

Stereotypes in High-Stakes Decisions: Evidence from U.S. Circuit Courts

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Abstract

Stereotypes are thought to be an important determinant of decision making, but they are hard to systematically measure, especially for individuals in policy-making roles. In this paper, we propose and implement a novel language-based measure of gender stereotypes for the high-stakes context of U.S. Appellate Courts. We construct a judge-specific measure of gender-stereotyped language use – *gender slant* – by looking at the linguistic association of words identifying gender (male versus female) and words identifying gender stereotypes (career versus family) in the judge’s authored opinions. Exploiting quasi-random assignment of judges to cases and conditioning on detailed biographical characteristics of judges, we study how gender stereotypes influence judicial behavior. We find that judges with higher slant vote more conservatively on women’s rights’ issues (e.g. reproductive rights, sexual harassment, and gender discrimination). These more slanted judges also influence workplace outcomes for female colleagues: they are less likely to assign opinions to female judges, they are more likely to reverse lower-court decisions if the lower-court judge is a woman, and they cite fewer female-authored opinions.

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1 Introduction

Stereotypes can be a powerful determinant of individual decisions. Attitudes toward social groups – most notably women and racial minorities – are highly predictive of judgments and choices (Bertrand et al., 2005), including physician treatments (Green et al., 2007), voting (Frieze et al., 2007), hiring decisions (Rooth, 2010), employer-employee interactions (Glover et al., 2017), and teacher effectiveness (Carlana, 2019). Do stereotypes shape the decisions of those in high-stakes policy-making roles as well? We address this question by studying how gender attitudes affect the behavior of U.S. Appellate Courts judges.

Given their ability to set precedent, Appellate Courts (in particular, the U.S. Circuit Courts of Appeal) play an important role in common-law systems. This has motivated an expansive literature on the determinants of judicial decisions in federal and state courts (see Posner, 2008), which has shown that ideological and biographical characteristics of judges (Boyd and Spriggs II, 2009; Glynn and Sen, 2015; Kstellec, 2013; Sunstein et al., 2006) and other non-legal factors (Danziger et al., 2011; Chen, 2014; Chen et al., 2016) matter for their decisions. In addition, some judges have been found to be highly predictable and systematically more or less lenient for equivalent cases (Dunn et al., 2017), suggesting a role for pre-determined judgements and the use of heuristics or stereotypes about salient attributes in judicial decisions (Bordalo et al., 2015; Gabaix, 2014).

Research concerning stereotypes in social psychology, economics, and other social sciences generally measures attitudes using Implicit Association Tests (IATs), where subjects are asked to assign words to categories and reaction times are compared across trials when pairings are consistent with stereotypes as opposed to when they are not (Greenwald et al., 1998). Unfortunately, IATs are rarely available for actors in policy-making roles such as judges, which makes measurement a major challenge to answering the research question.¹

In this paper, we propose a way to address this challenge that exploits a unique feature of our setting – the large corpus of written text that is available for appellate judges – and the idea that text can provide important insights into human social psychology (Jakiela and Ozier, 2019).

¹To the best of our knowledge, there exist only two papers that have collected IAT scores for judges, and neither of them links the scores to the real world behavior of these judges. Rachlinski et al. (2009) measure implicit bias against African-Americans of 133 state and local trial judges, finding some evidence that more biased judges prefer harsher sentences when primed with hypothetical cases about African-Americans in a vignette experiment. Levinson et al. (2017) collected implicit bias against Asians and Jews for 239 federal and state judges, and they found that judges biased against Jews display different hypothetical sentencing behavior.

In particular, we draw on recent developments in natural language processing (NLP) and proxy judges’ attitudes toward gender by measuring their use of gender-stereotyped language (Pennington et al., 2014; Caliskan et al., 2017; Kozłowski et al., 2019; Antoniak and Mimno, 2018). That is, we develop a measure of *gender slant* based on how strongly judges associate men with careers and women with families in their writing.

The key NLP technology powering our approach, word embedding, is an algorithm that distributes words in a vector space based on their co-occurrence in a corpus (Mikolov et al., 2013; Pennington et al., 2014). Word embeddings preserve semantic relationships. First, words with similar meaning have similar representations. Second, dimensions induced by word differences can be used to identify cultural concepts (Kozłowski et al., 2019). For example, the vector difference $\overrightarrow{man} - \overrightarrow{woman}$ isolates a gender dimension in the space.

The dimensions are useful because they produce quantitative measures of similarity between the associated concepts and specific words in the corpus. For example, we can understand the gender connotation of a given word by taking the cosine of the angle between the vector representation of the word and the differenced vector representing the gender dimension (Kozłowski et al., 2019). Words with male connotations – e.g. male first names – are going to be positively correlated with $\overrightarrow{man} - \overrightarrow{woman}$. Female words, in turn, will be negatively correlated with the dimension.

This framework provides an intuitive approach to measuring stereotypical associations in a given corpus. In particular, we measure the intensity of gender stereotyping by looking at how similar the gender dimension ($\overrightarrow{man} - \overrightarrow{woman}$) is to the dimension representing the stereotypical gender roles of interest ($\overrightarrow{career} - \overrightarrow{family}$). If the cosine similarity between the two dimensions is high, the corpus uses stereotyped language – men are associated with career, while women are associated with family. If the correlation is around zero, stereotypes are not present in the text.

To construct a judge-specific gender slant measure, we consider the majority opinions authored by a given judge as a separate corpus. We then train a separate embeddings model for each judge corpus, which allows us to calculate a judge-specific gender slant measure. To ensure we obtain high-quality embeddings notwithstanding a small corpus, we train embeddings on different bootstrap samples of the corpus following Antoniak and Mimno (2018) and define gender slant as the median value of the measure across the samples. Using this method, we calculate the gender slant of 139 Circuit judges. Descriptively, we find that female and younger judges display

lower gender slant and that having a daughter reduces gender slant.

This approach is related to a growing literature using word embeddings to analyze bias in text. Bolukbasi et al. (2016) and Caliskan et al. (2017) demonstrate biases in general web corpora in terms of gender stereotypes and a number of other dimensions. Garg et al. (2018) train separate embeddings by decade using the Google Books corpus and show that gender associations track demographic and occupational shifts. The closest analysis to ours is Rice et al. (2019), who detect a racial slant in a corpus of U.S. state and federal court opinions. We build on this literature to construct author-specific measures of slant that can be linked to real-world behavior.

The central research question of the paper is how gender slant impacts the behavior of judges. We focus on two behaviors. First, we study how gender slant impacts judicial decisions, with a particular focus on gender-related cases. Second, we study how gender slant affects the treatment of female judges. The empirical strategy to estimate the causal effect of gender slant is twofold. First, we rely on the quasi-random assignment of judges to cases to ensure that slanted judges do not self-select into cases systematically based on the outcome. This means that cases assigned to higher and lower slanted judges are comparable. Second, we condition on detailed judges' characteristics to show that gender slant has an effect that goes above and beyond the judge's other features and is not simply acting as a proxy for some other characteristic such as gender or conservative ideology.

We begin by studying how gender slant impacts decisions in gender-related cases. We find that judges with higher gender slant tend to vote more conservatively in gender-related issues (that is, against expanding women's rights). The magnitude of the effect is large: a one standard deviation increase in the gender slant of the judge increases the probability of voting against expanding women's rights by 4.2 percentage points, which corresponds to a 7% increase over the outcome mean. The result is not driven by gender slant being determined by the texts of the gender-related opinions: if we calculate the gender slant measure on embeddings trained excluding gender-related cases, the effect is, if anything, stronger. By affecting how judges vote in appellate cases, and therefore impacting how precedent is set, the gender attitudes we measure in written language have the potential to impact real-world outcomes even outside the judiciary (Chen and Sethi, 2018; Chen and Yeh, 2014c,a). Gender slant *is* policy relevant.

If gender slant does indeed proxy for attitudes towards gender, as is suggested by the decision

results, it should also influence how judges interact with female colleagues in the court. We explore this question by studying three sets of interactions with female judges: opinion assignment, reversals of district court decisions, and citations. We find that gender slant affects the treatment of female judges. First, we consider the decision of a senior judge tasked with assigning the writing of the majority opinion to a panel member. Assigning judges with higher gender slant are less likely to assign opinion authorship to a female judge by 1.7 percentage points, or 4.5% of the baseline mean. Second, we show using a differences-in-differences design that more slanted judges are more likely to vote to reverse lower-court decisions authored by female district judges with respect to those authored by male district judges. Again, the magnitude of the effect is sizable, corresponding to around 5% of the baseline mean. Notably, female district judges are 2.3 percentage points less likely to be reversed, so gender slant goes against this baseline. Finally, more slanted judges are also less likely to cite opinions of female judges, although identification is weaker and the result is less robust. To the extent that these outcomes are relevant for future promotion opportunities, the gender attitudes measured by gender slant have the potential to hinder the career progression of female district judges relative to male district judges.

To strengthen the case that gender slant proxies for gender preferences, we investigate whether slanted judges also respond differently to non-gender characteristics. While we do find that higher-slanted judges tend to vote more conservatively in non-gender-related but ideologically divisive cases, the effect of slant is smaller than in gender-related cases. In addition, we find that gender slant has little to no effect on how judges interact with colleagues who were appointed by a Democratic President, who are minorities, or who are in a different age group. Overall, this confirms that gender slant captures attitudes that are specific to gender.

This paper builds on the literature on the determinants of judicial decisions, showing that demographic and ideological characteristics of judges predict their decisions (Boyd and Spriggs II, 2009; Kestellec, 2013; Sunstein et al., 2006; Cohen and Yang, 2019). Recent work has shown that in criminal cases, judges systematically demonstrate racial (Arnold et al., 2018; Rehavi and Starr, 2014) and gender (Starr, 2014) disparities in their sentencing decisions. Instead of inferring bias from the decisions themselves, we take a different approach by considering a proxy of stereotypical gender attitudes and asking how this impacts decisions.² This allows us to directly study the

²We could potentially construct a measure of voting disparities in gender-related cases and use this measure to study

role played by stereotypical gender attitudes, at least as far as these can be measured from judges' writing. The existing evidence on stereotypes in the judiciary is limited to studies that look at the correlation between attitudes measured by Implicit Association Tests and decisions in hypothetical scenarios (Rachlinski et al., 2009; Levinson et al., 2017). Instead, our measure allows us to link stereotypical attitudes to real world outcomes.

If we think of courts as a workplace, the paper speaks to the literature on how gender shapes the labor market outcomes of women and why (see among others Bohren et al., 2019; Bordalo et al. (2019); Card et al., 2019; Hengel, 2019; Sarsons, 2019), in particular for women employed at the top end of the earnings distribution (Burszтын et al., 2017; Bertrand, 2013; Bertrand et al., 2010). Despite the richness of the data, the setting we study is quite novel: there is a scarcity of existing work that takes this approach toward the courts, in particular to study the potential for gender discrimination toward female judges.³ In addition, we contribute to this literature by providing evidence that stereotypical attitudes might play a direct role in determining differential labor market outcomes for men and women, even in high-stakes environments such as Appellate Courts.

More generally, this paper contributes to the growing literature demonstrating the importance of stereotypes in decision making. For example, Glover et al. (2017) show that stereotypes regarding minorities influence manager-employee interactions in a way that impacts performance, and Carlana (2019) shows that teachers with stereotypical views of gender negatively impact the test scores and future scholastic careers of female students. Our novel text-based measure of stereotypical attitudes allows us to study the role played by stereotypes in determining the behavior of high-skilled professionals, who might otherwise be hard to reach through surveys or tests traditionally used in the literature. Stereotypes matter, even for high-stakes decisions that have the power to influence public policy for years to come.

The remainder of the paper is organized as follows. Section 2 describes our measure of gender slant, and Section 3 discusses the empirical strategy and presents additional data sources. Section 4 provides descriptive statistics. Section 5 shows the effect of gender slant on judicial decisions,

how this impacts female judges. Our setting is not well suited for this approach. In particular, as we will discuss in detail below, we are constrained to use pre-coded datasets for vote valence. This means that we have at most 50 votes per judge, which would make calculating gender bias measures based on votes challenging.

³The one exception is contemporaneous work by Battaglini et al. (2019), who show that random exposure to female judges on panels increases the probability of hiring a female clerk.

while Section 6 discusses how gender slant impacts female judges. Finally, Section 7 concludes.

2 Gender Slant: Measuring Gender Stereotypes in Text

The starting point of the paper is to construct a measure of how gender is characterized in the language used by judges, in particular whether judges’ writing displays stereotypical views of gender. Our measure aims to capture the strength of the association between gender identifiers and stereotypical gender roles, with men being more career-oriented and women being more strongly associated to family.

2.1 Word Embeddings

In order to construct our measure, we use word embeddings, a language modeling technique from natural language processing that relies on word co-occurrence to create a representation in a (relatively) low dimensional Euclidean space in such a way as to preserve semantic meaning (Mikolov et al., 2013; Pennington et al., 2014).

Consider the simplest way of representing language. For a given vocabulary V , one possibility is to represent words as one-hot-encoded vectors, with all values equal to 0 except the one entry corresponding to the word itself. This approach presents two issues. First, the dimensionality of the vector space grows linearly in the size of the vocabulary, as the one-hot-encoded vectors are V -dimensional by construction. Second, it is impossible to infer anything about the relationship between words in the resulting space: all word vectors are orthogonal to each other.

Word embeddings offer a solution to both issues. The word representations are low-dimensional – in our case, 300 dimensionals – dense vectors which can accommodate large vocabularies and corpora without increasing dimensionality. In addition, the positions of word vectors in the space encode relations between words.

Word embeddings encode semantic meaning in two principal ways. First, distance in the word embedding space conveys semantic similarity between words. The position of a word’s representation in the vector space is assigned based on the context the word appears in: words that appear frequently in the same context have representations close to each other in the space, while words that appear rarely together have representations that are far apart. Importantly, given that

a vector’s position is defined based on appearance in given contexts, word embedding distance can identify that two words are similar even if they do not necessarily often appear together, as long as the neighboring words tend to be similar.

Second, the direction of the vectors and the differences between vectors that identify directions in the space also convey meaning. As Figure 1 illustrates, going from the vector representing the word \overrightarrow{woman} to the vector representing the word \overrightarrow{man} means taking a step in the ‘maleness’ direction, and taking the same step from the vector representing the word \overrightarrow{queen} will bring us close to the vector representing the word \overrightarrow{king} as well.

2.2 GloVe Embeddings Implementation

The specific model we use is Global Vectors for Word Representation (Pennington et al., 2014). GloVe is a weighted least squares model that trains word vectors on global co-occurrence counts. GloVe first computes a global co-occurrence matrix, which reports the number of times two words have occurred within a given context window. It then obtains word vectors $w_i \in \mathcal{W}$ to minimize the following objective function:

$$J(\mathcal{W}) = \sum_{i,j} f(X_{ij}) \left(w_i^T w_j - \log(X_{ij}) \right)^2$$

where X_{ij} is the co-occurrence count between words i and j and $f(\cdot)$ is a weighting function that serves to down-weight particularly frequent words. The objective function $J(\cdot)$ effectively trains the word vectors to minimize the squared difference between the dot product of the vectors representing two words and their empirical co-occurrence in the corpus. Our GloVe implementation minimizes $J(\cdot)$ by stochastic gradient descent.

The two key hyperparameters for GloVe are the dimensionality of the vectors and the window size for computing co-occurrence statistics. Previous experiments by NLP researchers suggest that increasing dimensionality beyond 300 has negligible improvements for downstream tasks (Pennington et al., 2014; Spirling and Rodriguez, 2019), so we follow that literature and train 300-dimensional vectors. In turn, we choose a standard window size of 10, a middle ground between shorter windows – which would tend to capture syntactic/functional relations between words –

and longer windows – which tend to capture topical relations between words.⁴

A practical feature of GloVe is that the algorithm goes through the full corpus only once in order to build the initial co-occurrence matrix. This feature accounts for the considerable improvements in training time compared to other popular word embeddings algorithms, namely word2vec (Mikolov et al., 2013), while obtaining embeddings of comparable quality (Pennington et al., 2014). Given that our approach requires the training of a large number of separate embeddings, this is a particularly attractive feature for our application.

2.3 Word Vectors and Gender Slant

We use word embeddings to identify cultural dimensions in language (Kozłowski et al., 2019). As mentioned in the previous sub-section, a key feature of word embeddings is that the direction of the difference between word vectors in the space conveys meaning. Consider the vector representing the word \overrightarrow{man} and the vector representing the word \overrightarrow{woman} . The vector difference between the two, i.e. the vector identified by $\overrightarrow{man} - \overrightarrow{woman}$, identifies a dimension in the space that corresponds to a step in the male direction. The difference between male and female can be used to identify a gender dimension in the space. In practice, since this is true for $\overrightarrow{boy} - \overrightarrow{girl}$, $\overrightarrow{he} - \overrightarrow{she}$, and so on, we can identify a gender dimension in the space by taking the difference between the average normalized vector across a set of male words and the average normalized vector across a set of female words:

$$\overrightarrow{male} - \overrightarrow{female} = \frac{\sum_n \overrightarrow{male\ word_n}}{|N_{male}|} - \frac{\sum_n \overrightarrow{female\ word_n}}{|N_{female}|},$$

where $|N_{male}|$ is the number of words used to identify the male dimension.

