omnibus Recruits

The design weight for the telephone Omnibus recruits is their original base weight computed at the time of the original omnibus interview. This base weight accounts for selection probabilities associated with the overlapping dual-frame Omnibus sample design.² This base weight is a function of the landline and cell frame sample sizes as well as each respondent's telephone usage and number of adults in the household.

Recruitment, Non-Response, and Attrition Adjustments

Two adjustments are applied to the recruitment design weight:

- A nonresponse adjustment correcting for variability in the recruitment response rate.
- An attrition adjustment correcting for variability in the rate at which originally recruited panelists are retained on the Panel.

² Buskirk T.D., Best J. (2012) Venn Diagrams, Probability 101 and Sampling Weights Computed for Dual Frame Telephone RDD Designs. *Journal of Statistics and Mathematics*. Vol. 15: 3696–3710.

Both steps use a weighting class adjustment in which adjustment cells are defined by a cross of the recruitment channel and geographic strata.

For ABS recruits, a household size adjustment is also applied to correct for the sampling of one adult within each sampled address.

Non-Internet Adjustment

For projects that collect data entirely online, people who do not use the Internet are necessarily not included in the sample. To account for this non-coverage and make the results more representative of the entire target population, we make a non-internet adjustment to the base weight.

This uses a model-based propensity score adjustment to make adults with internet access representative of all adults (regardless of whether or not they have internet access). Propensity scores are estimated by modeling panel response mode on a range of demographic, attitudinal and behavioral covariates. The model is a conditional inference tree built in R using the *partykit* package.

Panel-Wide Raking

To create the final Panel-wide base weight, the full Panel is raked to target parameters for the population of U.S. adults (ages 18+). Panel-wide raking parameters include gender, age, educational attainment, race/ethnicity, Census division, civic engagement, population density, Internet use frequency, voter registration status, party identification, religion, household size, and home tenure. This raking step uses panelist profile variables; missing data in these variables is filled in using hot decking prior to raking.

Study-Level Base Weight

The study-level base weight adjusts for differential probabilities of selection from the SSRS Opinion Panel into the sample for this specific study. The study-level base weight is calculated as:

$$PABW * \frac{N_h}{n_h}$$

where *PABW* is the Panel-wide base weight calculated as described above; and, for each stratum *h*, *N_h* is the number of panelists available and *n_h* is the number invited into the study.

Study-level sampling strata were formed from quantiles of *PABW*, with higher-weight panelists being given a higher probability of selection. These weight-based strata were crossed with race, age, and education to meet the required sample size targets for each group.

Study-Level Calibration

With the study-level base weight applied, the data were weighted to balance the demographic profile of the sample to the target population parameters.

Weighting was accomplished by raking sample distributions to target population distributions using iterative proportional fitting. This procedure balances each calibration variable to target benchmarks individually and iteratively. The entire set of calibration variables is cycled through until the weights converge across all dimensions.

Data were weighted to distributions of: sex by age, sex by education, age by education, detailed education, race/ethnicity, census region, civic engagement, population density, party ID³, voter registration, religious affiliation, and internet use frequency. A second weight included these calibration variables plus 2024 recalled vote.

Missing data in the raking variables were imputed using hot decking. Hot deck imputation replaces the missing values of a respondent randomly with another similar respondent without missing data. The following table shows the data sources used for calibration totals.

Table 2. Calibration Variable Sources

DIMENSIONS	SOURCE
Sex	2024 Current Population Survey ⁴
Age	
Education	
Race	
Hispanic nativity	
Census region	Claritas Pop-Facts Premier 2023 ⁵
Population density	
Religion affiliation	Pew Research Center’s National Public Opinion Reference Survey (NPORS) ⁶
Internet frequency	
Party ID	

³ The party ID used in weighting is measured at a time matching the NPORS data release, not at the time of this survey.

⁴ Sarah Flood, Miriam King, Renae Rodgers, Steven Ruggles, J. Robert Warren, Daniel Backman, Annie Chen, Grace Cooper, Stephanie Richards, Megan Schouweiler, and Michael Westberry. IPUMS CPS: Version 12.0 [dataset]. Minneapolis, MN: IPUMS, 2024.

