

Supplementary Materials for
“Descriptive Representation, Public Opinion, and the
Courts”

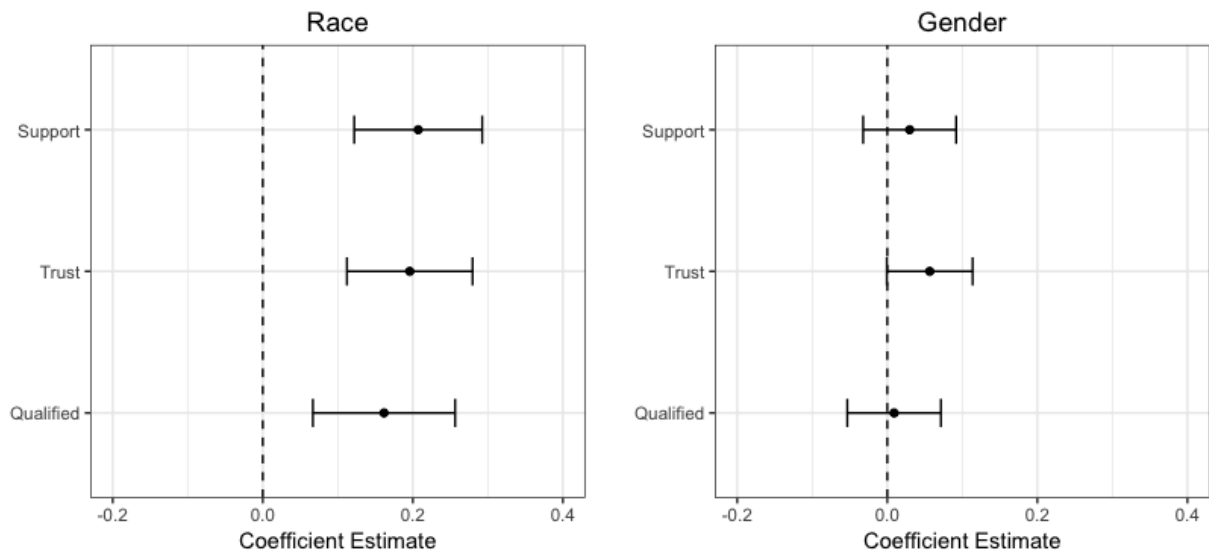
Jaclyn Kaslovsky, Jon Rogowski, and Andrew Stone

Contents

A Robustness Checks	32
B Summary Statistics and Survey Design	39
C Results with Bootstrapped Standard Errors	42

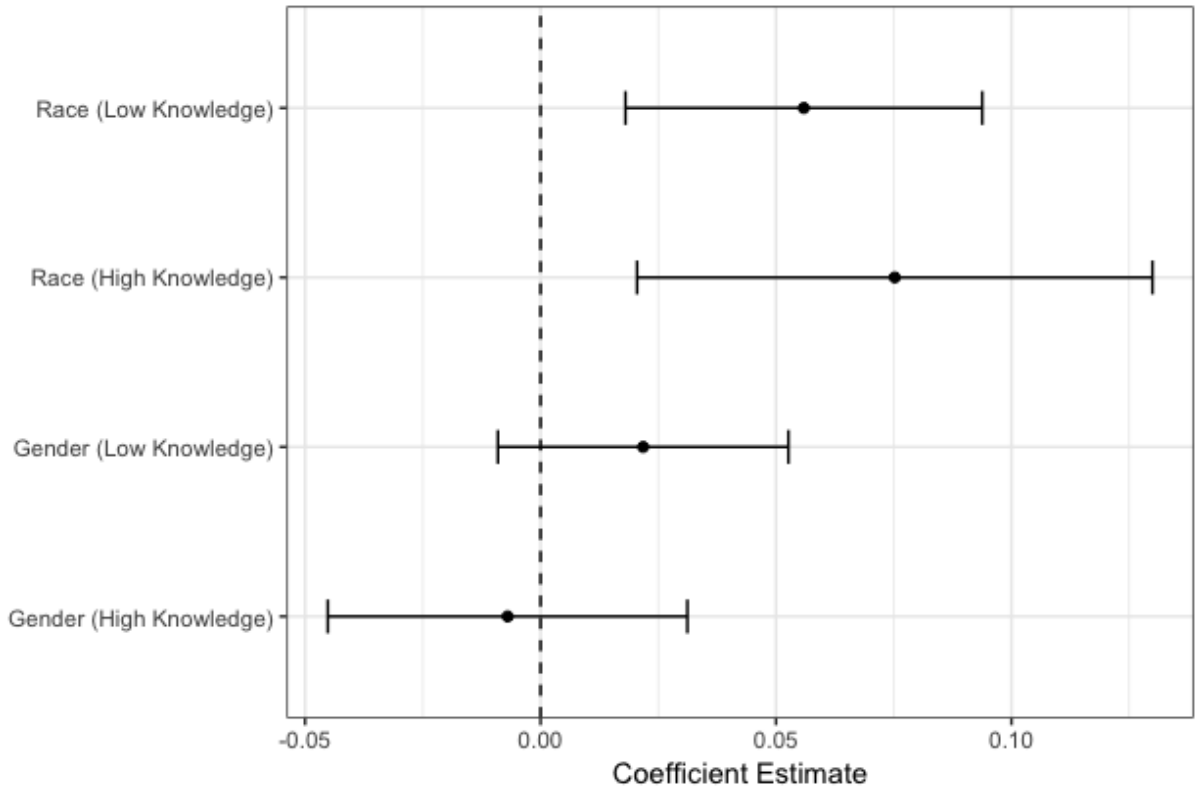
A Robustness Checks

Figure A.1: Effect of Shared Descriptive Characteristics on Nominee Evaluations (5-Point Measure)