A desirable feature of the Euclidean geometry of the vector space and the gender dimension is that other words meaningfully project onto it. It is then possible to understand the connotation of other words along the gender dimension by looking at the cosine of the angle between the vector

⁴Appendix Figure 3 shows that 100- and 300-dimensional embeddings produce highly correlated measures of gender slant. The same is true for embeddings trained using 5, 10, or 15 word windows (Appendix Figure 2).

representing the word and the dimension itself. Formally, we use the cosine similarity, defined as:

$$\text{sim}(\vec{x}, \vec{y}) = \cos(\theta) = \frac{\vec{x} \cdot \vec{y}}{\|\vec{x}\| \|\vec{y}\|} = \frac{\sum x_i y_i}{\sqrt{\sum x_i^2} \sqrt{\sum y_i^2}},$$

where \vec{x} and \vec{y} are non-zero vectors, θ is the associated angle, and $\|\cdot\|$ is the 2-norm. Note that $\text{sim}(\vec{x}, \vec{y})$ varies between -1 and +1. Continuing with the example, words with male (female) connotations – e.g. male (female) first names – are going to be positively (negatively) correlated with the gender dimension defined by $\overrightarrow{\text{male}} - \overrightarrow{\text{female}}$.

We put these dimensions in the service of constructing a gender slant measure. The goal is to capture the strength of the association between gender and stereotypical attitudes – identifying men more closely with career, and women with family. Word embeddings provide an intuitive metric. Specifically, we use the cosine similarity between the vector representing the gender dimension, defined by $\overrightarrow{\text{male}} - \overrightarrow{\text{female}}$, and the vector representing the career-family dimension, defined by $\overrightarrow{\text{career}} - \overrightarrow{\text{family}}$. The statistical similarity summarizes how closely related the gender and stereotypical dimension are in the space, as illustrated in Figure 2. When the two concepts are strongly associated in a corpus, the two vectors are close together ($\theta \approx 0$), and the slant measure is close to 1 (Figure 2 (a)). If there is no association between the two, then $\theta \approx 90^\circ$, and the slant measure is 0 (Figure 2 (b)). Finally, if the concepts are negatively associated in a corpus (e.g. male is associated to family and female is associated to career), the two vectors are far apart ($\theta \approx 180^\circ$), and the slant measure will tend to -1 (Figure 2 (c)).

For this task, there are many potential combinations of male, female, career, and family words that could be used to identify the gender and career-family dimension. We select the word sets to identify the dimensions using the following procedure. First, we identify potential word sets using Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count Dictionaries, which provide a human-validated list of words and word stems that correspond to certain concepts. We use the word sets for male, female, work and family. From these word sets, we eliminate words that could be ambiguous or have specific legal meanings in our setting (e.g. tribe, tribes for family; line, situation, trade for work). From each list, we then select the ten most frequent words in the full judicial corpus.⁵ Table 1 reports

⁵We select words using these procedures as opposed to the word sets usually used in the gender-career IAT because we want to ensure that we are using words that meaningfully define gender in judicial language. For example, first names are rarely used in legal language as opposed to gender pronouns, which would introduce substantial noise in

the resulting word sets. In addition, we show how the results change when selecting the top five to top fifteen most frequent words and when dropping one word at a time in the career versus family dimension.⁶

2.4 Measuring Judge Gender Slant

Our goal is to produce measures of gender stereotypes in the writing of Circuit Court judges. Our starting corpus is the universe of published opinions in U.S. Circuit Courts for the years 1890-2013, which consists of 380,000 opinions in thirteen courts from Bloomberg Law.

As a pre-processing step, we clean that text and exclude punctuation and numbers, although we retain hyphenated words. To avoid the word vectors being case sensitive, we transform all words to be lower cased. We then retain only the most common 50,000 words in all judicial opinions. Opinions are separated into sentences using punctuation, and each sentence is further tokenized into words. These tokenized sentences are the starting point of the model.

To obtain judge-specific gender slant measures, we take the set of majority opinions authored by each judge as a separate corpus. We train separate GloVe embeddings on each judge’s corpus, and we used the resulting vectors to compute the gender slant measure as described in Subsection 2.3. To ensure convergence, we train vectors for 20 iterations with a learning rate of 0.05.

Creating judge-specific embeddings implies the use of relatively small corpora, which is potentially a problem given that word embeddings perform best when they are trained on large collections. To address this issue, we follow the approach suggested by Antoniak and Mimno (2018) and train embedding models on twenty-five bootstrap samples of each judge corpus. Specifically, we consider each sentence written by a judge as a document, and then create a corpus by sampling with replacement from all sentences. The number of sentences contained in the bootstrapped sample is the slant measure.

⁶We focus on the stereotypical association between men and career versus women and family as opposed to other associations typically studied in the literature – for example, the association between men and science versus women and arts, and between men and positive attributes versus women and negative attributes – for several reasons. First, words related to sciences and arts do not frequently appear in the corpus, which makes it difficult to identify the science – art dimension in the language space (see Appendix Table 1). Second, we only find limited evidence that the full judicial corpus presents a stereotypical association between men and positive attributes versus women and negative attributes, which suggests limited scope for this measure to capture judge-specific variation in gender attitudes. In fact, Appendix Figure 1 shows that in the full judicial corpus, the cosine similarity between the gender and the positive-negative dimension is generally smaller and closer to zero with respect to the cosine similarity between the gender and the career-family dimension. When we perform a permutation test following Caliskan et al. (2017), we indeed find p-values lower than 0.10 in only three of the twenty-four bootstrapped embeddings trained on the full judicial corpus.

ple is the same as the total number of sentences in the original judge corpus. We then calculate our measure for all bootstrap samples and assign to each judge the median value of the measure across the samples. Given that embeddings trained on small corpora tend to be sensitive to the inclusion of specific documents, the bootstrap procedure produces more stable results. In addition, bootstrapping ensures stability with respect to the initialization of the word vectors, a potential concern given that GloVe presents a non-convex objective function (Spirling and Rodriguez, 2019).

Figure 3 shows the distribution of gender slant across judges in the sample. The figure shows there is significant variation in how strongly judges associate men with career and women with family in their language. To put the measure in perspective, the vertical lines on the same graph show the degree of gender slant of a sample of recent U.S. Supreme Court justices for which we were able to measure gender slant. Interestingly, the conservative Justice Antonin Scalia has the highest slant of the group, while more liberal judges such as Justice Anthony Kennedy have relatively lower slant.⁷

2.5 Validating Judge-Specific Embeddings

Even following the bootstrapping procedure, we might still worry about the quality of the judge-specific embeddings, and in particular, whether they are able to capture meaningful information about gender. To validate the judge-specific embeddings, we compute the cosine similarity between the gender dimension and each of the vectors representing the most common 25 male and female names according to the 1990 census for each judge and bootstrap sample. We then regress a dummy for whether the name is male on the median cosine similarity between the vector representing the name and the gender dimension across bootstrap samples, separately for each judge.

Figure 4 shows the cumulative distribution of the t-statistics resulting from these regressions for sets of judges with different number of tokens. The figure shows that, for judges with a small number of tokens, the t-statistics are rarely above conventional significance level and are at times even negative. As the number of tokens increases, the t-statistics start to become significant and are never lower than zero, showing that the gender dimension identified in the embeddings does

⁷The gender slant of Supreme Court justices is measured by training embeddings on the U.S. Supreme Court majority opinions that were authored by these judges. Finding judges with corpora of sufficient size (see the following sub-section) is even more difficult in this setting: the figure shows the gender slant of justices with at least 1,000,000 tokens in their corpus. Unfortunately, none of the female justices (e.g. Ginsburg and O'Connor) reached the minimum token threshold.

indeed contain meaningful gender information. Based on these experiments, all of our main results focus on the 139 judges whose corpus includes at least 1,500,000 tokens.⁸

2.6 Discussion of Alternative Measures

There are (perhaps many) other approaches that we could have used to measure gender stereotypes in judicial language. In particular, these two alternatives come to mind.

First, we could have had human evaluators qualitatively score the writing of judges. These coders could have done a deep reading of the text or a subjective coding of important themes (Glaser and Strauss, 2017). However, this qualitative approach is somewhat subjective and therefore lacks a rigorous method of replication (Ricoeur, 1981; DiMaggio, 1997). It would also be prohibitively expensive to implement on a large scale such as we have in our corpus, which contains over 14 million sentences.

Second, we could have looked at stereotypical language more directly, by asking, for example, whether career or family related words tend to appear more frequently with gender identifiers. The advantage of word embeddings relative to the count approach is that the global co-occurrences do not require words to appear directly next to each other to register an association, and are therefore able to take into account more information contained in judges' writing. A count-based approach would likely miss implicit and nuanced gender stereotyping and therefore provide a less precise measure. Nonetheless, we show in Appendix Figure 4 that gender slant is negatively correlated with use of gender-neutral language (e.g. "himself or herself", "he or she" as opposed to the common practice of using male pronouns when the gender of the subject is not specified).

⁸Around 1000 judges served in Circuit Courts from 1890-2013. Of these, 475 (272) have at least 500,000 (1,000,000) tokens in their corpus. Out of these 139 judges with 1.5 million tokens, 12% are women (17 judges) and 42% were appointed by a Democratic President (58 judges). The judges in our sample do not appear to be highly selected as compared to judges with a minimum corpus size of 50,000 tokens: they are not significantly different in terms of party of appointing President, gender, and race, although they are more likely to be born after 1920.

3 Empirical Strategy and Additional Data Sources

3.1 Empirical Strategy

The main objective of the paper is to study the effect of gender slant on the behavior of judges. The empirical strategy relies on the quasi-random assignment of judges to cases – which means that slanted judges do not self-select into cases systematically based on the outcome – and on conditioning on detailed judges’ biographic characteristics, which ensures that gender slant is not acting as a proxy for some other of the judges’ features.

Quasi-Random Assignment. A major concern for identification is the endogeneous selection of judges to cases, as we might worry that slanted judges decide which panels to sit on based on the expected outcome of the case. We address this issue by exploiting the fact that in Circuit Courts, cases are quasi-randomly assigned to panels formed by three judges, which ensures comparability of cases seen by judges with higher and lower slant.⁹

Evidence supporting the quasi-random assignment of panels to cases has been provided by Chen and Sethi (2018), who show for a sample of gender-discrimination cases that pre-trial characteristics of the case are uncorrelated with the demographic composition of the panel, and by Chen et al. (2014), who show that the panel composition does not appear to be autocorrelated over time. Here, we provide additional evidence by showing that higher-slanted judges do not appear to be systematically hearing cases on specific topics. In particular, we perform a series of regressions where an indicator variable for a given topic (one of 89 topics) is regressed on judge gender slant and circuit-year fixed effects, with standard errors clustered by judge. Appendix Figure 5 shows that just 15 of the 89 coefficients are significant at the 10 percent level, in line with what we would expect by chance.

Conditioning on Observable Characteristics. Random assignment of judges to cases implies that the effect of being assigned a slanted judge is well-identified, but the effect of gender slant itself could be confounded with other judge characteristics that affect decisions or behavior. For

⁹Chen and Sethi (2018) and Bowie et al. (2014) report detailed information on how the random assignment of cases to panels work, based on qualitative interviews with officials of the courts. Judges are chosen from a pool of 8-40 judges, depending on the specific circuit. Before oral arguments, available judges (including visiting judges) are assigned following a quasi-random process. In recent years, assignment is often done using a computer program. The program might place some limits on judges serving on the same panel and on how many cases are assigned to senior judges. It is possible that judges recuse themselves at times, and in rare occasions randomization is not used for some specialized cases (e.g. cases involving the death penalty) but they would generally do so before random assignment.

example, male judges might be more conservative and also have higher slant. We address this issue by exploiting detailed information on the demographic characteristics of these judges, which allows us to directly control for other characteristics of the judge that might correlate both with gender slant and with decisions. In other words, identification requires that conditional on the covariates, slant is not systematically correlated with other omitted factors related to voting or treatment of female judges. In Appendix A.7, we assess this assumption using the method from Oster (2019).

3.2 Additional Data Sources

This paper combines four principal data sources, in addition to the text data used to construct the gender slant measure for each judge described in the previous section.

Judges’ Biographic Characteristics. The data on judge characteristics are from the Appeals Court Attribute Data, the Federal Judicial Center, and previous data collection from Chen and Yeh (2014b). The final dataset has information on gender, party of appointing President, region of birth, cohort of birth, religion, law school attended, and whether the judge had federal experience prior to being appointed to an Appellate Court. It also includes information on the full history of federal court appointments held by the judge.

Judicial Decisions. To study the effect of gender slant on decisions, we use two existing legal datasets with hand-coded vote direction and topic, created by Epstein et al. (2013) and Glynn and Sen (2015). The datasets were originally constructed by searching for cases related to a given set of topics, and then having research assistants read through the opinions to code whether each judge’s vote was liberal or conservative.^{10,11} For gender-related issues—namely, reproductive rights, gender discrimination, and sexual harassment—a liberal vote corresponds to a vote in support of

¹⁰The need to code the direction of the vote (in favor or against expanding women’s rights) is why we are constrained to using these pre-existing datasets, as we do not know the ‘directionality’ of votes in the larger Circuit Court dataset that we use in the analysis regarding the treatment of female judges.

¹¹In particular, the Epstein et al. (2013) dataset contains all published opinions related to abortion, the Americans with Disabilities Act, affirmative action, campaign finance, capital punishment, the contracts clause, criminal appeals, environmental regulation, federalism, piercing the corporate veil, race discrimination, sex discrimination, sexual harassment, and takings. The dataset is updated until 2008, but the starting years of the dataset vary by issue, ranging from 1982 for abortion to 1995 to capital punishment. The original dataset was constructed by searching for cases related to each issue backwards from the present, and stopping when a sufficient number of cases was reached for that issue. The Glynn and Sen (2015) data contain all published and unpublished opinions from 1996 to 2002 that contain the words “gender”, “pregnancy” or “sex” in the case headings. When the two datasets are pooled, we drop duplicate cases present in both datasets.

extending women’s rights. The analysis pools the two datasets.

In addition, we have information on circuit court cases from the U.S. Court of Appeals datasets (Songer, 2008; Kuersten and Haire, 2011). These data include a 5% random sample of Circuit cases that were hand-coded for vote valence (liberal, conservative, or neutral/hard to code).

Circuit Court Cases. To study interactions with female judges, we exploit detailed records from all 380,000 U.S. Circuit Court cases for the years 1890-2013, which we obtained from Bloomberg Law. For each case, the records include information on year, circuit, and topic, as well as the panel of judges assigned to decide on it. For each assigned judge, we have information on whether they voted to affirm or reverse the district court decision, whether they authored the majority opinion, and whether they dissented/concurred.

For a subset of the cases, we are also able to match the case to the identity of the district judge who decided the corresponding lower-court case. The judge’s name is obtained either directly from the district case’s metadata or by parsing the name from the circuit opinion’s case history.¹² We then match the name of the district judge to their biographical information from the Federal Judicial Center. We are able to assign a unique district judge (and associated gender) to 145,862 circuit cases (38% of all cases).

Citations. We use the full text of the opinions to extract information on which cases are cited in the same opinion. We use this dataset to define a citation network that includes both backward and forward citations for each case.

Clerks. Information on Circuit Court clerks are from Katz and Stafford (2010) and additional original data collection from Chen (2019).

4 Gender Slant and Demographic Characteristics

This section explores descriptively how the gender slant measure varied based on with judge characteristics. We begin by correlating the gender slant measure and different judge characteristics, using separate univariate regressions with robust standard errors.

¹²More precisely, the algorithm starts with all district judges, then checks for every case/case history for the corresponding court. Out of the judges within that specific district court, it then narrows it down to the judges that were active during the time of the case, plus two years to allow for appeal proceedings. Finally, based on a name similarity measure (Levenshtein distance), district judges are assigned if the score is above 70 (out of a maximum 100).

Table 2 reports estimates from these regressions. Column (1) shows that judges nominated by Presidents of different parties do not appear to display different levels of gender slant. Looking at the entire distribution of gender slant separately by party (Figure 5 (a)) confirms the result, and according to a Kolmogorov-Smirnov test for equality of distribution functions, the difference is not statistically significant ($p = 0.952$).

Column (2) shows that female judges display on average gender slant that is 0.5 standard deviations lower than male judges. The difference is statistically significant at the 10% level. Examining the full distribution (Figure 5 (b)) shows that the distribution of slant for female judges is clearly shifted to the left relative to the one for male judges, and the difference is significant according to a Kolmogorov-Smirnov test for equality of distributions ($p = 0.012$).