<https://doi.org/10.18128/D030.V12.0>

⁵ <https://environicsanalytics.com/data/demographic/pop-facts-premier>

⁶ <https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/fact-sheet/national-public-opinion-reference-survey-npors/> - Feb 5 to Jun 18, 2025.

Civic engagement ⁷	September 2023 CPS Volunteering and Civic Life Supplement ⁸
Voter registration	CPS 2024 Voting and Registration Supplement ⁹
2024 Presidential Recalled Vote	Associated Press ¹⁰

Weights were trimmed at the 2nd and 98th percentiles to prevent individual interviews from having too much influence on survey-derived estimates. The table below compares unweighted and weighted sample distributions to target population benchmarks.

Table 3. Sample Demographics

CATEGORY	VALUES	PARAMETER	UNWEIGHTED	WEIGHT1	WEIGHT2
SEX BY AGE	Male 18-24	5.8%	4.2%	5.7%	5.7%
	Male 25-34	8.7%	9.5%	8.7%	8.7%
	Male 35-44	8.6%	8.8%	8.7%	8.7%
	Male 45-54	7.6%	8.5%	7.7%	7.7%
	Male 55-64	7.7%	8.1%	7.8%	7.8%
	Male 65+	10.4%	10.5%	10.5%	10.5%
	Female 18-24	5.7%	5.0%	5.7%	5.7%
	Female 25-34	8.6%	10.9%	8.7%	8.7%
	Female 35-44	8.5%	6.7%	8.3%	8.3%
	Female 45-54	7.8%	7.6%	7.8%	7.8%
	Female 55-64	8.1%	7.3%	8.2%	8.1%
	Female 65+	12.4%	12.8%	12.3%	12.3%
	LT HS	9.3%	7.9%	9.3%	9.2%

⁷ Civically engaged respondents are defined as those who have volunteered in the past 12 months or who talk to / spend time with their neighbors daily.

⁸ Sarah Flood, Miriam King, Renae Rodgers, Steven Ruggles, J. Robert Warren, Daniel Backman, Annie Chen, Grace Cooper, Stephanie Richards, Megan Schouweiler, and Michael Westberry (2024). Integrated Public Use Microdata Series, Current Population Survey: Version 12.0 [dataset]. Minneapolis, MN: IPUMS, 2024. <https://doi.org/10.18128/D030.V12.0>

⁹ Current Population Survey, November 2024: Voting and Registration Supplement [machine-readable data file] conducted by the Bureau of the Census for the Bureau of Labor Statistics. - Washington: Bureau of the Census [producer and distributor], 2024.

¹⁰<https://apnews.com/projects/election-results-2024/?office=P>

EDUCATION	HS grad	28.7%	36.5%	28.9%	28.9%
	Some college/Assoc degree	26.3%	23.6%	26.3%	26.3%
	College grad+	35.8%	32.0%	35.6%	35.6%
SEX BY EDUCATION	Male HS grad or less	19.9%	21.8%	19.9%	19.9%
	Male some college	12.3%	11.9%	12.4%	12.4%
	Male college grad+	16.6%	16.1%	16.6%	16.7%
	Female HS grad or less	18.0%	22.6%	18.2%	18.2%
	Female some college	14.0%	11.7%	13.9%	13.9%
	Female college grad+	19.2%	15.9%	18.9%	19.0%
AGE BY EDUCATION	18-34 HS grad or less	11.5%	11.0%	11.4%	11.4%
	18-34 some college	8.5%	9.0%	8.6%	8.6%
	18-34 college grad+	8.8%	9.6%	8.8%	8.8%
	35-54 HS grad or less	11.0%	12.5%	11.1%	11.1%
	35-54 some college	7.8%	6.9%	7.8%	7.8%
	35-54 college grad+	13.8%	12.3%	13.5%	13.6%
	55+ HS grad or less	15.5%	20.9%	15.6%	15.6%
	55+ some college	10.0%	7.7%	9.9%	9.9%
	55+ college grad+	13.2%	10.2%	13.2%	13.2%
	White non-hisp	60.8%	62.6%	60.9%	60.9%