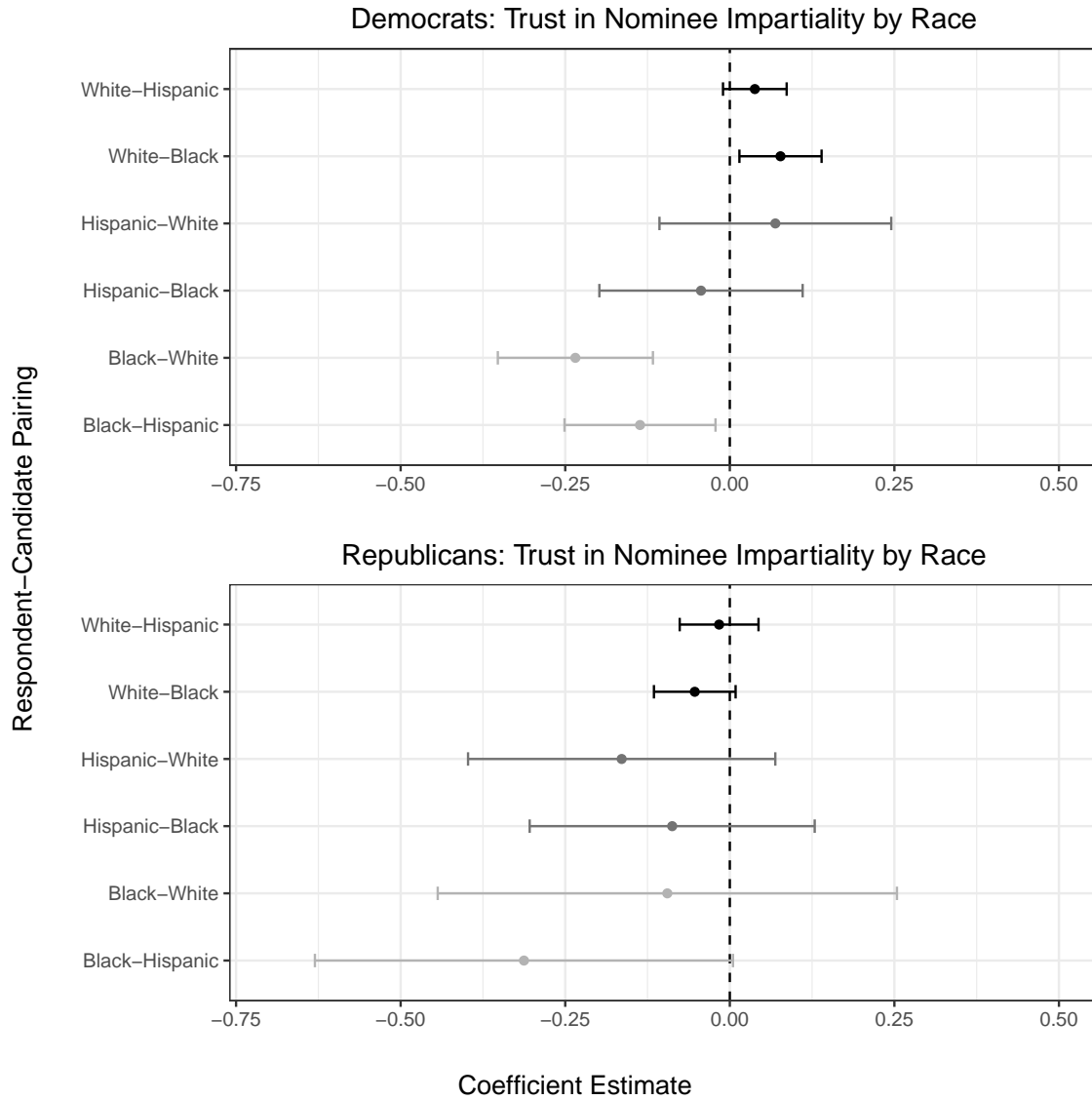
Note: The figure presents the average marginal component-specific effect of shared descriptive characteristics on respondents' evaluations of the nominee. Each of the dependent variables are measured on a five-point scale. The results mirror those presented in the main text: substantively significant positive effects for shared race and minimal effects for shared gender.