Column (3) shows that there is no difference depending on judge race, possibly an artifact of there being very few minority judges included in the sample. As one would expect, older judges tend to have significantly higher gender slant (column (4)): judges that were born before 1920 display between 0.5 and 0.765 standard deviation higher slant than judges born between 1930 and 1939 and after 1940. While this is consistent with older judges holding more socially conservative views, this variation might reflect differences in the cases that were tried by the judges, as older judges served in court in periods with lower female labor force participation. Interestingly, judge cohort appears to have the strongest explanatory power across all different demographic characteristics.

Column (5) includes all characteristics in the same regression and additionally controls for judge religion, law school attended, whether the judge had federal experience prior to being appointed to the Circuit Courts, and circuit fixed effects. The previously discussed correlations remain.¹³ Overall, female judges and younger judges display the lowest gender slant.

What explains the variation in gender slant across judges? Gender slant might be partially representational and reflect variation in the facts of the cases tried by the judges. Here, we explore a different possibility: exposure to women. In particular, we ask whether judges that have

¹³There is no difference in the gender slant of judges born in different regions. Jewish judges appear to be slightly less slanted than Protestant judges. As far as law schools are concerned, judges who received their J.D.s from Yale display lower slant than judges who received their J.D.s from Harvard, while Stanford judges have higher slant. Finally, judges from the 3rd (PA, DE, MD), 6th (MI, OH, KT, TN), and Federal Circuits have higher slant than judges from the 1st Circuit (ME, MA, RI, CT), while judges from the 7th Circuit (WI, IL, IN) display lower gender slant.

daughters display different levels of slanted language.¹⁴ Given that, conditional on total number of children, gender should be as good as randomly assigned, we can estimate the causal effect of having daughters on slant (Washington, 2008; Glynn and Sen, 2015).

To perform the analysis, we combine our measure of slant from information of judges' family composition from Glynn and Sen (2015). We estimate the following specification:

$$Gender\ Slant_j = \beta Daughter_j + X_j' \gamma + \delta_c + \delta_n + \epsilon_j \quad (1)$$

where $Gender\ Slant_j$ is the slant (standardized cosine similarity between the gender and career-family dimensions) of judge j , $Daughter_j$ is an indicator variable equal to 1 if judge j has at least one daughter, X_j are demographic characteristics of judge j (gender, party of nominating president, race, religion, region of birth, cohort of birth, law school attended, and whether the judge had federal experience prior to appointment), δ_c are circuit fixed effects, and δ_n are number of children fixed effects. Standard errors are robust.

Table 2 column (6) reports the estimates. We find that, conditional on the number of children, having a daughter lowers gender slant by 0.490 standard deviations. In comparison, female judges tend to have about 0.713 lower gender slant than male judges in this sample. The effect is only significant at the 10% level, and is not robust to additionally controlling for two-way interactions for gender, party, and race. But, while these estimates should be interpreted carefully, it is interesting to note that they are potentially consistent with the view that gender exposure may be important for gender attitudes, in line with the recent literature on the effect of direct contact on attitudes towards specific groups (Lowe, 2019; Alesina et al., 2018; Corno et al., 2019).¹⁵

¹⁴The two explanations are not mutually exclusive. Exposure to women, and in particular having daughters, might matter for slant for potentially different reasons, including learning, empathy, or preference realignment (Glynn and Sen, 2015).

¹⁵To put the gender slant measure in perspective, Appendix ?? shows how the gender slant measure correlates with measures of implicit and explicit bias traditionally used in the literature.

5 Effect of Gender Slant on Judicial Decisions

This section asks whether gender slant influences how judges make decisions in gender-related cases. We estimate the following specification:

$$\text{Conservative Vote}_{jcit} = \beta \text{Gender Slant}_j + X_j' \gamma + \delta_{ct} + \varepsilon_{ictj} \quad (2)$$

where $\text{Conservative Vote}_{jcit}$ is an indicator variable equal to 1 if judge j of circuit c voted conservatively (against expanding women’s rights) in case i during year t , Gender Slant_j is the slant (standardized cosine similarity between the gender and career-family dimensions) of judge j , X_j are demographic characteristics of judge j (gender, party of nominating president, race, religion, region of birth, cohort of birth, law school attended, and whether the judge had federal experience prior to appointment), and δ_{ct} are circuit-year fixed effects. The circuit-year fixed effects δ_{ct} ensure that we are using within-circuit-year variation, for which cases are quasi-randomly assigned to panels. Instead, controlling for the demographic characteristics tests whether gender slant contains signal above and beyond that of other features of the judge. The dataset includes one observation for the vote of each judge in each case. Standard errors are clustered at the judge level.

Table 3 shows how slant affects decisions on gender-related cases. Column (1) estimates the baseline specification with demographic controls and circuit-year fixed effects. Judges with a one standard deviation higher slant are less likely to vote in favor of expanding women’s rights in gender-related cases by 4.2 percentage points. The coefficient is significant at the 1% level.^{16,17} The result is unchanged if we additionally control for two-way interactions of gender, party, and race (column (2)). Moreover, column (3) shows that the result is also robust to controlling for “career fixed effects”—indicator variables equal to 1 if the judge sat on at least one case in a given circuit over a 25-year period, which ensures that we are comparing judges who were exposed to

¹⁶Appendix Table 2 displays the result of the test proposed in Oster (2019) for bounding selection of unobservable based on selection on observables. Based on the test, selection seems to be limited in this setting: selection on unobservable characteristics would need to be twice as large as selection on observables for the treatment effect to equal 0.

¹⁷Appendix Figure 6 shows a binned scatterplot of the main relationship between gender slant and decisions in gender-related cases, conditional on demographic controls and circuit-year fixed effects.

similar cases.^{18,19}

The magnitude of the effect is sizable. In the baseline specification, a one standard deviation increase in the gender slant of the judge decreases the probability of voting in favor of expanding women’s rights by 4.2 percentage points. This corresponds to a 7% decrease over the outcome mean. To put this in perspective, the effect of increasing the gender slant measure by one standard deviation has around one-third of the effect of the judge being nominated by a Democratic President. Given that gender slant is measured with error, meanwhile, the estimates are likely to be attenuated toward zero. In short, gender slant affects decisions in gender-related cases, and therefore has the potential to influence real-world outcomes that are directly impacted by them (Chen and Sethi, 2018; Chen and Yeh, 2014c,a)). Gender slant *is* policy-relevant.

Robustness Checks. A potential concern with the gender slant measure is that the corpus of authored opinion might offer a limited reflection of the judges’ preferences, if judicial clerks are the ones responsible for drafting opinions. However, Appendix Table 7 column (1) shows that controlling for the share of the judges’ clerks that are women does not impact the results, suggesting that gender slant is not just proxying for clerk characteristics.

As a placebo test, we check whether the association between gender and positive/negative attributes, which does not appear to be a relevant measure of gender attitudes in this setting as discussed in Appendix A.1, holds any explanatory power in explaining decisions in gender-related cases. Reassuringly, Appendix Table 7 column (2) shows that this is not the case: the standardized cosine similarity between the gender and positive-negative dimensions is not correlated with decisions in gender-related cases.

Robustness to Word Set Choice. These results do not depend on the specific choice of words used for constructing the male-female and career-family dimension. We experiment with expanding or restricting the word sets, or dropping single words at a time, and present the results in Appendix Figure 10. In particular, the graph to the left shows the coefficient on slant from the

¹⁸Career fixed effects are different from circuit-year fixed effects: they are a biographical characteristic that refers to the career of the judge, and not a characteristic of the specific case. While random assignment of judges to cases ensures that judges are exposed to similar cases in a given circuit and year, it is still possible that the cases tried across circuits and years might be different. The aim of the career fixed effects is then to control for this by using variation across judges who served in similar years and areas. We are constrained in how detailed the career fixed effects can be by the relatively small number of judges in our sample.

¹⁹Appendix Table 6 shows the results are the same if we separately estimate the regression for the Epstein et al. (2013) and Glynn and Sen (2015) datasets.

baseline specification (equation (2)), together with 95% confidence intervals, from different regressions where slant is identified using the top five to top fifteen most frequent male, female, career, and family words from LIWC in the full judicial corpus. The graphs to the right show coefficients and 95% confidence intervals from separate regressions where slant is measured by dropping one attribute word at the time. Smaller word sets give larger confidence intervals and weaker explanatory power of decisions in gender-related cases, but the result is otherwise robust to the choice of the word sets. At the same time, no single word is driving the result: the main coefficient is remarkably stable across all the regressions displayed in the graphs to the right.

Gender Slant Excluding Gender-Related Cases. A potential concern with these results is that the gender slant measure could itself be determined by the texts of the gender-related case opinions. Under this argument, cases involving gender-normative situations (women at home and men at work) could be systematically correlated with more conservative decisions, and judges with higher slant might be more exposed to such cases in their careers. We believe this to be unlikely for the following reasons. First, as highlighted before, random assignment of judges to cases implies that cases are comparable within a given circuit and year. Still, while judges serving across circuits or time might be exposed to different types of cases, our results are robust to including judge cohort fixed effects and career fixed effects, which work to control for the types of cases judges have been exposed to. Second, gender-related cases constitute a small proportion of the texts in the full corpus: only 17,523 cases out of the 114,702 circuit court cases on which we train the judge-specific word embeddings are gender related.²⁰ Third, the bootstrap procedure we employ to train the word embeddings ensures that the measure is not driven by any specific opinions. Nonetheless, we also show directly that the results are not driven by writing in gender-related cases. As shown in Table 3 column (4), the result is unchanged if the gender slant measure is computed on embeddings trained excluding gender-related cases.²¹

²⁰We identify gender-related cases using a simple pattern-based sequence-classification method. The method identifies a case to be gender-related if it contains a word that is much more likely to appear in gender-related cases as identified by the Epstein et al. (2013) and Glynn and Senn (2015) datasets than in an equally sized random sample of cases not identified to be gender-related according to these two datasets. First, we match the cases identified to the related opinions string matching on citations and party names. We are able to match 86% of the cases. Second, we define a word to be gender-related if it is twenty-five times more likely to appear in gender-related cases versus non gender-related cases, and if it appears at least 500 times in gender-related cases.

²¹A less intuitive possibility is that gender slant might still proxy for differences in the types of cases that judges oversee, in which case we would be estimating the effect of exposure to such cases. Again, we believe that this is not a significant concern given that we control for judge characteristics such as cohort, and the fact that the results are robust to career fixed effects and to excluding gender-related cases where language might exhibit stereotypical associations.

Non-Gender-Related Cases. Finally, to make the case that gender slant proxies for gender preferences, we should expect it to have larger effects on gender-related cases as opposed to non-gender-related cases. Two separate datasets allow us to explore this question. First, we use the Epstein et al. (2013) dataset, which also includes decisions in ideologically divisive but non-gender-related issues such as age discrimination or campaign finance, to study the effect of gender slant on decisions in these types of cases. Appendix Table 8 column (3) shows that gender slant has a positive effect on voting conservatively in non-gender-related cases, but the effect is around two thirds as big as the effect of slant in gender-related cases. Two additional pieces of evidence are consistent with a gender-focused effect. If we estimate the baseline specification controlling for the share of conservative votes of the judge in non-gender-related cases, the effect of slant on conservative votes in gender-related cases is unchanged (Appendix Table 7). In addition, if we estimate a differences-in-differences specification in which we compare gender- and non-gender-related cases that are assigned to judges with different levels of gender slant, we find that judges with higher slant are more likely to vote conservatively in gender-related as opposed to non-gender-related cases (Appendix Table 9).

Second, we use the U.S. Court of Appeals datasets (Songer, 2008; Kuersten and Haire, 2011), which includes a 5% random sample of Circuit cases that were hand-coded for vote valence (liberal, conservative, or neutral/hard to code). Appendix Table 10 shows that gender slant has no effect on the probability of casting a liberal vote across all specifications. Taken together, these results show that while gender slant may be correlated with holding liberal views, the measure does indeed also capture attitudes that are specific to gender.²²

6 Effect of Gender Slant on Treatment of Female Judges

Female judges are the minority in U.S. Courts. In our data, around 10% of Circuit judges are women, and only 20% of panels include at least one female judge. As shown in Figure 6, there were very few female judges before the 1970s, with Judge Florence Einwood Allen being the notable early exception. There are likely many factors contributing to the gender disparity in judgeships (see for example Jacobi and Schweers (2017) on gender differences in interruptions of

²²The results are robust to restricting the sample after 1960, which is not surprising to the extent that 82% of the sample belongs to the post-1960 period.

Supreme Court judges). In this section we ask whether gender slant manifests itself in differential treatment by judges toward their female colleagues. We focus on dimensions that are relevant to a judge’s career. In particular, we explore the following outcomes: whether female judges are assigned the writing of majority opinions, whether lower-court decisions by female judges are more likely to be reversed with respect to lower-court decisions by male judges, and forward citations by future judges.

6.1 Effect of Gender Slant on Disparities in Opinion Authorship

In Circuit Courts, decisions are generally taken in conference by the three judges on the panel after oral arguments. The decision with the most votes becomes the majority position, and the judges in the majority then have to decide who is going to author the associated opinion. By custom, the most senior acting judge in the majority assigns the responsibility of writing, taking into consideration expertise, work load, and other factors (Bowie et al., 2014). The majority opinion articulates the principles behind the decision, which are binding law for lower courts (Rohde and Spaeth, 1976): the authoring of the opinion itself is an important task. Given the policy stakes of opinion assignment, a relevant question is whether the preferences of the senior judges affect this procedure. In particular, we investigate whether slanted senior judges are differentially likely to assign majority opinions to female judges.

In particular, we estimate the following specification:

$$Female\ Author_{ictj} = \beta Gender\ Slant_j^{SENIOR} + X_j^{SENIOR'} \gamma + \delta_{ct} + \varepsilon_{ictj} \quad (3)$$

where $Female\ Author_{ictj}$ is a dummy equal to 1 if the author of the majority opinion of case i in circuit c in year t decided by a panel with senior judge j is a female judge, $Gender\ Slant_j^{SENIOR}$ is the gender slant (standardized cosine similarity between the gender and career-family dimensions) of the most senior judge on the panel, X_j^{SENIOR} are demographic characteristics of the senior judge (gender, party of nominating president, race, religion, region of birth, cohort of birth, law school attended, and whether the judge had federal experience prior to appointment), and δ_{ct} are circuit-year fixed effects. The dataset includes one observation for each case. Standard errors are clustered

at the senior judge level.²³

For opinion assignment to a female or a male judge to be a meaningful decision, we drop per curiam (unsigned) opinions and restrict the sample to cases that have at least one female judge on the panel.²⁴ Since the decision to dissent or concur is possibly endogenous, we also exclude cases that contain either a dissent or a concurrence.²⁵

Table 4 reports the estimated effect of the gender slant of the assigning judge on the whether the authoring judge is female. Column (1) estimates the baseline specification. When the most senior judge on the panel has higher slant by one standard deviation, the majority opinion is less likely to be authored by one of the female judges by 1.7 percentage points, corresponding to a 4.5% decrease over the baseline probability.^{26,27} If the senior judge is a woman instead, there is 13.4 percentage points (35%) higher probability that the author of the opinion is a woman. While slant has a non-trivial effect on the gender of the authoring judge, the magnitude of the effect is substantially smaller than that of being female.

Column (2) shows that the result is unchanged when we include interacted controls. The result is not significant when we condition on “career fixed effects,” but the magnitude of the effect is comparable to that of the baseline specification (Column (3)). In addition, if we use a gender slant measure calculated based on embeddings trained excluding gender-related cases, the result is the same (column (4)). In short, judges with stronger stereotypical association towards gender are less likely to assign an important career-relevant task to female judges.

Robustness Checks. Appendix Table 12 shows that the result is robust to a number of additional specification checks. As before, in column (1) we control for the share of clerks that are female and find that it limitedly affects the main result: while the coefficient is no longer statistically significant – possibly because we have information on clerks only for a subset of the judges –

²³We determine the most senior judge on the panel using information on the career of appellate judges, and exclude from the analysis cases for which we could not precisely determine who the identity of the most senior judge on the case, mainly because of there being multiple judges appointed in the same year.

²⁴In Appendix Table 11 we check whether the gender slant of the panel’s senior judge affects the probability of having a specific author (columns (1) and (2)) or having a per curiam opinion (columns (3) and (4)), and find no effect.

²⁵In Appendix Table 11, we show that the slant of the most senior judge on the panel does not impact the probability of unanimous decisions – that is, having dissents or concurrences (columns (5) and (6)). We looked at the effect of gender slant on probability of dissenting against or concurring with female judges and did not find any effect.

²⁶Female judges are on average assigned opinions at the same rate as male judges. The baseline probability shown here is higher than 0.33 because we include panels with one, two or three female judges.

²⁷Appendix Figure 7 shows a binned scatterplot of the main relationship between gender slant and opinion assignment, conditional on demographic controls and circuit-year fixed effects.

it is very similar in magnitude. Reassuringly, in column (2) we show that the placebo association between gender and positive/negative attributes does not predict opinion assignment to a female judge. Column (3) shows that the result is not driven by confounded ideology of judges: if we control for a measure of how conservative a judge’s voting record is, the coefficient on slant is unchanged.