RACE / ETHNICITY	Black non-hisp	12.1%	12.9%	12.1%	12.1%
	Hispanic	17.9%	17.2%	18.0%	17.9%
	Asian, Non-hisp	6.6%	4.8%	6.3%	6.4%
	Other non-hisp	2.7%	2.5%	2.7%	2.7%
CENSUS REGION	Northeast	17.2%	15.5%	17.0%	17.0%
	Midwest	20.5%	22.9%	20.6%	20.6%
	South	38.7%	38.8%	38.7%	38.7%
	West	23.7%	22.7%	23.8%	23.7%
CIVIC ENGAGEMENT	Not engaged	69.3%	68.9%	69.2%	69.2%
	Civically engaged	30.7%	31.1%	30.8%	30.8%
POPULATION DENSITY	1 lowest 20%	20.0%	22.2%	20.2%	20.2%
	2	20.0%	17.8%	19.8%	19.8%
	3	20.0%	22.0%	20.1%	20.1%
	4	20.0%	18.1%	19.9%	19.9%
	5 highest 20%	20.0%	19.8%	20.0%	20.0%
PARTY ID (PANEL)	Rep	32.2%	32.2%	32.2%	32.2%
	Dem	28.5%	26.5%	28.4%	28.4%
	Ind/Other	39.3%	41.3%	39.4%	39.4%
VOTER REGISTRATION	Registered to vote	76.9%	85.4%	77.7%	77.6%
	Not registered	23.1%	14.6%	22.3%	22.4%
RELIGION	Affiliated	71.5%	69.9%	71.4%	71.4%
	Not affiliated	28.5%	30.1%	28.6%	28.6%
INTERNET FREQUENCY	Almost constantly	41.6%	41.5%	41.6%	41.6%
	Several times a day or less	58.4%	58.5%	58.4%	58.4%
	Trump	33.9%	38.1%	34.9%	34.2%
	Harris	32.9%	34.8%	31.9%	33.1%

2024 RECALLED VOTE (FOR WEIGHT2)	Other	1.2%	1.4%	1.1%	1.2%
	Did not vote in 2024	32.0%	25.7%	32.0%	31.4%

Effects of Sample Design on Statistical Inference

Post-data collection statistical adjustments require analysis procedures that reflect departures from simple random sampling. SSRS calculates the effects of these design features so that an appropriate adjustment can be incorporated into tests of statistical significance when using these data. The so-called "design effect" or *deff* represents the loss in statistical efficiency that results from a disproportionate sample design and systematic non-response. The total sample design effect for this survey is 1.17 using weight1 and 1.18 using weight2.

SSRS calculates the composite design effect for a sample of size *n*, with each case having a weight, *w*, as:¹¹

$$deff = \frac{n \sum w^2}{(\sum w)^2}$$

The survey's margin of error is the largest 95% confidence interval for any estimated proportion based on the total sample — the one around 50%. For example, the margin of error for the entire sample using weight1 or weight2 is ± 3.3 percentage points. This means that in 95 out of every 100 samples drawn using the same methodology, estimated proportions based on the entire sample will be no more than 3.3 percentage points away from their true values in the population. Margins of error for subgroups will be larger. It is important to remember that sampling fluctuations are only one possible source of error in a survey estimate. Other sources, such as respondent selection bias, questionnaire wording, and reporting inaccuracy, may contribute additional error of greater or lesser magnitude.

Sample Disposition and Response Rate

Table 4 details the completion and response rates for this study.

Table 4: Completion Rate/Response Rate:

Completion Rates/Composite Response Rates	Total
Total Sample (Invited to participate)	1,936
Screen-outs	2

¹¹ Kish, L. (1992). Weighting for Unequal Pi. *Journal of Official Statistics*, Vol. 8, No.2, 1992, pp. 183-200.

Total Eligible	1,934
Quality control removals	7
Incompletes	158
Quota full	0
Completions*	1,043
Incidence/Eligibility rate	99.81%
Survey Completion rate (Completions/Total invited to participate)	53.87%
Survey RR3	53.96%

**Excludes screen-outs or data quality removals that completed the survey*

Cumulative Response Rate

Cumulative response rate that takes into consideration the response rate for the panel recruitment survey, percent of recruitment survey respondents that agree to join the panel, and this survey's response rate. The cumulative RR3 comes to 2.47%.

Deliverables

Final deliverables for this study were as follows:

- Weighted SPSS dataset
- Methods report