Figure A.2: Judicial Knowledge, Shared Descriptive Characteristics and Nominee Evaluations



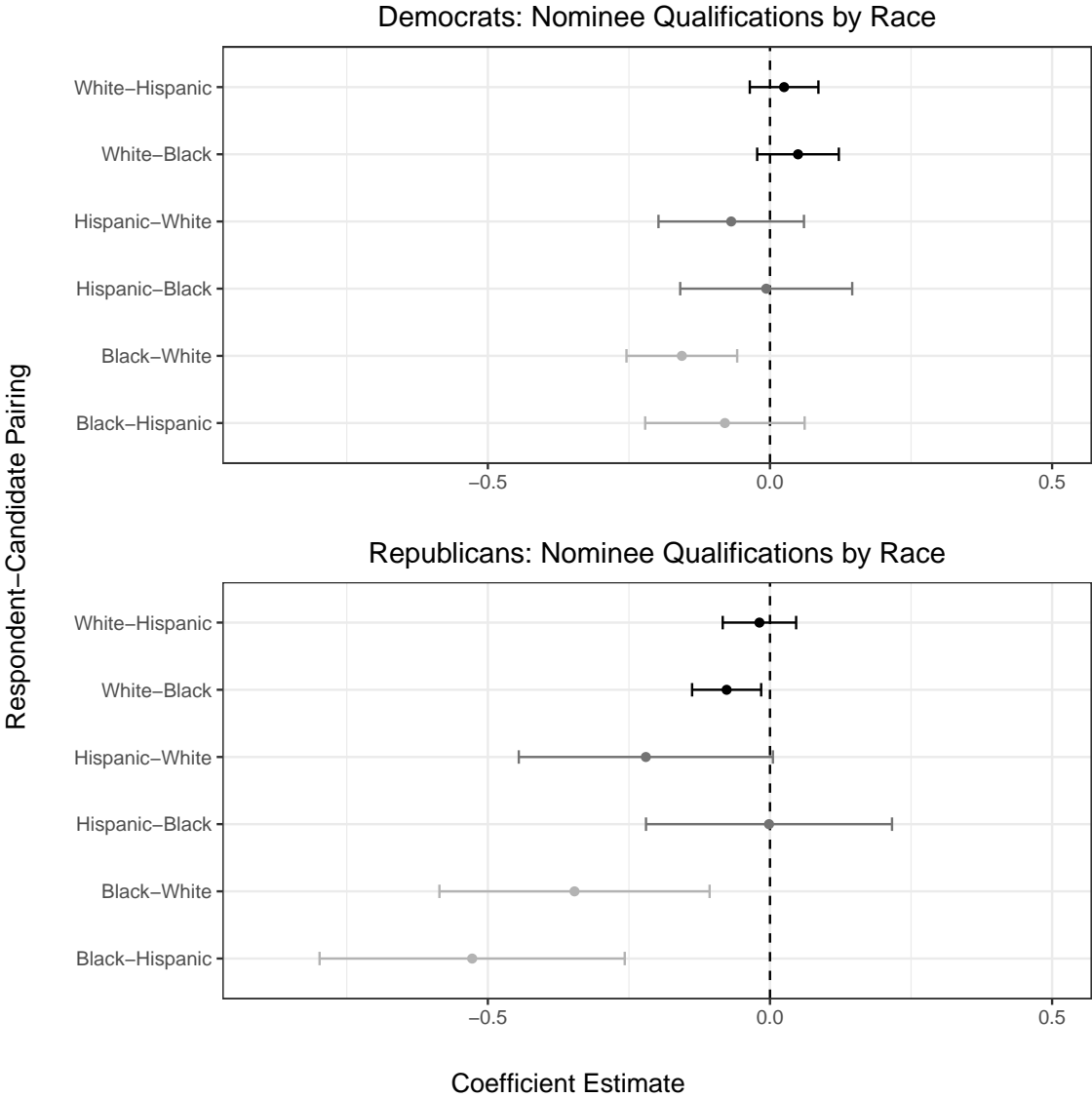
Note: The figure presents the average marginal component-specific effect of shared descriptive characteristics on respondents' support for the nominee for respondents with high and low values of knowledge about the Supreme Court. We classify high knowledge respondents as those that answered either four or five questions of a five-question Court knowledge battery correctly (38 percent of respondents), and classify the rest as low knowledge respondents. Each of the dependent variables is measured on a binary scale. The treatment effects for low and high knowledge respondents are not distinguishable from one another for either shared race or gender.

Figure A.3: Partisanship, Race and Trust in Nominee Impartiality (Binary Measure)