Given the large effect of the senior judge being female on the probability that the authoring judge is a woman and that female judges have lower gender slant, we might worry that self-assignments are the driver behind the main effect. Column (4) shows that this is not the case: if we re-estimate the main specification excluding cases where the most senior judge on the panel is a woman, we find the same effect. Column (5) shows instead that the main result is not sensitive to the inclusion of cases that had dissents or concurrences. Finally, Appendix Figure 11 shows that the results are robust to using different word sets to identify the gender and career-family dimensions.

Assignment of Different Types of Cases. This result raises the question of whether slanted judges also assign different types of cases to female judges. In Appendix A.10, we look but do not find evidence of any differences. The cases assigned to female judges by higher-slant judges are not concentrated in specific areas of the law and do not have different expected importance, as proxied by predicted forward citations (based on case characteristics), which is potentially an interesting result in light of the literature on discrimination in task assignments.

6.2 Effect of Gender Slant on Disparities in Reversals

District court trials are presided by a single judge and, similarly to the Appellate Level, cases are assigned to district judges quasi-randomly within each district year. Up to 40% of district cases are appealed and are therefore considered by circuit courts (Eisenberg, 2004). Importantly, reversals matter for career outcomes: as shown in Appendix Figure 15, district judges that see a higher share of their decisions reversed on appeal are less likely to be promoted to Circuit Courts.

Here, we ask whether judges with higher gender slant are differentially likely to reverse decisions authored by female district court judges. The empirical strategy we employ in this section is slightly different than the rest of the paper, although it also builds on quasi-random assignment of

circuit judges to cases and on conditioning on observable characteristics. In particular, we identify the effect of slant on reversals using a differences-in-differences design that compares appealed cases decided by female and male district judges that are assigned to circuit judges with different levels of gender slant. The identification assumption requires that cases originally decided by a male district judge and assigned to circuit judges with different level of slant provide a good control group for cases that were originally decided by a female district judge. The quasi-random assignment of cases to panels at the circuit level helps us in this respect: cases assigned to higher or lower slant are comparable. Importantly, the identification strategy allows for cases decided by female and male judges to be different, because they are appealed at different rates, as long as there is no systematic assignment of cases to higher and lower slant judges based on the likely reversal outcome.

We estimate the following baseline specification:

$$\begin{aligned} Voted\ to\ Reverse_{jictk} = & \pi Female\ District\ Judge_k * Gender\ Slant_j \\ & + Female\ District\ Judge_k * X_j' \gamma + \delta_{ct} + \delta_k + \delta_j + \varepsilon_{jictk} \end{aligned} \quad (4)$$

where $Voted\ to\ Reverse_{id\tau ctj}$ is an indicator variable equal to 1 if circuit judge j voted to reverse the district court decision in case i in circuit c in year t , originally decided by district judge k . On the right-hand side, $Gender\ Slant_j$ is the slant (standardized cosine similarity between the gender and career-family dimensions) of circuit judge j , $Female\ District\ Judge_k$ is a dummy equal to 1 if the district judge is female, X_j are demographic controls for the circuit court judge (gender, party of nominating president, race, religion, region of birth, cohort of birth, law school attended, and whether the judge had federal experience prior to appointment), δ_{ct} are circuit-year fixed effects, δ_k are district judge fixed effects, and δ_j are circuit judge fixed effects. The dataset includes one observation for the vote of each judge in each case. Standard errors are clustered at the circuit judge level.

The inclusion of the circuit-year fixed effects δ_{ct} ensures comparability of cases assigned to higher and lower slanted judges because of quasi-random assignment of cases to judges, while as before, controlling for the demographic characteristics X_j shows that gender slant matters independently of other judge characteristics. The inclusion of district judge fixed effects δ_k ensures

that we are comparing what happens when cases decided at the district court level by the same judge are assigned to circuit judges with higher and lower slant. Finally, the circuit judge fixed effects δ_j allow for circuit judges to differ in their baseline probability of reversing a district court decision.

Table 5 column (1) shows the estimates from the baseline specification. Circuit judges with a one standard deviation higher slant are 1 percentage point (5.6%) more likely to vote to reverse a district court decision if the district judge is female, relative to when the district judge is male. Other characteristics of the circuit judge do not make a difference: being appointed by a Democratic President or being female is unrelated to disparately voting to reverse female district judges.²⁸ Interestingly, female district judges are 2.3 percentage points less likely to be reversed, and we observe gender slant to go against this gradient.

The result is robust to controlling for two-way interactions between the district judge being female and the circuit judge being female and Democratic (column (2)), and to including district-year fixed effects which are not needed for identification but might increase precision (column (3)). In addition, using a gender slant measure calculated based on embeddings trained excluding gender-related cases barely affects the coefficient (column (4)).

Robustness Checks. Appendix Table 14 shows that the main effect on reversals is robust to a number of additional robustness checks. In particular, controlling for the share of female clerks (column (1)), including a placebo association between gender and positive/negative attributes (column (2)), and controlling for the circuit judge’s vote record in ideologically divisive (column (3)) do not make a difference. In addition, column (4) shows that the main effect is stable to restricting the sample to the post-1980 period when there were likely to be more female district judges. Appendix Figure 12 shows that the results are robust to using different word sets to identify the gender and career-family dimensions.

Back-of-the-Envelope Calculation. Given that reversals have a negative effect on district judges’ promotion, slant has the potential to hinder the career progression of female district judges with respect to male district judges. Using estimates on the effect of reversals on the probability that district judges get elevated to Appellate Courts, we can try to estimate the magnitude of this

²⁸Appendix Figure 7 shows a binned scatterplot of the main relationship between gender slant and reversals separately by gender of the district judge, conditional on demographic controls and circuit-year fixed effects. It appears that low slant judges are less likely to reverse female judges with respect to males.

effect in a back-of-the-envelope calculation. In particular, we find that a female judge whose appealed decisions were assigned to circuit judges with on average a one standard deviation higher slant would be 6.3% less likely to be elevated than a male judge faced with similarly slanted circuit judges.²⁹

6.3 Effect of Gender Slant on Disparities in Citations

The last career-related outcome we examine are citations. Law depends on precedent, and deciding which cases to cite in a specific opinion is a non-trivial decision: “Judges [and] lawyers who brief and argue cases [...] could all be thought, with only slight exaggeration, to make their living in part by careful citation of judicial decisions” (Posner, 2000). Meanwhile, many judges admit to monitoring and caring about whether they are cited by other judges (Posner, 2008), and citations to cases are commonly understood as a measure of judge quality (Ash and MacLeod, 2015). This measure is therefore relevant to judicial careers, and differential treatment of male and female judges in citation choices presents another potential domain for high-stakes discrimination. In this section we analyze this type of differential treatment: are gender attitudes among judges reflected in their decisions about which precedents to cite in their opinions? In particular, we ask whether judges with higher gender slant are differentially likely to cite opinions authored by female judges.

Identification once again relies on random assignment of cases to judge panels. Conditional on circuit-year fixed effects, cases assigned to different panels are comparable. However, choice of authorship is endogenous. Even if the fact that we control for a number of judge characteristics improves comparability across judges, it is possible that judges with higher gender slant are systematically assigned authorship of cases for which it would be optimal to differentially cite female judges: the results in this sections have to be interpreted carefully.

The specification we estimate is:

$$Cites\ Female\ Judge_{ictj} = \beta Gender\ Slant_j + X_j' \gamma + \delta_{ct} + \varepsilon \quad (5)$$

²⁹In fact, Appendix Table 15 shows that an increase from 0 to 1 in the share of votes to reverse the district court decision on appeal implies a 38 percentage points decrease in the probability of being elevated. The calculation follows from the fact that female district judges have around a 6.8% baseline probability of being elevated. Interestingly, the relationship between reversals and promotions is not differential by gender of the district judge.

where $Cites\ Female\ Judge_{ictj}$ is an indicator variable equal to 1 if the opinion of case i authored by judge j in circuit c during year t cites at least one opinion authored by a female judge, $Gender\ Slant_j$ is the slant (standardized cosine similarity between the gender and career-family dimensions) of judge j , X_j are demographic characteristics of judge j (gender, party of nominating president, race, religion, region of birth, cohort of birth, law school attended, and whether the judge had federal experience prior to appointment), and δ_{ct} are circuit-year fixed effects. The dataset includes one observation for each case, and is restricted to cases in which the opinion was authored by a specific judge. Standard errors are clustered at the judge level.

Table 6 shows the estimates from Equation (5) on how gender slant affects the probability of citing at least one female judge. Column (1) reports the estimates from the baseline specification. Judges with a one standard deviation higher gender slant are 1 percentage point less likely to cite any opinions authored by female judges. The effect is significant at the 10% level, and relatively small in magnitude (2.6% of the outcome mean), especially if compared to the effect of the author being a woman (12.8 percentage points or 34%). Including interacted controls does not affect the result (column (2)), and neither does including career fixed effects (column (3)). However, the result is not statistically robust to using gender slant measured on embeddings trained excluding gender-related cases (column (4)).³⁰

Robustness Checks. Appendix Table 16 elaborates on the robustness of the main effect on citations with different specifications and sample restrictions. The main effect is not robust to controlling for the share of female clerks (column (1)), perhaps because clerks are important when determining decisions or simply because of the smaller sample size. Instead, including the placebo association between gender and positive/negative attributes (column (2)) and controlling for the circuit judge's vote record in ideologically divisive (column (3)) limitedly impact the main coefficient. In addition, column (4) shows that the main effect is stable to restricting the sample to the post-1980 period when there were likely to be more female district judges.

As with opinion assignment, the large effect of being a female judge on citations suggests that the result might be explained by self-citations. Even when we define the outcome excluding self-cites, however, gender slant has a negative and statistically significant at the 10% level on the

³⁰Appendix Figure 9 shows a binned scatterplot of the relationship between gender slant and citations, conditional on demographic controls and circuit-year fixed effects.

probability of citing a female judge. Interestingly, however, when self-cites are excluded, female judges appear to be less likely to cite other female judges. Finally, the effect is robust to using different word sets (Appendix Figure 13). Overall, judges with higher gender slant appear to be less likely to cite opinions authored by female judges, although the effect is less robust than other findings presented in the paper and should be interpreted with special caution because of potential endogeneity.

6.4 Other Judge Characteristics Besides Gender

To strengthen the argument that lexical gender slant is indeed proxying for gender preferences, we explore whether gender slant also affects treatment of judges with different demographic characteristics – namely, political leanings, minority status, and age.

Opinion Assignment. First, Appendix Table 17 explores the effect of gender slant of the most senior judge of the panel on opinion assignment to whether the authoring judge is Democrat, whether the authoring judge is minority, and the age of the authoring judge. We find that judges with higher slant are not differentially likely to assign the opinion of the court to a Democratic judge (column (1)), which is reassuring that the measure is indeed a meaningful proxy for attitudes toward gender specifically. Consistent with this idea, columns (2) and (3) show that slant does not impact the probability of the judge assigning the opinion to a minority judge, or by the age of the judge.

Reversals. Second, we check whether judges with higher gender slant are also more likely to reverse decisions of district judges with different characteristics. Appendix Table 18 shows that when circuit judges with higher slant decide on cases of district judges that were appointed by a Democratic President, they are not differentially likely to reverse them than cases of district judges that were appointed by a Republican President (column (1)). Circuit judges with higher slant, however, appear more likely to reverse cases in which the district judge is a minority (column (2)).

Citations. Finally, Appendix Table 19 shows that judges with higher gender slant are less likely to cite opinions authored by Democrat-appointed judges (column (1)). Instead, gender slant does not affect the probability of citing minority judges (column (2)) or the average age of the judges cited (column (3)). Interestingly, judges with higher slant are more likely to cite opinions authored

by judges with higher slant as well, and this pattern is not due to judge gender or party.

Overall, these results suggest that gender is the salient characteristic to which judges with higher gender slant respond: gender slant specifically proxies for attitudes towards women.

7 Conclusions

This paper investigates the role of stereotypical gender attitudes in U.S. Circuit Courts. We find that stereotypical attitudes, at least as far as they are expressed in judicial writing, matter. Judges with higher gender slant vote more conservatively on women’s-rights cases, are less likely to assign opinions to women, are more likely to reverse district courts decisions when the district judge is a woman, and cite fewer opinions authored by female judges.

These findings add to the literature on gender attitudes by showing that they matter even for skilled professionals making high-stakes, public-oriented decisions. Our text-based metric is a proxy for a psychological factor, and so the policy implications of the results should be considered with caution. We doubt, for example, that forcing judges to use less stereotypical language would causally shift their decisions in gender law or their behavior toward female colleagues.

This research can be extended in a number of directions. First, it would be important to know how well text-based measures of gender attitudes correlate with other measures, such as scores on the implicit association test. Second, the text-based metrics could be computed for other decision-makers such as politicians, journalists, and professors. In these domains, as with judges, there are no traditional measures of stereotypes, but large corpora of text are available.

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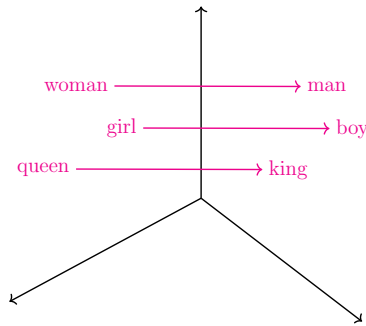
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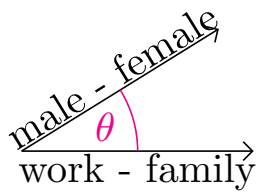
Figure 1: Identifying a Gender Dimension in a Vector Space



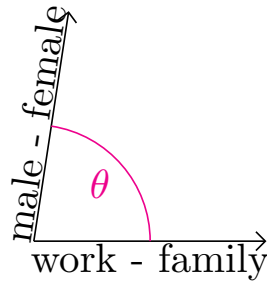
Notes: The figure exemplifies how a gender dimension can be identified in a vector space based on the difference between vectors representing male and female words.

Figure 2: Measuring Gender Stereotypes using Cosine Similarity

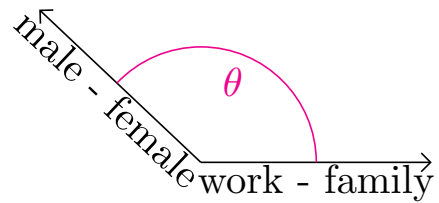
(a) Slant ≈ 1



(b) Slant ≈ 0

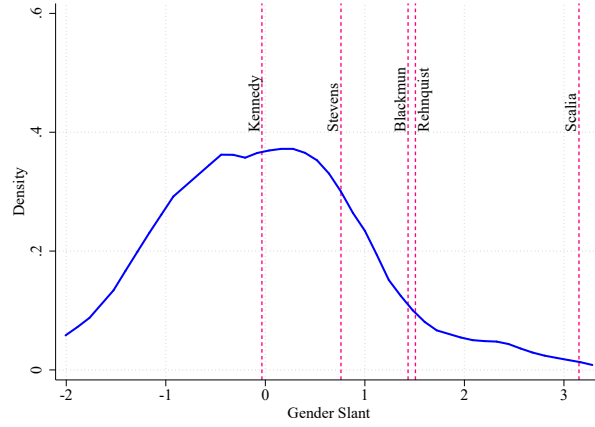


(c) Slant ≈ -1



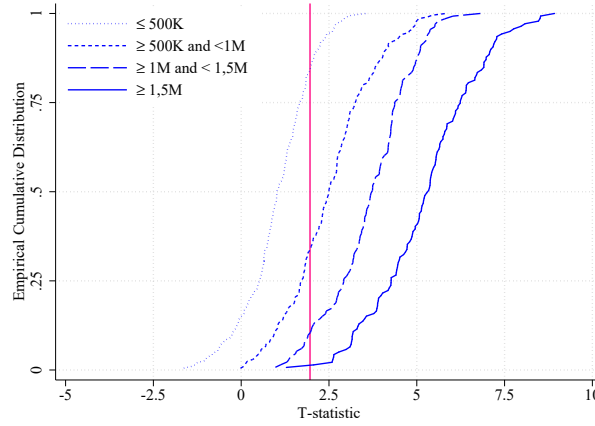
Notes: The figures exemplify how gender slant varies depending on the relative position of the gender and career/family dimensions in the vector space.