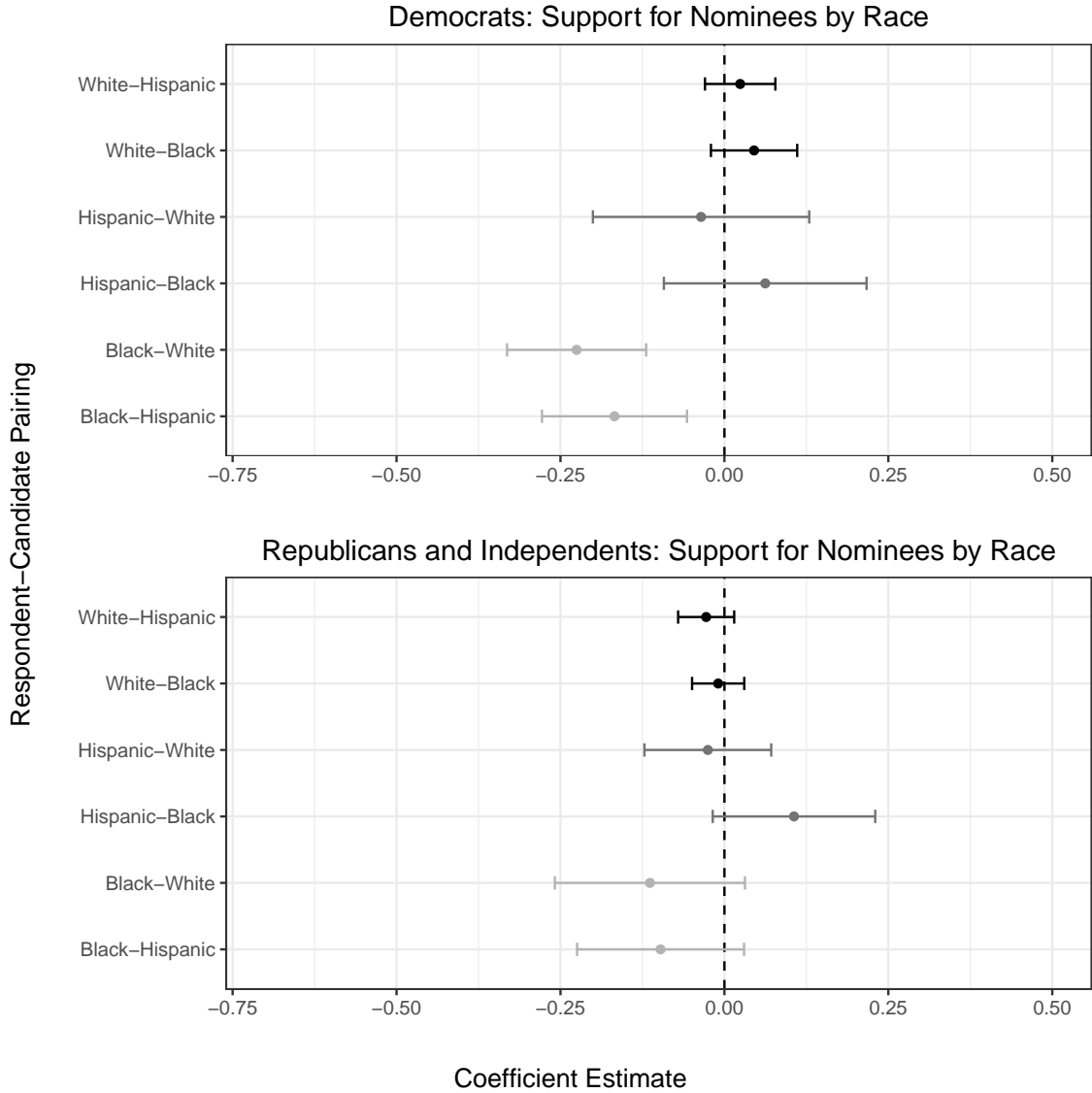
Note: The figure presents the average marginal component-specific effect of shared descriptive characteristics on respondents' trust in the impartiality of the nominee, broken down by respondents' partisan identification and race. The dependent variable is measured on a binary scale.

Figure A.4: Partisanship, Race and Nominee Qualifications (Binary Measure)



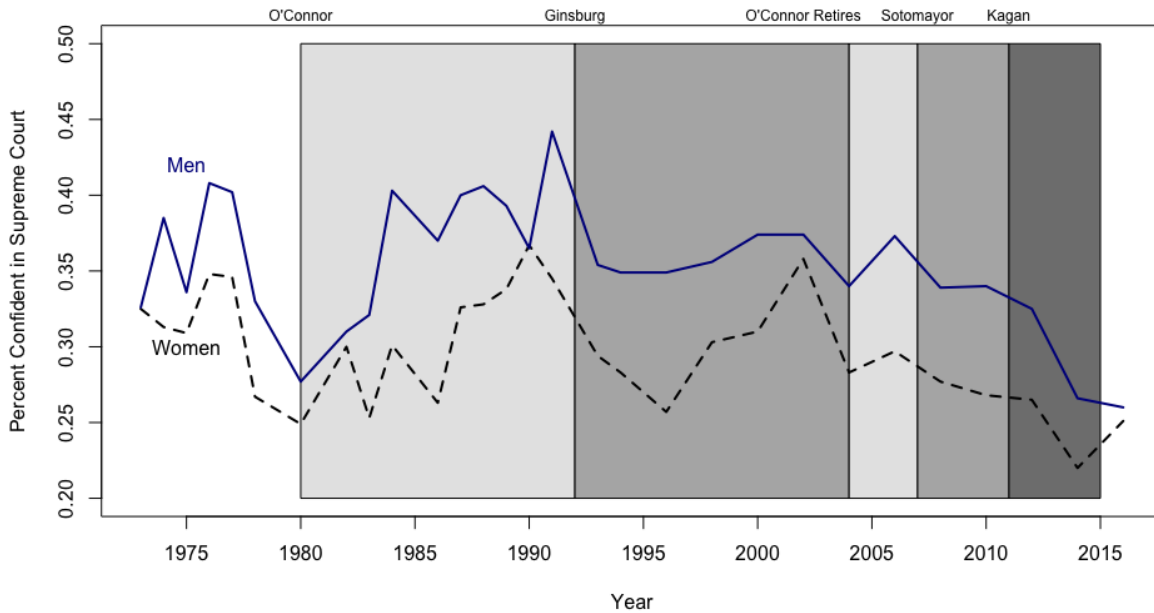
Note: The figure presents the average marginal component-specific effect of shared descriptive characteristics on respondents' evaluations of the qualifications of the nominee, broken down by respondents' partisan identification and race. The dependent variable is measured on a binary scale.

Figure A.5: Partisanship, Race, and Nominee Support



Note: The figure presents the estimated treatment effects of race on support for the nominee for racial subgroups for both Democrats (top panel) and non-Democrats (including Republicans and Independents; bottom panel). Each treatment effect presents the average difference in support for a respondent of a given race (first label) for a nominee of a given race (second label) compared to a nominee of the respondent's own race.

Figure A.6: Confidence in Supreme Court and Number of Female Justices



Note: The figure presents public confidence in the Supreme Court as measured by the GSS. Female respondents are shown in black (dashed line) and male respondents in blue (solid line). Darker gray panels denote periods in which more female justices were on the Court. The data reveal no pattern of changes in attitudes toward the Court in response to changes in the gender composition of the Court.

Table A.1: Interactive Relationship between Nominee Race and Gender

	All Respondents	Republicans	Democrats
White Females	0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.04)	0.05 (0.04)
Black Females	0.05 (0.02)*	-0.02 (0.04)	0.11 (0.04)*
Hispanic Females	-0.002 (0.02)	-0.06 (0.04)	0.03 (0.04)
Black Males	0.07 (0.02)*	-0.05 (0.04)	0.13 (0.05)*
Hispanic Males	0.02 (0.02)	-0.001 (0.04)	0.08 (0.04)*

	White Female Dems	White Male Dems	White Female Reps	White Male Reps
White Females	0.05 (0.05)	0.09 (0.08)	-0.05 (0.06)	-0.02 (0.06)
Black Females	0.02 (0.05)	0.11 (0.08)	-0.03 (0.05)	-0.11 (0.07)
Hispanic Females	0.08 (0.06)	0.03 (0.06)	-0.03 (0.06)	-0.15 (0.07)*
Black Males	0.03 (0.06)	0.18 (0.09)	-0.08 (0.06)	-0.11 (0.06)*
Hispanic Males	0.09 (0.05)	0.01 (0.06)	0.002 (0.05)	-0.07 (0.06)

Note: Coefficients are the predicted change in the probability of expressing support for a nominee with the given racial and gender characteristics in comparison to a white Male nominee. Columns indicate the subset of respondents included in each regression model. Standard errors are in parentheses. * indicates statistical significance at $p < 0.05$.

B Summary Statistics and Survey Design

Table B.1: Descriptive Statistics

Category	Proportion	Category	Proportion
Gender		Education	
Male	.465	No high school degree	.042
Female	.535	High school graduate	.361
		Some college	.228
		Two-year degree	.095
		Four-year degree	.180
		Postgraduate degree	.094
Race		Income	
White	.773	Under \$20,000	.180
Black	.092	\$20,000 to \$39,999	.226
Latina/o	.078	\$40,000 to \$59,999	.164
Asian American	.020	\$60,000 to \$79,999	.118
Other racial group	.036	\$80,000 to \$99,999	.071
		\$100,000 to \$149,999	.075
		\$150,000 or more	.036
		Prefer not to say	.129
Partisanship		Ideology	
Democrat	.344	Very liberal	.096
Republican	.260	Liberal	.186
Independent	.299	Moderate	.328
Other	.045	Conservative	.240
Not sure	.053	Very conservative	.072
		Not sure	.076

Note: Entries indicate unweighted sample proportions for each demographic and political category. $N = 2,500$. The unweighted sample characteristics match Census data from July 1, 2016 quite well. Census data show that women comprised 50.8% of the population; the population was 76.9% white, 13.3% Black, 5.7% Asian American, and 4.9% other racial group (Hispanic background is treated separately from race); 30.3% had completed at least a four-year college degree; and the median household income was approximately \$55,000.