Figure 3: Distribution of Gender Slant



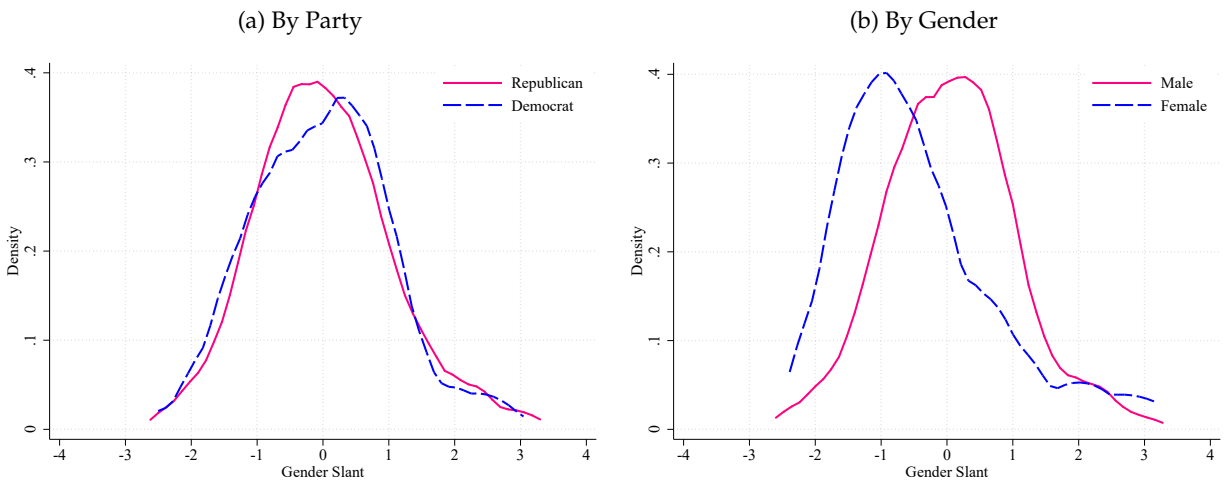
Notes: The graph shows the distribution of the slant measure for the 139 judges in the sample. The vertical lines indicate the gender slant of a sample of Supreme Court justices who were appointed after 1970 and have a corpus of at least 1,000,000 tokens. The gender slant of Supreme Court justices is measured by training embeddings on the Supreme Court majority opinions that were authored by them.

Figure 4: Judge-Specific Word Embeddings Capture Gender Information



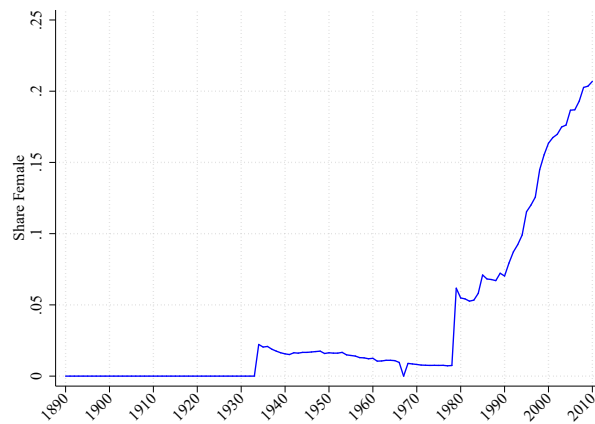
Notes: The graph shows that the gender dimension in judge-specific word embeddings captures gender information when the corpus of the judge is sufficiently large. In particular, we test whether male first names have a higher cosine similarity with the gender dimension than female names in the judge-specific embeddings. The graph reports the cumulative distribution of the t-statistics resulting from a series of regressions of an indicator variable equal to 1 if the name is male on the median cosine similarity between the vector representing the name and the gender dimension across bootstrap samples for each judge, by number of tokens included in the judge's corpus. We focus on the most common 25 male and female names according to the 1990 Population Census. The graph shows that for almost all judges with at least 1,500,000 tokens, there is a positive and significant at the 5% level correlation between the gender connotation of a name and a dummy indicating the correct gender, while this is not the case for judges with smaller corpora.

Figure 5: Gender Slant, by Party and Gender



Notes: The graphs show the distribution of the slant measure, by party of nominating President (graph to the left) and by judge gender (graph to the right).

Figure 6: Share of Circuit Judges who are Female, 1890-2010



Notes: The graph shows the share of Circuit Judges belonging to the original ten circuits who are female in each year 1890-2010.

Table 1: Word Sets

Male	his, he, him, mr, himself, man, men, king, male, fellow
Female	her, she, ms, women, woman, female, herself, girl, girls, queen
Career	company, inc, work, business, service, pay, corp, employee, employment, benefits
Family	family, wife, husband, mother, father, parents, son, brother, parent, brothers

Table 2: Correlates of Gender Slant

Dependent Variable	Gender Slant					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Democrat	-0.027 (0.172)				-0.003 (0.178)	0.083 (0.269)
Female		-0.502* (0.288)			-0.592*** (0.202)	-0.713** (0.276)
Minority			-0.098 (0.329)		-0.164 (0.194)	0.453 (0.283)
Born in 1920s				-0.069 (0.191)	0.080 (0.208)	0.152 (0.299)
Born in 1930s				-0.765*** (0.203)	-0.740*** (0.234)	-0.606* (0.336)
Born after 1940				-0.537** (0.229)	-0.558** (0.258)	-0.381 (0.338)
Daughter						-0.490* (0.275)
Observations	139	139	139	139	139	98
Outcome Mean	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	-0.085
Adjusted R2	-0.007	0.020	-0.007	0.087	0.440	0.529
Circuit FE					X	X
Additional Demographic Controls					X	X
Number of Children FE						X

Notes: The table shows the correlation between judges' demographic characteristics and gender slant. We regress slant on demographic controls in separate regressions (columns (1) to (4)) and in a multivariate regression that includes additional controls and circuit fixed effects (column (5)). The additional controls are region of birth, religion, law school attended, and whether the judge had federal experience prior to being appointed to an Appellate Court. The omitted category for judge cohort are judges born before 1920. In column (6) we additionally include an indicator variable for having at least one daughter, and number of children fixed effects. Standard errors are robust. Data on judges' family composition is from Glynn and Sen (2015). *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

Table 3: Effect of Gender Slant on Decisions in Gender-Related Cases

Dependent Variable	Conservative Vote			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Gender Slant	0.042*** (0.013)	0.042*** (0.013)	0.051*** (0.014)	0.046*** (0.012)
Democrat	-0.143*** (0.025)	-0.150*** (0.027)	-0.135*** (0.023)	-0.147*** (0.025)
Female	-0.033 (0.033)	-0.060 (0.053)	-0.018 (0.025)	-0.035 (0.034)
Observations	3086	3086	3086	3086
Clusters	113	113	113	113
Outcome Mean	0.606	0.606	0.606	0.606
Circuit-Year FE	X	X	X	X
Issue FE	X	X	X	X
Additional Demographic Controls	X	X	X	X
Interacted Demographic Controls		X		
Career FE			X	
Slant Excluding Gender-Related Cases				X

Notes: The table shows the effect of gender slant on decisions in gender-related cases (cases related to reproductive rights, gender discrimination, and sexual harassment). We regress an indicator variable equal to 1 if a judge voted conservatively in a gender-related case on the gender slant of the judge, demographic controls, circuit-year fixed effects, and dataset-specific issue fixed effects. Demographic controls are gender, party of appointing President, region of birth, cohort of birth, religion, law school attended, and whether the judge had federal experience prior to being appointed to an Appellate Court. Column (2) additionally controls for two-way interactions of gender, party and race. Column (3) includes instead "career fixed effects", which are indicator variables equal to 1 if the judge sat on at least one panel in a given circuit over a given 25-year period. Column (4) calculates gender slant using embeddings trained excluding gender-related cases. The dataset includes one observation for the vote of each judge in each case, and data on votes on gender-related cases are from Epstein et al. (2013)'s update of Sunstein's (2006) data and Glynn and Sen (2015). Standard errors are clustered at the judge level. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

Table 4: Effect of Assigning-Judge Gender Slant on Author Gender

Dependent Variable	Author is Female			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Gender Slant	-0.017** (0.008)	-0.016* (0.008)	-0.014 (0.010)	-0.016** (0.008)
Democrat	-0.001 (0.014)	0.000 (0.015)	-0.012 (0.016)	0.002 (0.014)
Female	0.134*** (0.016)	0.178*** (0.044)	0.158*** (0.017)	0.137*** (0.016)
Observations	32052	32052	32052	32052
Clusters	125	125	125	125
Outcome Mean	0.383	0.383	0.383	0.383
Circuit-Year FE	X	X	X	X
Additional Demographic Controls	X	X	X	X
Interacted Demographic Controls		X		
Career FE			X	
Slant Excluding Gender-Related Cases				X

Notes: The table shows the effect of the gender slant of the most senior judge on the panel, who is in charge of assigning opinion authorship, on the gender of the judge authoring the majority decision. We regress an indicator variable equal to 1 if the authoring judge is female on the gender slant of the most senior judge on the panel, demographic controls for the most senior judge, and circuit-year fixed effects. Demographic controls are gender, party of appointing President, region of birth, cohort of birth, religion, law school attended, and whether the judge had federal experience prior to being appointed to an Appellate Court. Column (2) additionally controls for two-way interactions of gender, party and race. Column (3) controls instead for "career fixed effects", which are indicator variables equal to 1 if the judge sat on at least one panel in a given circuit over a given 25-year period. Column (4) calculates gender slant using embeddings trained excluding gender-related cases. The dataset includes one observation for each case. The sample is restricted to cases with a specific author, with at least one female judge on the panel, and that were decided unanimously. Standard errors are clustered at the senior judge level. *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$.

Table 5: Differential Effect of Gender Slant on Reversals of District Court Cases by Gender of District Judge

Dependent Variable	Votes to Reverse District Decision			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Gender Slant * Female District Judge	0.010*** (0.004)	0.011*** (0.004)	0.012*** (0.004)	0.009** (0.004)
Democrat * Female District Judge	-0.010 (0.006)	-0.013** (0.006)	-0.010 (0.006)	-0.011* (0.006)
Female * Female District Judge	-0.003 (0.010)	-0.047** (0.019)	-0.005 (0.011)	-0.005 (0.010)
Observations	145862	145862	145563	145862
Clusters	133	133	133	133
Outcome Mean for Male Judges	0.180	0.180	0.180	0.180
Outcome Mean for Female Judges	0.157	0.157	0.157	0.157
Circuit-Year FE	X	X	X	X
Judge FE	X	X	X	X
District Judge FE	X	X	X	X
Additional Demographic Controls	X	X	X	X
Interacted Demographic Controls		X		
District-Year FE			X	
Slant Excluding Gender-Related Cases				X

Notes: The table shows the differential effect of gender slant on the probability of reversal of decisions of male and female District Judges. We regress an indicator variable equal to 1 if the judge votes to reverse the district decision on the gender slant of the judge interacted with an indicator variable for whether the district judge is female, demographic controls interacted with an indicator variable for whether the district judge is female, judge fixed effects, district judge fixed effects and circuit-year fixed effects. Demographic controls are gender, party of appointing President, region of birth, cohort of birth, religion, law school attended, and whether the judge had federal experience prior to being appointed to an Appellate Court. Column (2) additionally controls for two-way interactions of gender, party and race. Column (3) includes district-year fixed effects. Column (4) calculates gender slant using embeddings trained excluding gender-related cases. The dataset includes one observation for the vote of each judge in each case. The sample is restricted to cases for which we were able to determine the identity of the district judge. Standard errors are clustered at the judge level. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

Table 6: Effect of Gender Slant on the Probability of Citing a Female Judge

Dependent Variable	Cites at Least One Female Judge			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Gender Slant	-0.010* (0.005)	-0.009* (0.005)	-0.013* (0.007)	-0.005 (0.005)
Democrat	-0.012 (0.011)	-0.017 (0.010)	-0.018* (0.010)	-0.011 (0.011)
Female	0.128*** (0.016)	0.109* (0.058)	0.139*** (0.015)	0.131*** (0.016)
Observations	107923	107923	107923	107923
Clusters	139	139	139	139
Outcome Mean	0.383	0.383	0.383	0.383
Circuit-Year FE	X	X	X	X
Additional Demographic Controls	X	X	X	X
Interacted Demographic Controls		X		
Career FE			X	
Slant Excluding Gender-Related Cases				X

Notes: The table shows the effect of gender slant on the probability of citing at least one female judge. We regress a dummy equal to 1 if the majority opinion cites at least one case authored by a woman on the gender slant of the judge, demographic controls and circuit-year fixed effects. Demographic controls are gender, party of appointing President, region of birth, cohort of birth, religion, law school attended, and whether the judge had federal experience prior to being appointed to an Appellate Court. Column (2) additionally controls for two-way interactions of gender, party and race. Column (3) includes instead "career fixed effects", which are indicator variables equal to 1 if the judge sat on at least one case in a given circuit over a 25-year period. Column (4) calculates gender slant using embeddings trained excluding gender-related cases. The dataset includes one observation for each case. The sample is restricted to cases in which the opinion is authored by a specific judge. Standard errors are clustered at the judge level. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

A Appendix

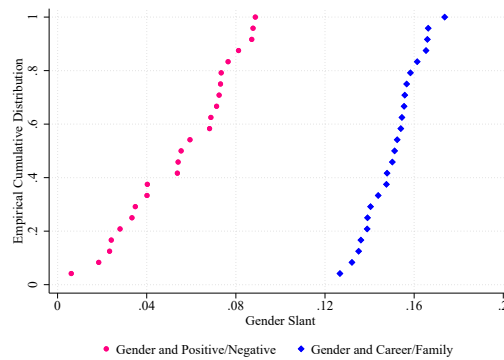
A.1 Alternative Stereotypical Dimensions

Appendix Table 1: Median Word Count by Concept

Concept	Median Word Count
Male	1,114,493
Female	24,563
Career	359,683.5
Family	44,925
Positive	43,651
Negative	73,200
Art	12,399
Science	5,117.5

Notes: The table shows the median number of times that words used to define the gender, career/family, positive/negative, and art/science dimensions appear in the full judicial corpus.

Appendix Figure 1: Cumulative Distribution of Gender Slant based on the Association Considered

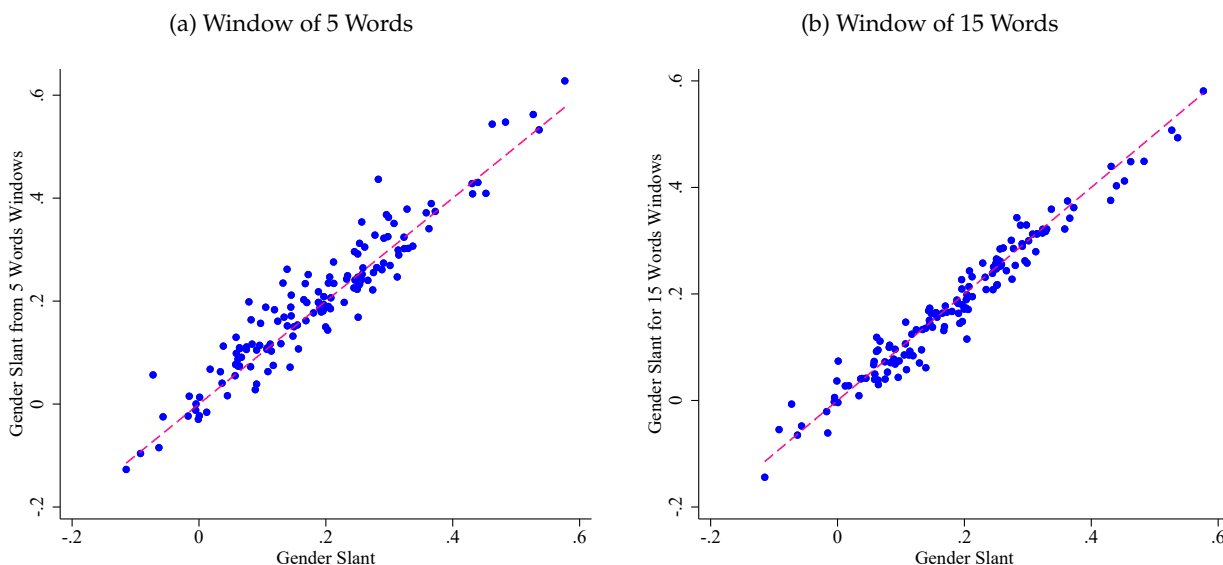


Notes: The graph shows the empirical cumulative distribution of gender slant measured using the stereotypical association between males and career versus female and family as opposed to the stereotypical association between male and positive attributes versus female and negative attributes. The distribution comes for the 24 repetitions of bootstrapped embeddings for the full judicial corpus.

A.2 Correlation of Gender Slant for Embeddings Trained using Different Parameters

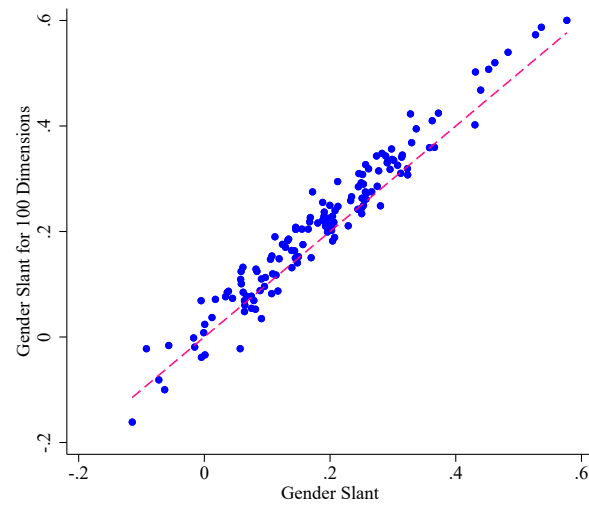
A key hyperparameter for GloVe is the window size for computing co-occurrence statistics. Here, we show that gender slant measures obtained from embeddings estimated using a 5, 10, or 15 window size are highly correlated. In particular, the two scatterplots below illustrate the correlation between the baseline gender slant measure we use in the paper, obtained using a 10 window size, and gender slant obtained using a 5 word window size (graph to the left) or a 15 word window size (graph to the right). Both scatterplots are clustered around the 45 degree line, which illustrates the strong correlation across the measures, although it is worth noting that the correlation is lower for smaller window sizes than for larger ones. Similarly, training lower (100- as opposed to 300-) dimensional embeddings leaves the gender slant measure almost unchanged.