Table B.2: Summary of Conjoint Experiment Design

Gender	(a) Male; (b) Female
Race	(a) Black; (b) Hispanic or Latina/o; (c) White
Age	(a) 45; (b) 55; (c) 65
Law school attended	(a) Elite law school at an Ivy League university; (b) Well-regarded law school at a large public university; (c) Second-tier law school at a regional university; (d) Law school not ranked in the top 100 law schools
Current position	(a) Federal judge; (b) Elected politician who has served in office for the last 15 years; (c) Law professor at a top law school; (d) Chief counsel at a prominent think tank; (e) Corporate defense attorney in private practice
Position on abortion	(a) “The Constitution provides fundamental right to privacy and <i>Roe v. Wade</i> is settled law”; (b) “The Constitution provides fundamental right to privacy but I cannot comment on whether <i>Roe v. Wade</i> was decided properly”; (c) “The sanctity of life should be protected and <i>Roe v. Wade</i> ought to be overturned”
Trump rhetoric <i>(HALF SAMPLE)</i>	(a) None; (b) “This nominee has an outstanding legal record and is well-qualified to serve on the Supreme Court”; (c) “I am proud to nominate a principled conservative who will honor the legacy of Antonin Scalia”; (d) “The nominee has the outstanding character Americans expect from a Supreme Court justice”; (e) “I have known this nominee for many years and believe they will be an excellent Supreme Court justice”
Senate Democrats rhetoric <i>(HALF SAMPLE)</i>	(a) None; (b) “The nominee does not have the training or the experience worthy of serving on the Supreme Court”; (c) “We are not convinced that the nominee will be able to shed their personal political beliefs and check those biases at the door of the Supreme Court”; (d) “The nominee has a troubling ethical record and we are concerned that they do not meet the standards of the highest judicial office in the nation”; (e) “We worry that the nominee’s close relationship with the president would compromise their impartiality”

Note: Respondents were randomized to receive a nominee profile with one value for each of the attributes described above. Half of respondents were randomly assigned to receive rhetoric attributed to *both* President Trump and Senate Democrats, and received one statement from each (b, c, d, or e). The other half of the sample received no politicized rhetoric (condition a).

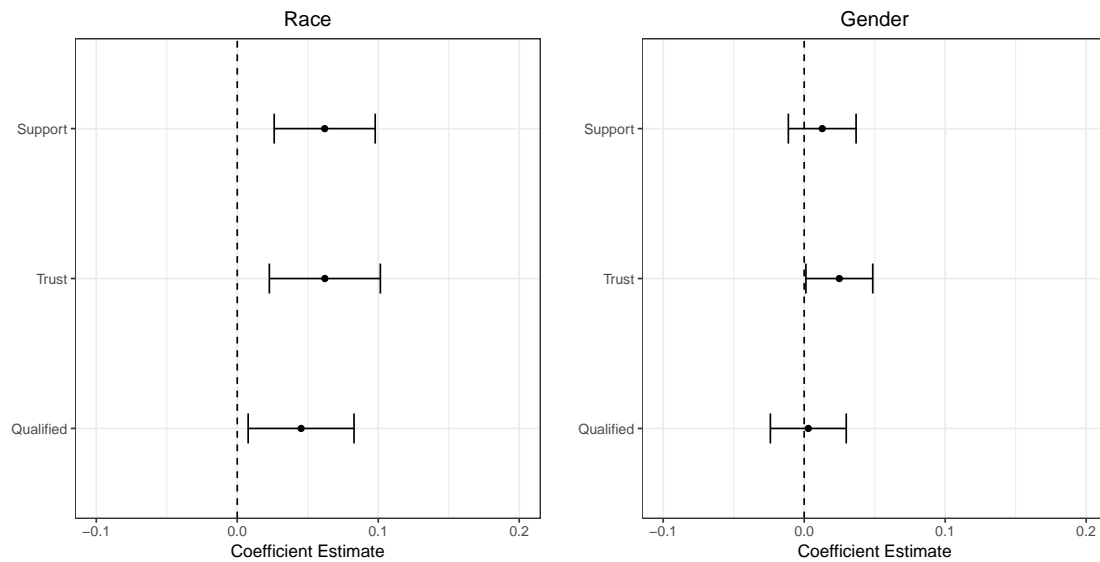
Table B.3: Effect of Descriptive Representation on Attitudes toward Judicial Nominees: Full Results (Binary Dependent Variables)

	Support	Trust	Qualified
Same gender	0.01 (0.01)	0.02* (0.01)	0.003 (0.014)
Same race	0.06* (0.02)	0.06* (0.02)	0.05* (0.02)
Position on Roe: Baseline = Roe is settled law			
Cannot comment	-0.09* (0.02)	-0.05* (0.02)	-0.05* (0.02)
Roe should be overturned	-0.08* (0.02)	-0.07* (0.02)	-0.05* (0.02)
Age: Baseline = 45 years			
55 years	0.01 (0.02)	-0.005 (0.015)	0.003 (0.017)
65 years	0.002 (0.016)	-0.008 (0.016)	-0.02 (0.02)
Law school: Baseline = Elite Ivy			
Well-regarded public	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.04* (0.02)
Second tier regional	-0.04* (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.07* (0.02)
Not top-100	-0.09* (0.02)	-0.04* (0.02)	-0.16* (0.02)
Current position: Baseline = Federal judge			
Elected politician	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.06* (0.02)	-0.11* (0.02)
Law professor	0.0002 (0.0217)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.04 (0.02)
Counsel at think-tank	-0.04 (0.02)	-0.07* (0.02)	-0.14* (0.02)
Corporate defense attorney	-0.05* (0.02)	-0.08* (0.02)	-0.15* (0.02)
Gender: Baseline = Male			
Female	-0.005 (0.012)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.005 (0.014)
Race: Baseline = White			
Black	0.08* (0.02)	0.07* (0.02)	0.06* (0.02)
Latina/o	0.03 (0.02)	0.05* (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)
Politicized rhetoric: Baseline = No			
Yes	-0.02 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	-0.04* (0.02)