Appendix Figure 2: Correlation of Gender Slant for Embeddings of Different Window Sizes



Notes: The graphs show a scatter plot of the gender slant measure obtained by training embeddings using different window sizes to construct the co-occurrence matrix.

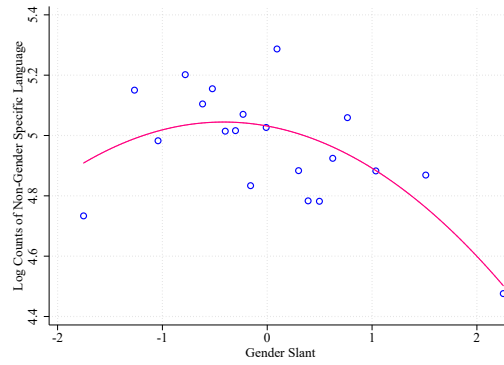
Appendix Figure 3: Correlation of Gender Slant for Embeddings of Different Dimensions



Notes: The graph shows a scatter plot of the gender slant measure obtained by training 100-dimensional and 300-dimensional embeddings.

A.3 Non-Gender Specific Language and Gender Slant

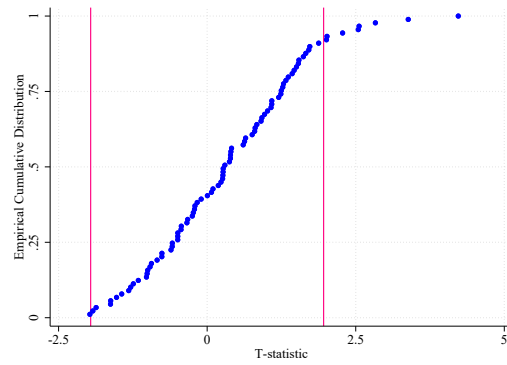
Appendix Figure 4: Non-Gender Specific Language and Gender Slant



Notes: The graph shows a binned scatterplot of the relationship between use of non-gender specific language (e.g. "himself or herself", "he or she") and gender slant, conditional on total size of the corpus (log number of tokens).

A.4 Randomization

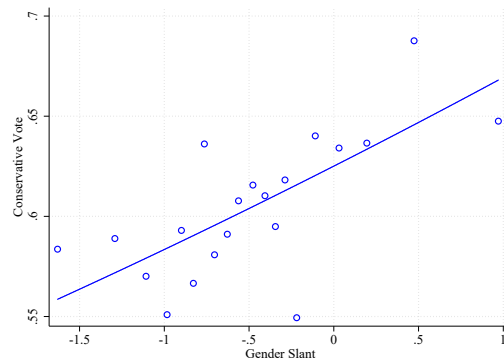
Appendix Figure 5: Randomization Check



Notes: The graph shows the cumulative distribution of the t-statistics from a series of regressions of an indicator variable for a given topic on the gender slant of the judge and circuit-year fixed effects. Standard errors are clustered at the judge level.

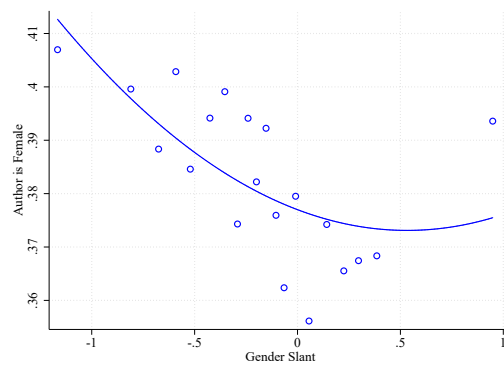
A.5 Binscatter Plots

Appendix Figure 6: Gender Slant and Decisions in Gender-Related Cases



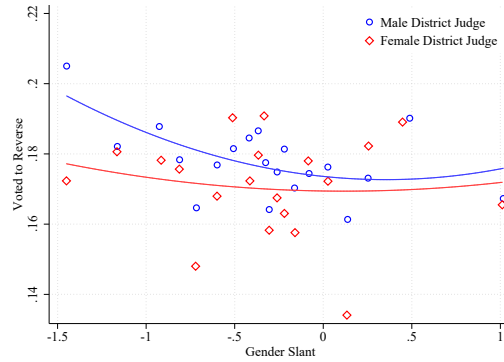
Notes: The graph shows a binned scatterplot of the relationship between gender slant and the probability that a judge votes conservatively in a gender-related case, conditional on demographic controls and circuit-year fixed effects. Demographic controls are gender, party of appointing President, region of birth, cohort of birth, religion, law school attended, and whether the judge had federal experience prior to being appointed to an Appellate Court.

Appendix Figure 7: Assigning-Judge Gender Slant and Author Gender



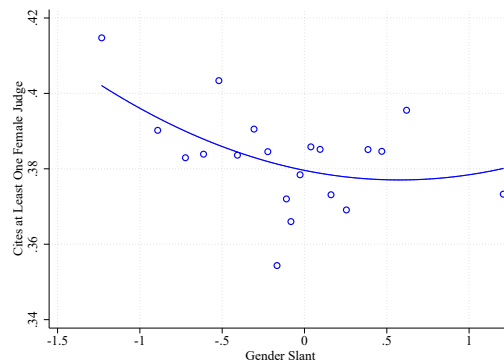
Notes: The graph shows a binned scatterplot of the relationship between the gender slant of the most senior judge on the panel, who is in charge of assigning opinion authorship, and the gender of the authoring judge, conditional on demographic controls and circuit-year fixed effects. Demographic controls are gender, party of appointing President, region of birth, cohort of birth, religion, law school attended, and whether the judge had federal experience prior to being appointed to an Appellate Court. The sample is restricted to cases with a specific author, with at least one female judge on the panel, and that were decided unanimously.

Appendix Figure 8: Gender Slant and Reversals, by District Judge Gender



Notes: The graph shows a binned scatterplot of the relationship between gender slant and the probability of voting to reverse the district court decision by the gender of the district judge, conditional on demographic controls and circuit-year fixed effects. Demographic controls are gender, party of appointing President, region of birth, cohort of birth, religion, law school attended, and whether the judge had federal experience prior to being appointed to an Appellate Court. The sample is restricted to cases for which we were able to determine the identity of the district judge.

Appendix Figure 9: Gender Slant and Probability of Citing a Female Judge



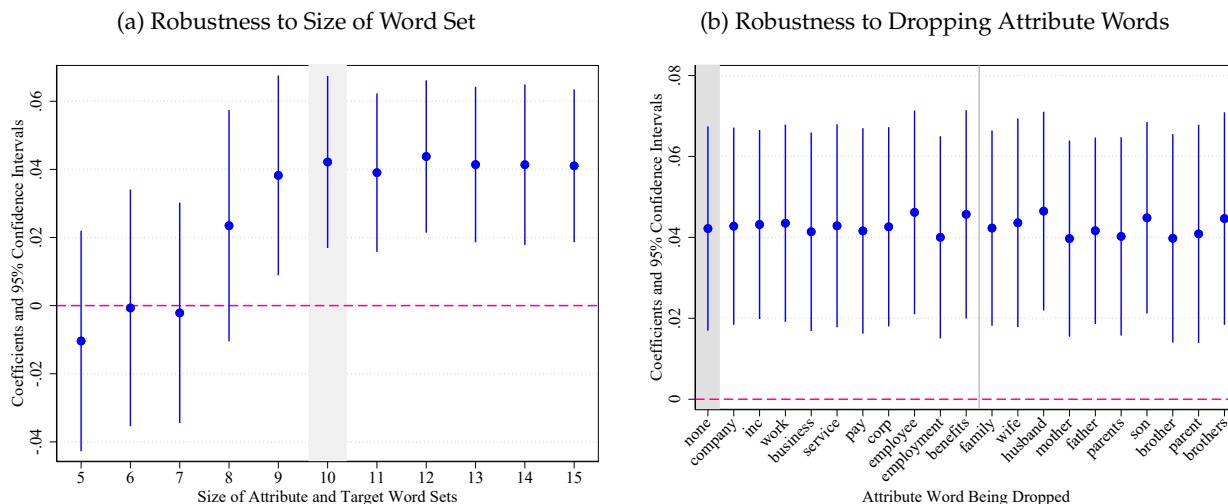
Notes: The graph shows a binned scatterplot of the relationship between gender slant and the probability of citing at least one female judge, conditional on demographic controls and circuit-year fixed effects. Demographic controls are gender, party of appointing President, region of birth, cohort of birth, religion, law school attended, and whether the judge had federal experience prior to being appointed to an Appellate Court. The sample is restricted to cases in which the opinion is authored by a specific judge.

A.6 Robustness to Different Word Choice

An important choice we made when constructing the lexical gender slant measure was which words to use to identify the gender and career-family dimension in the word embedding space. As we explain in Section 2.3, we followed a principled procedure which selected the words from the Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count Dictionary associated with a given concept that appeared more frequently in the judicial corpus.

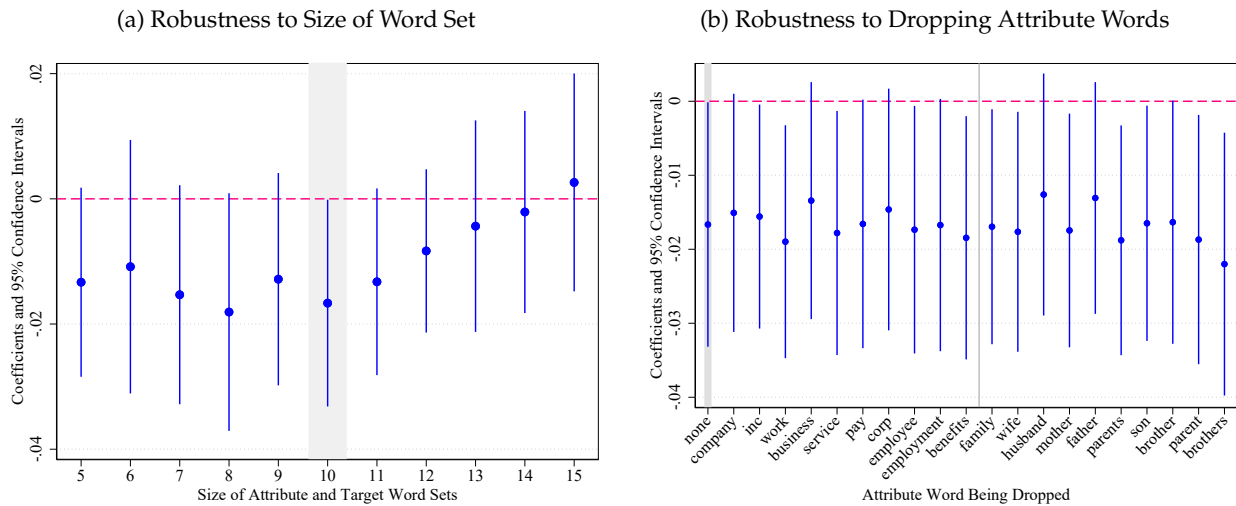
In this section, we explore how the main results of the paper are affected by perturbation of the word sets used. First, we show how the results are affected if we choose the top 5 to top 15 most frequent words appearing in the judicial corpus. Second, we show how the results change if we drop one word used to identify the career-family dimension at the time. Overall, the results appear to be robust to the choice of words used to identify the two dimensions.

Appendix Figure 10: Effect of Gender Slant on Gender-Related Decisions, Robustness to Word Set Choice

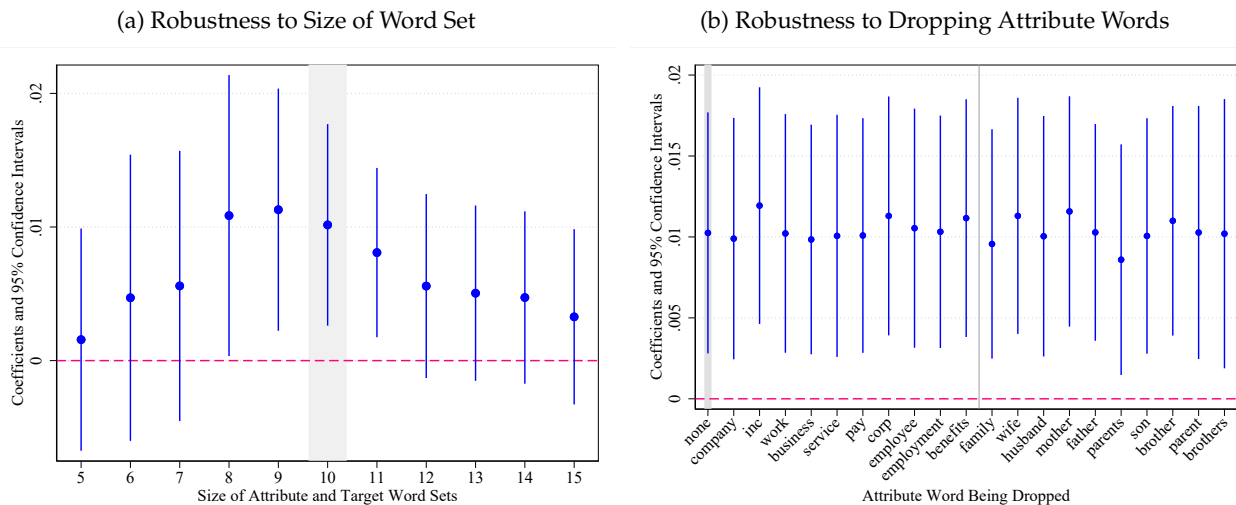


Notes: The graphs show how the effect of gender slant on decisions in gender-related cases varies based on the word sets used to identify the gender and attribute dimension. The graph on the left shows robustness to using word sets of different sizes; the graph on the right shows robustness to dropping one attribute word at the time. The graphs show the coefficient on gender slant, together with 95% confidence intervals. We regress an indicator variable equal to 1 if a judge voted conservatively in gender-related cases on the gender slant of the judge, demographic controls, and circuit-year fixed effects. Demographic controls are gender, party of appointing President, region of birth, cohort of birth, religion, law school attended, and whether the judge had federal experience prior to being appointed to an Appellate Court. Standard errors are clustered at the judge level.

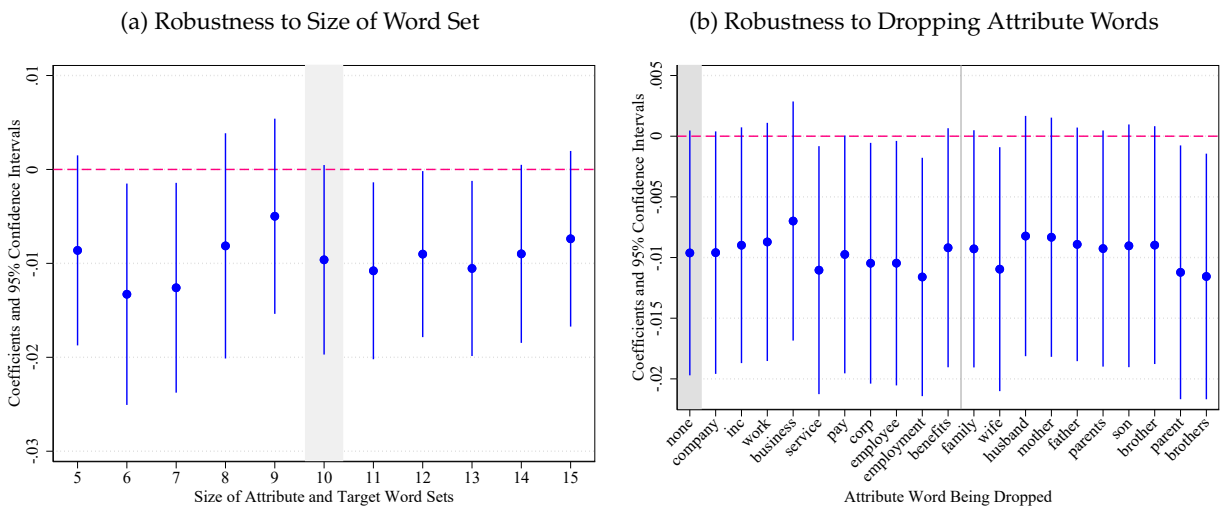
Appendix Figure 11: Effect of Assigning-Judge Gender Slant on Author Gender, Robustness to Word Set Choice



Appendix Figure 12: Differential Effect of Gender Slant on Reversals in District Court Cases by Gender of District Judge, Robustness to Word Set Choice



Appendix Figure 13: Effect of Gender Slant on the Probability of Citing a Female Judge, Robustness to Word Set Choice



Notes: The graphs show how the effect of the gender slant of the author of the opinion on the probability of citing at least one female judge varies based on the word sets used to identify the gender and attribute dimension. The graph on the left shows robustness to using word sets of different sizes; the graph on the right shows robustness to dropping one attribute word at the time. The graphs show the coefficient on gender slant, together with 95% confidence intervals. We regress an indicator variable equal to 1 if the opinion cites at least one female judge on the gender slant of the judge, demographic controls, and circuit-year fixed effects. Demographic controls are gender, party of appointing President, region of birth, cohort of birth, religion, law school attended, and whether the judge had federal experience prior to being appointed to an Appellate Court. The sample is restricted to cases in which the opinion is authored by a specific judge. Standard errors are clustered at the judge level.

A.7 Oster (2019) Test for Selection on Unobservables

Our identification strategy relies on two assumptions: first, random assignment of judges to cases – which ensures that gender slant is not systematically related to the outcome; and second, on conditioning on a detailed set of observable characteristics – which ensures that gender slant is not proxying for other characteristics of the judge (other than gender preferences). Of course, judges with different levels of gender slant might still be different according to some unobservable characteristic. In this section, we provide some suggestive evidence on the extent to which this is an issue by implementing the test proposed by Oster (2019). The test assesses the amount of selection on unobservables that is plausible in a setting by looking at the change in the coefficient of interest from an uncontrolled regression to a regression that includes all controls, scaled by the change in R^2 .

The tables below report the coefficient from the uncontrolled regression (column (1)), where we drop the demographic controls for the judge, and the coefficient from the controlled regression (column (2)). We perform the test for three different levels of $\overline{R_{max}}$, which is the R^2 of a regression that included all unobservable characteristics. Based on the recommendations in Oster (2019), we consider three different values of $\overline{R_{max}}$: 1.5, 2, and 5 times the R^2 of the controlled regression. For each value of $\overline{R_{max}}$, we then compute the degree of selection on unobservables as a proportion of the selection on observables that would be needed to obtain a bias-adjusted coefficient equal to 0.

Overall, selection of unobservables does not appear to be a major concern. The exception is the effect of gender slant on citations, where the bias-adjusted treatment effect would be zero if selection on unobservable were only half as large as the amount of selection on observables.

Appendix Table 2: Oster Test: Effect of Gender Slant on Decisions in Gender-Related Cases

β Uncontrolled	β Controlled	$\overline{R_{max}}$	δ for $\beta = 0$
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
-0.041	-0.042	0.057	3.734
		0.076	1.990
		0.190	0.524

Notes: The table shows the results from applying the method proposed by Oster (2019) to assess bias from unobservables based on selection on observables. Column (1) shows the estimate of the coefficient on gender slant from the uncontrolled specification, in which we drop the demographic characteristics of the judge. Column (2) shows the estimate of the coefficient from the baseline specification (equation (2)). Column (3) shows the value of R_{max} for which δ (column (4)) is computed. δ is the degree of selection on unobservables as a proportion of the selection on observables that would be needed to obtain a bias-adjusted coefficient equal to 0.

Appendix Table 3: Oster Test: Effect of Assigning-Judge Gender Slant on Author Gender

β Uncontrolled	β Controlled	$\overline{R_{max}}$	δ for $\beta = 0$
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
-0.028	-0.017	0.025	0.877
		0.033	0.445
		0.082	0.113

Notes: The table shows the results from applying the method proposed by Oster (2019) to assess bias from unobservables based on selection on observables. Column (1) shows the estimate of the coefficient on gender slant from the uncontrolled specification, in which we drop the demographic characteristics of the judge. Column (2) shows the estimate of the coefficient from the baseline specification (equation (3)). Column (3) shows the value of R_{max} for which δ (column (4)) is computed. R_{max} is set to be 1.5, 2, or 5 times the adjusted R^2 from the baseline specification. δ is the degree of selection on unobservables as a proportion of the selection on observables that would be needed to obtain a bias-adjusted coefficient equal to 0.

Appendix Table 4: Oster Test: Differential Effect of Gender Slant on Reversals of District Court Cases by Gender of District Judge

β Uncontrolled	β Controlled	$\overline{R_{max}}$	δ for $\beta = 0$
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
0.006	0.010	0.000	43.772
		0.000	16.585
		0.001	4.529

Notes: The table shows the results from applying the method proposed by Oster (2019) to assess bias from unobservables based on selection on observables. Column (1) shows the estimate of the coefficient on gender slant from the uncontrolled specification, in which we drop the demographic characteristics of the judge. Column (2) shows the estimate of the coefficient from the baseline specification (equation (3)). Column (3) shows the value of R_{max} for which δ (column (4)) is computed. R_{max} is set to be 1.5, 2, or 5 times the adjusted R^2 from the baseline specification. δ is the degree of selection on unobservables as a proportion of the selection on observables that would be needed to obtain a bias-adjusted coefficient equal to 0.

Appendix Table 5: Oster Test: Effect of Gender Slant on Probability of Citing a Female Judge

β Uncontrolled	β Controlled	$\overline{R_{max}}$	δ for $\beta = 0$
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
-0.024	-0.010	0.022	0.670
		0.030	0.338
		0.074	0.085

Notes: The table shows the results from applying the method proposed by Oster (2019) to assess bias from unobservables based on selection on observables. Column (1) shows the estimate of the coefficient on gender slant from the uncontrolled specification, in which we drop the demographic characteristics of the judge. Column (2) shows the estimate of the coefficient from the baseline specification (equation (3)). Column (3) shows the value of R_{max} for which δ (column (4)) is computed. R_{max} is set to be 1.5, 2, or 5 times the adjusted R^2 from the baseline specification. δ is the degree of selection on unobservables as a proportion of the selection on observables that would be needed to obtain a bias-adjusted coefficient equal to 0.

A.8 Additional Results on Judicial Decisions

Appendix Table 6: Oster Test: Effect of Gender Slant on Decisions in Gender-Related Cases, by Dataset

Dependent Variable Dataset	Conservative Vote					
	Epstein et al. (2013) Data			Glynn-Sen (2015) Data		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Gender Slant	0.037*** (0.014)	0.037*** (0.014)	0.042*** (0.015)	0.043* (0.024)	0.051* (0.026)	0.044 (0.035)
Democrat	-0.145*** (0.026)	-0.152*** (0.029)	-0.134*** (0.025)	-0.078 (0.055)	-0.100* (0.054)	-0.134** (0.057)
Female	-0.054 (0.033)	-0.073 (0.058)	-0.044* (0.026)	0.029 (0.058)	-0.101 (0.069)	0.080 (0.066)
Observations	2335	2335	2335	738	738	738
Clusters	112	112	112	104	104	104
Outcome Mean	0.583	0.583	0.583	0.675	0.675	0.675
Circuit-Year FE	X	X	X	X	X	X
Additional Demographic Controls	X	X	X	X	X	X
Interacted Demographic Controls		X			X	
Career FE			X			X
Slant Excluding Gender-Related Cases						

Notes: The table shows the effect of gender slant on decisions in gender-related cases separately by dataset. We regress an indicator variable equal to 1 if a judge voted conservatively in a gender-related case on the gender slant of the judge, demographic controls, and circuit-year fixed effects. Demographic controls are gender, party of appointing President, region of birth, cohort of birth, religion, law school attended, and whether the judge had federal experience prior to being appointed to an Appellate Court. Columns (2) and (5) additionally control for two-way interactions of gender, party and race. Columns (3) and (6) include instead "career fixed effects", which are indicator variables equal to 1 if the judge sayon at least one panel in a given circuit in a given 25-year period. Standard errors are clustered at the judge level. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

Appendix Table 7: Effect of Gender Slant on Decisions in Gender-Related Cases, Additional Robustness Checks

Dependent Variable	Conservative Vote		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Gender Slant	0.040*** (0.013)	0.041*** (0.013)	0.040*** (0.013)
Democrat	-0.156*** (0.031)	-0.143*** (0.025)	-0.137*** (0.027)
Female	-0.004 (0.035)	-0.026 (0.033)	-0.031 (0.033)
Share Female Clerks	0.006 (0.088)		
Association Between Gender and Positive/Negative Attributes		-0.026 (0.033)	
Conservative Score <small>(Epstein et al. 2013)</small>			0.062 (0.098)
Observations	2348	3086	3078
Clusters	72	113	111
Outcome Mean	0.612	0.606	0.606
Circuit-Year FE	X	X	X
Topic FE	X	X	X
Additional Demographic Controls	X	X	X

Notes: The table shows the effect of gender slant on decisions in gender-related cases with additional controls. We regress an indicator variable equal to 1 if a judge voted conservatively in a gender-related case on the gender slant of the judge, demographic controls, and circuit-year fixed effects. Demographic controls are gender, party of appointing President, region of birth, cohort of birth, religion, law school attended, and whether the judge had federal experience prior to being appointed to an Appellate Court. Column (1) additionally controls for the share of clerks that are female. Column (2) additionally controls for the standardized cosine similarity between the gender and career-family dimensions. The conservative score in column (3) is defined as the average share of conservative votes of the judge in non gender-related cases from the Epstein et al. (2013) data. Standard errors are clustered at the judge level. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

Appendix Table 8: Effect of Gender Slant on Decisions in Non-Gender-Related Cases

Dependent Variable Dataset	Conservative Vote			
	Epstein et al. (2013) Data			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Gender Slant	0.027** (0.012)	0.032*** (0.011)	0.004 (0.012)	0.018* (0.010)
Democrat	-0.070*** (0.020)	-0.096*** (0.018)	-0.059*** (0.020)	-0.070*** (0.018)
Female	-0.060** (0.026)	-0.255*** (0.050)	-0.075*** (0.020)	-0.067*** (0.024)
Observations	5477	5477	5477	5477
Clusters	112	112	112	112
Outcome Mean	0.569	0.569	0.569	0.569
Circuit-Year FE	X	X	X	X
Additional Demographic Controls	X	X	X	X
Interacted Demographic Controls		X		
Career FE			X	
Slant Excluding Gender-Related Cases				X

Notes: The table shows the effect of gender slant on decisions in non-gender-related cases. We regress an indicator variable equal to 1 if a judge voted conservatively in a non-gender-related case on the gender slant of the judge, demographic controls, and circuit-year fixed effects. Demographic controls are gender, party of appointing President, region of birth, cohort of birth, religion, law school attended, and whether the judge had federal experience prior to being appointed to an Appellate Court. Column (2) additionally controls for two-way interactions of gender, party and race. Column (3) includes instead "career fixed effects", which are indicator variables equal to 1 if the judge sat on at least one panel in a given circuit over a give 25-year period. Standard errors are clustered at the judge level. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

We test whether gender slant has larger effects on gender-related cases as opposed to non-gender-related cases by estimating the following differences-in-differences specification:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Conservative Vote}_{jcit} = & \alpha \text{Gender Related Case}_i + \pi \text{Gender Related Case}_i * \text{Gender Slant}_j \\ & + \text{Gender Related Case}_i * X'_j \gamma + \delta_{ct} + \delta_j + \varepsilon_{jcit} \end{aligned}$$

where *Gender Related Case_i* is an indicator variable equal to one if the case is on a gender-related issue and zero otherwise, and all other variables are defined as before.

Appendix Table 9: Differential Effect of Gender Slant on Decisions by Whether a Case is Gender-Related, Differences-in-Differences Specification

Dependent Variable	Conservative Vote
	(1)
Gender Slant * Gender-Related Case	0.027** (0.013)
Democrat * Gender-Related Case	-0.0832*** (0.029)
Female * Gender-Related Case	0.028 (0.039)
Observations	8565
Clusters	113
Outcome Mean	0.582
Circuit-Year FE	X
Judge FE	X
Additional Demographic Controls	X

Notes: The table tests whether slanted senior judges are more likely to vote conservatively in gender-related rather than in non-gender-related cases. We regress an indicator variable equal to 1 if a judge voted conservatively in a gender-related case on the gender slant of the judge interacted with an indicator variable for the case being gender-related, demographic controls interacted with an indicator variable for the case being gender-related, judge fixed effects, and circuit-year fixed effects. Demographic controls are gender, party of appointing President, region of birth, cohort of birth, religion, law school attended, and whether the judge had federal experience prior to being appointed to an Appellate Court. Standard errors are clustered at the judge level. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

Appendix Table 10: Effect of Gender Slant on Decisions in All Cases, U.S. Courts of Appeals Data

Dependent Variable	Conservative Vote			
Dataset	Songer 5% Dataset			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Gender Slant	0.003 (0.007)	0.003 (0.007)	0.007 (0.012)	-0.002 (0.006)
Democrat	-0.027** (0.012)	-0.028** (0.012)	-0.010 (0.016)	-0.028** (0.012)
Female	0.025 (0.020)	0.014 (0.024)	0.003 (0.018)	0.023 (0.020)
Observations	13420	13420	13420	13420
Clusters	136	136	136	136
Outcome Mean	0.620	0.620	0.620	0.620
Circuit-Year FE	X	X	X	X
Additional Demographic Controls	X	X	X	X
Interacted Demographic Controls		X		
Career FE			X	
Slant Excluding Gender-Related Cases				X

Notes: The table shows the effect of gender slant on decisions. We regress an indicator variable equal to 1 if a judge voted conservatively on the gender slant of the judge, demographic controls, and circuit-year fixed effects. Demographic controls are gender, party of appointing President, region of birth, cohort of birth, religion, law school attended, and whether the judge had federal experience prior to being appointed to an Appellate Court. Column (2) additionally controls for two-way interactions of gender, party and race. Column (3) controls instead for "career fixed effects", which are indicator variables equal to 1 if the judge sat on at least one panel in a given circuit over a given 25-year period. Column (4) calculates gender slant using embeddings trained excluding gender-related cases. Standard errors are clustered at the judge level. The sample is restricted to cases where votes could be coded to be liberal or conservative. Data on votes are from the U.S. Court of Appeal Dataset (Songer, 2008; Kuersten and Haire, 2011). *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

A.9 Additional Results on Opinion Assignment

Appendix Table 11: Effect of Assigning-Judge Gender Slant on Whether the Opinion has Specific Author, or the Opinion is Per Curiam

Dependent Variable	Has Author		Per Curiam		Decided Unanimously	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Gender Slant	0.002 (0.005)	0.003 (0.004)	-0.000 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.003)	0.001 (0.006)	0.001 (0.006)
Democrat	0.002 (0.011)	-0.010 (0.010)	-0.007 (0.006)	0.003 (0.006)	-0.017 (0.010)	-0.002 (0.009)
Female	-0.001 (0.011)	0.013 (0.010)	0.005 (0.005)	-0.004 (0.004)	0.020* (0.010)	0.009 (0.010)
Observations	171441	43601	171441	43601	171441	43601
Clusters	139	125	139	125	139	125
Outcome Mean	0.803	0.847	0.092	0.045	0.887	0.874
Circuit-Year FE	X	X	X	X	X	X
Additional Demographic Controls	X	X	X	X	X	X
One Female Judge on Panel		X		X		X

Notes: The table shows the effect of the gender slant of the most senior judge on the panel, who assigns opinion authorship, on whether the opinion has a specific author, on whether the opinion is per curiam, and on whether the decision was unanimous. We regress an indicator variable equal to 1 if the opinion has a specific author (columns (1) and (2)), if the opinion is per curiam (columns (3) and (4)), or if the panel decided unanimously (columns (5) and (6)) on the gender slant of the most senior judge on the panel, demographic controls for the most senior judge, and circuit-year fixed effects. Demographic controls are gender, party of appointing President, region of birth, cohort of birth, religion, law school attended, and whether the judge had federal experience prior to being appointed to an Appellate Court. Standard errors are clustered at the senior judge level. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

Appendix Table 12: Effect of Assigning-Judge Slant on Author Gender, Additional Robustness Checks

Dependent Variable	Author is Female				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Gender Slant	-0.016 (0.011)	-0.017** (0.008)	-0.018** (0.009)	-0.012* (0.007)	-0.020** (0.008)
Democrat	-0.016 (0.025)	-0.002 (0.014)	-0.002 (0.017)	0.001 (0.014)	-0.001 (0.013)
Female	0.172*** (0.018)	0.134*** (0.017)	0.134*** (0.017)		0.133*** (0.017)
Share Female Clerks	-0.021 (0.055)				
Association Between Gender and Positive/Negative Attributes		0.004 (0.008)			
Conservative Score			0.023 (0.040)		
Observations	20543	32052	30614	22828	36939
Clusters	72	125	111	108	125
Outcome Mean	0.396	0.383	0.387	0.347	0.383
Circuit-Year FE	X	X	X	X	X
Additional Demographic Controls	X	X	X	X	X
Excludes Female Senior Judges				X	
Includes Dissents/Concurrences					X

Notes: The table shows the effect of the gender slant of the most senior judge on the panel, who is in charge of assigning opinion authorship, on the gender of the authoring judge. We regress an indicator variable equal to 1 if the authoring judge is female on the gender slant of the most senior judge on the panel, demographic controls for the most senior judge, and circuit-year fixed effects. Demographic controls are gender, party of appointing President, region of birth, cohort of birth, religion, law school attended, and whether the judge had federal experience prior to being appointed to an Appellate Court. Column (1) additionally controls for the share of clerks that are female. Column (2) additionally controls for the standardized cosine similarity between the gender and career-family dimensions. The conservative score in column (3) is defined as the average share of conservative votes of the judge in non gender-related cases from the Epstein et al. (2013) data. Column (4) excludes panels in which the most senior judge is female. The sample is restricted to cases with a specific author, with at least one female judge on the panel, and that were decided unanimously. Column (5) does not restrict the sample to cases decided unanimously, but includes cases with dissents or concurrences. Standard errors are clustered at the senior judge level. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

A.10 Do Higher Slant Senior Judges Assign Different Cases to Female Judges?