Note: Entries show the average marginal component-specific effects for each attribute of the prospective nominees. The AMCEs represent the effect of each covariate while averaging over values of the other attributes. The dependent variables are binary. Standard errors clustered on respondents are in parentheses. * indicates $p < .05$.

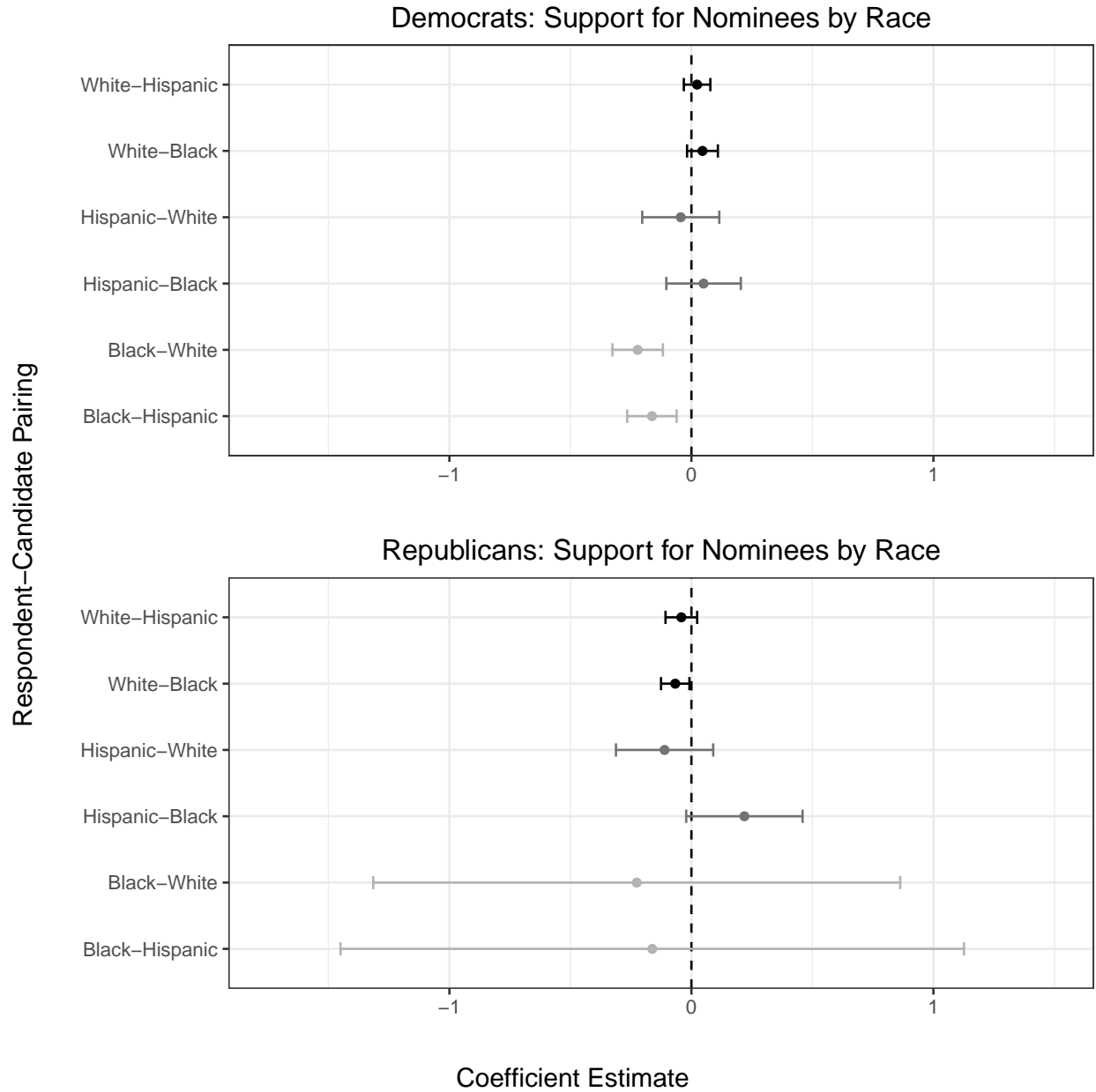
C Results with Bootstrapped Standard Errors

Figure C.1: Effect of Shared Descriptive Characteristics on Nominee Evaluations (Bootstrapped Standard Errors)



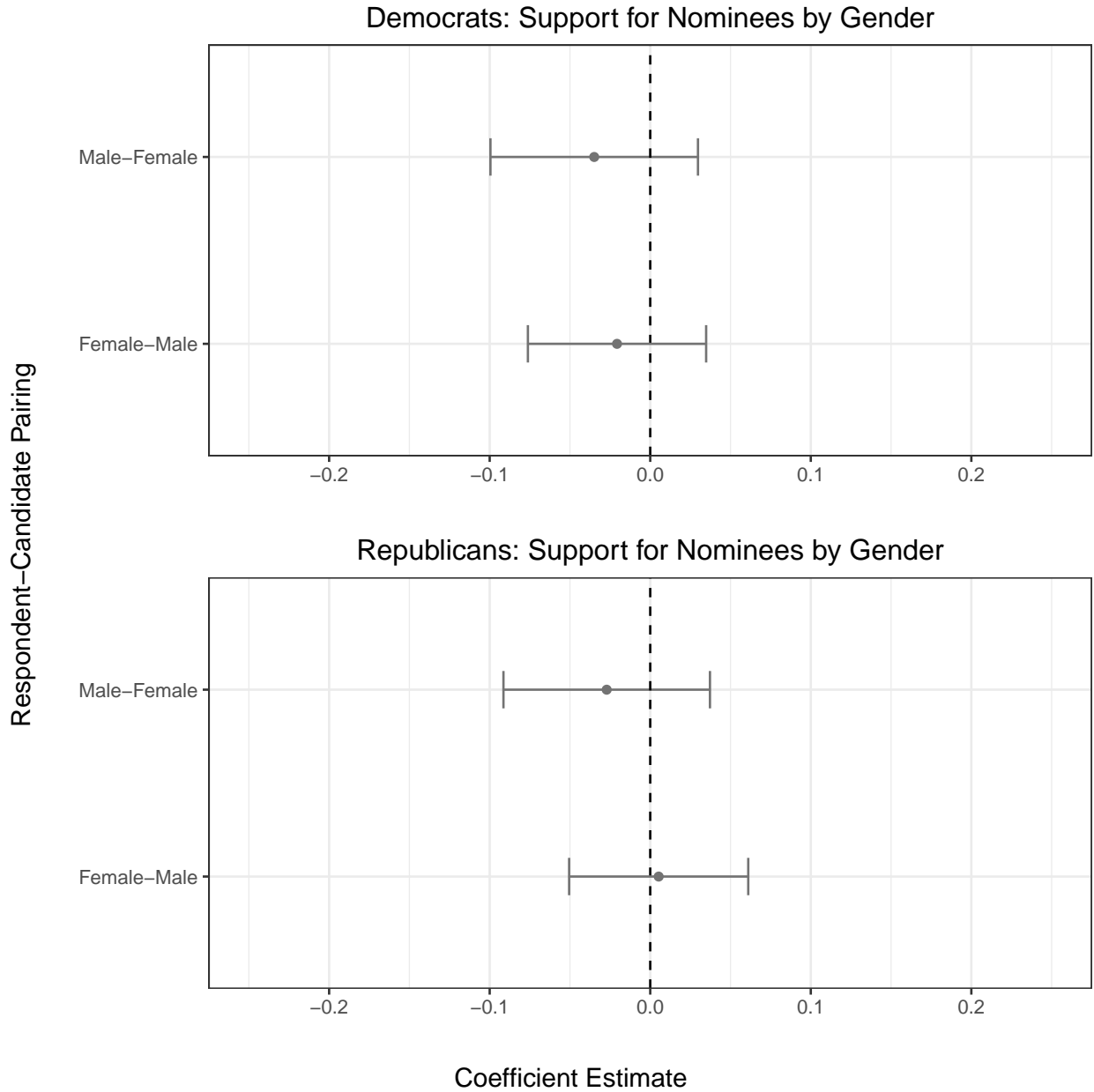
Note: The figure presents the average marginal component-specific effect of shared descriptive characteristics on respondents' evaluations of the nominee. The standard errors are clustered by respondent and bootstrapped. The results mirror those presented in the main text: substantively and statistically significant positive effects for shared race and minimal effects for shared gender.

Figure C.2: Partisanship, Race, and Nominee Support (Bootstrapped Standard Errors)



Note: The figure presents the estimated treatment effects of race on support for prospective Court nominees for racial subgroups for both Democrats (top panel) and Republicans (bottom panel). Each treatment effect presents the average difference in support for a respondent of a given race (first label) for a nominee of a given race (second label) compared to a nominee of the respondent's own race. The standard errors are clustered by respondent and bootstrapped. The results mirror those presented in the main text: substantively and statistically significant effects for Black Democrats and white Republicans.

Figure C.3: Partisanship, Gender, and Nominee Support (Bootstrapped Standard Errors)



Note: The figure presents the estimated treatment effects of gender on support for prospective Court nominees for racial subgroups for both Democrats (top panel) and Republicans (bottom panel). Each treatment effect presents the average difference in support for a respondent of a given gender (first label) for a nominee of a given gender (second label) compared to a nominee of the respondent's own race. The standard errors are clustered by respondent and bootstrapped. The results mirror those presented in the main text: small in magnitude and indistinguishable from zero.