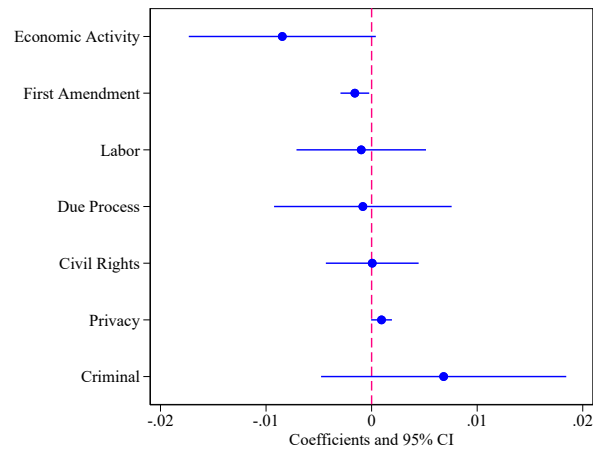
It is possible that more slanted senior judges not only assign fewer opinions to female judges, but also assign them opinions for cases that are different in topic or expected relevance, as proxied by predicted forward citations. We estimate the following difference-in-difference specification:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Case Characteristic}_{ict} = & \pi \text{Female Author}_c * \text{Gender Slant}_j^{\text{SENIOR}} \\ & + \text{Female Author}_c * X_j^{\text{SENIOR}'} \gamma + \delta_{ct} + \delta_j + \varepsilon_{jictk} \end{aligned} \quad (6)$$

where $\text{Case Characteristic}_{ict}$ is a characteristic of case i in circuit c in year t with senior judge j , Female Author_k is a dummy equal to 1 if the district judge is female, Gender Slant_j is the gender slant (standardized cosine similarity between the gender and career-family dimensions) of the most senior judge on the panel j , X_j^{SENIOR} are demographic controls for the senior judge, δ_{ct} are circuit-year fixed effects, and δ_j are senior judge fixed effects. The dataset is at the case level. Standard errors are clustered at the senior judge level.

First, we examine whether slanted senior judges systematically assign cases on different topics to female judges. Cases are classified as belonging to one of seven broad topics: economic activity, First Amendment, due process, labor law, civil rights, privacy, and criminal appeals. Appendix Figure 14 shows that overall, slanted senior judges do not appear to assign cases on different topics to female judges, although they might be less likely to assign cases related to regulations of economic activity and First Amendment rights to female judges. Second, we study whether slanted senior judges assign cases with systematically different expected relevance to female judges. Given that citations might be endogenous to the gender of the judge, we proxy for relevance using forward citations predicted based on circuit-year of the case, topic, and party names. Again, as shown in Appendix Table 13, we find little evidence that slanted senior judges are assigning different cases to female judges.

Appendix Figure 14: Differential Effect of Assigning-Judge Gender Slant on Topic of Cases Assigned to by Author's Gender



Notes: The graph explores whether slanted senior judges assign different types of cases to female judges. We regress a dummy for the case being on a given topic on an indicator variable for whether the opinion is assigned to a female judge, the gender slant of the most senior judge on the panel interacted with an indicator variable for whether the opinion is assigned to a female judge, demographic controls for the most senior judge interacted with an indicator variable for whether the opinion is assigned to a female judge, senior judge fixed, and circuit-year fixed effects. Demographic controls are gender, party of appointing President, region of birth, cohort of birth, religion, law school attended, and whether the judge had federal experience prior to being appointed to an Appellate Court. The sample is restricted to cases with a specific author, with at least one female judge on the panel, and that are decided unanimously. Standard errors are clustered at the judge level.

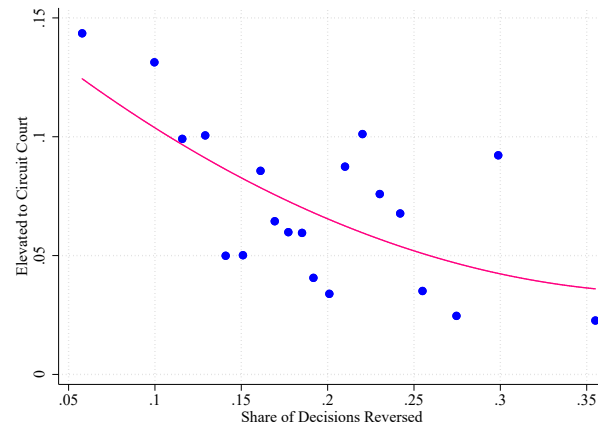
Appendix Table 13: Differential Effect of Assigning-Judge Gender Slant on Predicted Case Importance by Author's Gender

Dependent Variable	Predicted Forward Citations
	(1)
Gender Slant * Female Author	0.001 (0.002)
Democrat * Female Author	0.005 (0.009)
Female * Female Author	-0.010 (0.009)
Observations	31616
Clusters	123
Outcome Mean	1.726
Circuit-Year FE	X
Judge FE	X
Additional Demographic Controls	X

Notes: The table tests whether slanted senior judges assign different types of cases to female judges. We regress predicted forward citations on an indicator variable for whether the opinion is assigned to a female judge, the gender slant of the most senior judge on the panel interacted with an indicator variable for whether the opinion is assigned to a female judge, demographic controls for the most senior judge interacted with an indicator variable for whether the opinion is assigned to a female judge, senior judge fixed, and circuit-year fixed effects. Demographic controls are gender, party of appointing President, region of birth, cohort of birth, religion, law school attended, and whether the judge had federal experience prior to being appointed to an Appellate Court. The sample is restricted to cases with a specific author, with at least one female judge on the panel, and that are decided unanimously. Standard errors are clustered at the judge level. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

A.11 Additional Results for Reversals

Appendix Figure 15: Reversals and Promotions from District to Circuit Courts



Notes: The graph shows the relationship between the probability of being elevated from a District to a Circuit Court and the share of decisions that were reversed on appeal, conditional on demographic controls and circuit fixed effects. Demographic controls are gender, party of appointing President, region of birth, cohort of birth, religion, and law school attended. The sample is restricted to district judges for which we observe at least 50 cases (this requires that the case was appealed, and that we were able to match the circuit court case to the respective district judge).

Appendix Table 14: Differential Effect of Gender Slant on Reversals of District Court Cases by Gender of District Judge, Additional Robustness Checks

Dependent Variable	Votes to Reverse District Decision			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Gender Slant * Female District Judge	0.009** (0.005)	0.010*** (0.004)	0.012*** (0.004)	0.010** (0.004)
Democrat * Female District Judge	-0.023** (0.009)	-0.010 (0.006)	-0.010 (0.007)	-0.010 (0.006)
Female * Female District Judge	0.018 (0.012)	-0.003 (0.010)	-0.000 (0.010)	-0.003 (0.010)
Share Female Clerks * Female District Judge	0.035 (0.039)			
Association Between Gender and Positive/Negative Attributes		-0.001 (0.005)		
* Female District Judge				
Conservative Score <small>(Epstein et al. 2013)</small> * Female District Judge			0.007 (0.026)	
Observations	83751	145862	129677	130381
Clusters	68	133	106	119
Outcome Mean for Male Judges	0.163	0.180	0.167	0.168
Outcome Mean for Female Judges	0.151	0.157	0.157	0.157
Circuit-Year FE	X	X	X	X
Judge FE	X	X	X	X
District Judge FE	X	X	X	X
Additional Demographic Controls	X	X	X	X
After 1980				X

Notes: The table shows the effect of gender slant on probability of reversal of district court decisions. We regress an indicator variable equal to 1 if the judge votes to reverse the district decision on the gender slant of the judge interacted with an indicator variable for whether the district judge is female, demographic controls interacted with an indicator variable for whether the district judge is female, judge fixed effects, district judge fixed effects and circuit-year fixed effects. Demographic controls are gender, party of appointing President, region of birth, cohort of birth, religion, law school attended, and whether the judge had federal experience prior to being appointed to an Appellate Court. Column (1) additionally controls for the share of clerks that are female. Column (2) additionally controls for the standardized cosine similarity between the gender and career-family dimensions. The conservative score in column (3) is defined as the average share of conservative votes of the judge in non gender-related cases from the Epstein et al. (2013) data. Column (4) additionally restricts the sample to cases decided after 1980. The sample is restricted to cases for which we were able to determine the identity of the district judge. Standard errors are clustered at the judge level. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

Appendix Table 15: Reversals and Promotion from District to Circuit Courts

Dependent Variable	Promoted to Circuit Court	
	(1)	(2)
Share of Decisions Reversed on Appeal	-0.345** (0.136)	
Share of Votes to Reverse on Appeal		-0.367*** (0.116)
Female	0.030 (0.028)	0.031 (0.028)
Democrat	-0.001 (0.018)	0.002 (0.018)
Observations	862	862
Outcome Mean	0.058	0.058
Circuit FE	X	X
Additional Demographic Controls	X	X

Notes: The table shows the relationship between reversals and promotion of judges from District to Circuit Courts. We regress an indicator variable equal to 1 if the judge was elevated to a Circuit Court on the share of decisions that were reversed on Appeal (column (1)) or the share of circuit judges that voted to reverse the decision (column (2)), demographic controls and circuit fixed effects. Demographic controls are gender, party of appointing President, region of birth, cohort of birth, religion, and law school attended. The sample is restricted to district judges for which we observe at least 50 cases (this requires that the case was appealed, and that we were able to match the circuit court case to the respective district judge). Standard errors are clustered at the judge level. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

A.12 Additional Results for Citations

Appendix Table 16: Effect of Gender Slant on Probability of Citing a Female Judge, Additional Robustness Checks

Dependent Variable	Cites at Least One Female Judge				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Gender Slant	-0.006 (0.009)	-0.009* (0.005)	-0.009 (0.006)	-0.010 (0.006)	-0.009* (0.005)
Democrat	-0.038** (0.018)	-0.011 (0.010)	-0.020 (0.013)	-0.013 (0.012)	-0.027*** (0.010)
Female	0.157*** (0.022)	0.128*** (0.016)	0.125*** (0.017)	0.128*** (0.017)	-0.084** (0.018)
Share Female Clerks	-0.018 (0.042)				
Association Between Gender and Positive/Negative Attributes		-0.008 (0.005)			
Conservative Score (Epstein et al. 2013)			-0.039 (0.035)		
Observations	54301	107923	86910	83680	107923
Clusters	73	139	112	125	139
Outcome Mean	0.536	0.383	0.452	0.487	0.383
Circuit-Year FE	X	X	X	X	X
Additional Demographic Controls	X	X	X	X	X
Interacted Demographic Controls		X			
Excludes Self-Citations					X

Notes: The table shows the effect of gender slant on the probability of citing at least one female judge. We regress a dummy equal to 1 if the majority opinion cites at least one case authored by a woman on the gender slant of the judge, demographic controls and circuit-year fixed effects. Demographic controls are gender, party of appointing President, region of birth, cohort of birth, religion, law school attended, and whether the judge had federal experience prior to being appointed to an Appellate Court. Column (1) additionally controls for the share of clerks that are female. Column (2) additionally controls for the standardized cosine similarity between the gender and career-family dimensions. The conservative score in column (3) is defined as the average share of conservative votes of the judge in non gender-related cases from the Epstein et al. (2013) data. Column (4) additionally restricts the sample to cases decided after 1980. Column (5) defines the outcome excluding self-citations. The sample is restricted to cases in which the opinion is authored by a specific judge. Standard errors are clustered at the judge level. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

A.13 Effect of Gender Slant on Other Judge Characteristics

Appendix Table 17: Effect of Assigning-Judge Gender Slant on Author's Characteristics other than Gender

Dependent Variable	Author is Democrat	Author is Minority	Author Age
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Gender Slant	-0.007 (0.006)	0.005 (0.008)	0.041 (0.175)
Democrat	0.224*** (0.011)	-0.002 (0.013)	0.081 (0.382)
Female	0.030 (0.019)	0.027* (0.016)	0.056 (0.563)
Observations	92816	23436	120365
Clusters	139	126	139
Outcome Mean	0.616	0.340	63.030
Circuit-Year FE	X	X	X
Additional Demographic Controls	X	X	X
Panel Includes Democrat Judge	X		
Panel Includes Minority Judge		X	

Notes: The table shows the effect of the gender slant of the most senior judge on the panel, who is in charge of assigning opinion authorship, on the characteristics of the authoring judge. We regress an indicator variable equal to 1 if the authoring judge was appointed by a Democratic President (column (1)), if the authoring judge is minority (column (2)) and age of the authoring judge (column (3)) on the gender slant of the most senior judge on the panel, demographic controls for the most senior judge, and circuit-year fixed effects. Demographic controls are gender, party of appointing President, region of birth, cohort of birth, religion, law school attended, and whether the judge had federal experience prior to being appointed to an Appellate Court. The sample is restricted to cases with a specific author that are decide unanimously. Column (1) additionally restricts the sample to cases with one democratic judge on the panel and column (2) to cases with one minority judge on the panel. Standard errors are clustered at the senior judge level. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

Appendix Table 18: Differential Effect of Gender Slant on Reversals of District Court Cases by District Judge Characteristics other than Gender

Dependent Variable	Votes to Reverse District Decision	
	(1)	(2)
Gender Slant * Democrat District Judge	0.005 (0.004)	
Democrat * Democrat District Judge	-0.006 (0.007)	
Female * Democrat District Judge	-0.003 (0.010)	
Gender Slant * Minority District Judge		0.0112** (0.005)
Democrat * Minority District Judge		0.002 (0.007)
Female * Minority District Judge		0.016 (0.011)
Observations	145862	145862
Clusters	133	133
Outcome Mean	0.177	0.177
Circuit-Year FE	X	X
Judge FE	X	X
District Judge FE	X	X
Additional Demographic Controls	X	X

Notes: The table shows the effect of gender slant on probability of reversal of district court decisions. We regress an indicator variable equal to 1 if the judge votes to reverse the district decision on the gender slant of the judge interacted with an indicator variable for whether the district judge was appointed by a Democratic President (column (1)) or is a minority (column (2)), demographic controls interacted with an indicator variable for whether the district judge was appointed by a Democratic President (column (1)) or is a minority (column (2)), judge fixed effects, district judge fixed effects and circuit-year fixed effects. Demographic controls are gender, party of appointing President, region of birth, cohort of birth, religion, law school attended, and whether the judge had federal experience prior to being appointed to an Appellate Court. The sample is restricted to cases for which we were able to determine the identity of the district judge. Standard errors are clustered at the judge level. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

Appendix Table 19: Effect of Gender Slant on Probability of Citing a Judge with Characteristics other than Gender

Dependent Variable	Cites Democrat	Cites Minority	Average Age	Average Bias
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Gender Slant	-0.008** (0.004)	-0.006 (0.005)	-0.072 (0.082)	0.113*** (0.012)
Democrat	0.008 (0.007)	-0.021* (0.011)	-0.071 (0.105)	0.013 (0.018)
Female	0.023** (0.009)	0.058*** (0.011)	0.026 (0.173)	-0.032 (0.022)
Observations	107923	107923	107923	98435
Clusters	139	139	139	139
Outcome Mean	0.875	0.336	61.407	0.052
Circuit-Year FE	X	X	X	X
Additional Demographic Controls	X	X	X	X

Notes: The table shows the effect of gender slant on the probability of citing judges with different characteristics. We regress a dummy equal to 1 if the majority opinion cites at least one case authored by a judge nominated by a Democratic President (column (1)), at least one case authored by a minority judge (column (2)), the average age of the authors of cited opinions (column (3)), and the average slant of the authors of the cited opinions (column (4)) on the gender slant of the judge, demographic controls and circuit-year fixed effects. Demographic controls are gender, party of appointing President, region of birth, cohort of birth, religion, law school attended, and whether the judge had federal experience prior to being appointed to an Appellate Court. The sample is restricted to cases in which the opinion is authored by a specific judge. Standard errors are clustered at the judge level. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.