SUPPLEMENTARY ONLINE APPENDIX

1. **The 2003 Blacks and the U.S. Supreme Court Survey (BSCS)**

The most “recent birthday method” was used to select respondents within telephone households. Only adult citizens of the United States were eligible to be interviewed. Compared with a typical national sample, Blacks are overrepresented in the 2003 BSCS. This overrepresentation of Black respondents does not bias our regression results because before running regression analyses we match data in the treated and control groups based on a set of variables including race. In other words, the matching procedure ensures the randomization of respondents in the treated and control groups by taking consideration of our defined set of variables including race. We restrict our analysis to Blacks and Whites. Respondents who identified themselves as Hispanic, Asian, Other, and Mixed Race account for about 5% of the original sample.

**2. Survey Question Wordings**

*Diffuse support for the Court*. Respondents were asked whether they disagree or agree with the following five statements:

1) The power of the Supreme Court to declare acts of Congress unconstitutional should be eliminated.

2) If the Supreme Court continually makes decisions that the people disagree with, it might be better to do away with the Court together.

3) It would not make much difference to me if the U.S. Constitution were rewritten so as to reduce the powers of the Supreme Court.

4) The right of the Supreme Court to decide certain types of controversial issues should be limited by the Congress.

5) People should be willing to do everything they can to make sure that any proposal to abolish the Supreme Court is defeated.

*Mainstream media exposure*.

1) How many days in the past week have you read a mainstream newspaper? (IF NECESSARY: Such as your local newspaper or a national newspaper like the New York Times.)

2) How many days in the past week have you watched a mainstream news program on television, such as a network news program?

*Black media exposure*.

1) How many days in the past week have you read a black newspaper? How many days in the past week have you watched a black news program on television, such as a news program on BET?

*Political interest*. Some people seem to follow what’s going on in government and public affairs most of the time, whether there’s an election going on or not. Others aren’t that interested. Would you say you follow what’s going on in government and public affairs most of the time, some of the time, only now and then, or hardly at all?

*Commitment to social order*. Respondents were asked whether they disagree or agree with the following three statements:

1) Free speech is just not worth it if free speech means that we have to put up with the danger to society of radical and extremist political views

2) Society shouldn’t have to put up with those who have political ideas that are extremely different than the majority

3) Because demonstrations frequently become disorderly and disruptive, radical and extremist political groups shouldn’t be allowed to demonstrate (Clawson et al., 2003; see also Caldeira and Gibson, 1992).

*Support for norms of democracy*. Respondents were asked whether they disagree or agree with the following three statements:

1) If someone is suspected of treason or other serious crimes, he should not be entitled to be released on bail

2) When the county is in great danger, we may have to force people to testify against themselves in court even if it violates their rights

3) Any person who hides behind the laws when he is questioned about his activities doesn’t deserve much consideration (Clawson et al., 2003; see Caldeira and Gibson, 1992; Sullivan et al., 1982).

*Trust in the federal government*. How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Washington to do what is right—just about always, most of the time, or only some of the time? (“Never” as an option is also provided.)

**3. Summary Statistics**

**Table A1(a). Demographic and Political Characteristics of Respondents**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Minimum | Maximum | Mean | Median | Std. Dev. |
| Diffuse support | -2.748 | 1.435 | -.012 | .096 | .999 |
| Age | 1 | 13 | 6.579 | 6 | 3.211 |
| Education | 1 | 8 | 6.339 | 7 | 1.520 |
| Female | 0 | 1 | .603 | 1 | .490 |
| Black | 0 | 1 | .710 | 1 | .454 |
| Black media exposure | 0 | 7 | 1.358 | 1 | 1.553 |
| Mainstream media exposure | 0 | 7 | 4.131 | 4 | 2.202 |
| Partisanship | -3 | 3 | -1.162 | -2 | 2.012 |
| Political ideology | -3 | 3 | .145 | 1 | 1.796 |
| Commitment to social order | -1.205 | 2.374 | .002 | -.141 | 1.003 |
| Support for democratic norms | -1.865 | 2.103 | .006 | -.019 | .997 |
| Black political membership | 0 | 1 | .260 | 0 | .439 |
| Trust in the federal government | 1 | 4 | 2.280 | 2 | .622 |
| Political interest | 1 | 4 | 3.348 | 4 | .833 |
| *N* |  | 489 |

**Note**. Among the variables used in our analyses, diffuse support, commitment to social order, and support for democratic norms are estimated with the first unrotated factor score from principal component factor analysis. Factor score from principal component factor analysis are standardized estimates with a mean of zero and a standard deviation of one. For the predicted factor scores for diffuse support, commitment to social order, and support for democratic norms, the mean and the standard deviation are approximately zero and one respectively.

**Table A1(b). Demographic and Political Characteristics of Respondents, by Race**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  | **Blacks** |  |  | **Whites** |
|  | Min. | Max. | Mean | Median | Std. Dev. | Min. | Max. | Mean | Median | Std. Dev. |
| Diffuse support | -2.748 | 1.435 | -.176 | -.125 | .985 | -2.748 | 1.435 | .388 | .548 | .921 |
| Age | 1 | 13 | 6.262 | 6 | 3.091 | 1 | 13 | 7.352 | 7 | 3.375 |
| Education | 1 | 8 | 6.251 | 7 | 1.542 | 3 | 8 | 6.556 | 7 | 1.447 |
| Female | 0 | 1 | .605 | 1 | .490 | 0 | 1 | .599 | 1 | .492 |
| Black | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Black media exposure | 0 | 7 | 1.768 | 1.500 | 1.600 | 0 | 3.5 | .356 | 0 | .796 |
| Mainstream media exposure | 0 | 7 | 3.999 | 4 | 2.184 | 0 | 7 | 4.454 | 4.500 | 2.222 |
| Partisanship | -3 | 3 | -1.778 | -3 | 1.618 | -3 | 3 | .3451 | 1 | 2.090 |
| Political ideology | -3 | 3 | .009 | 0 | 1.790 | -3 | 3 | .479 | 1 | 1.773 |
| Commitment to social order | -1.205 | 2.374 | .063 | -.090 | .994 | -1.205 | 2.374 | -.145 | -.310 | 1.012 |
| Support for democratic norms | -1.865 | 2.103 | .067 | .072 | .995 | -1.865 | 2.103 | -.145 | -.365 | .989 |
| Black political membership | 0 | 1 | .334 | 0 | .472 | 0 | 1 | .077 | 0 | .268 |
| Trust in the federal government | 1 | 4 | 2.159 | 2 | .522 | 1 | 4 | 2.577 | 2 | .737 |
| Political interest | 1 | 4 | 3.337 | 4 | .859 | 1 | 4 | 3.373 | 4 | .768 |
| *N* | 347 | 142 |

**Table A2(a). Descriptive Statistics for the Matched Data**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Minimum | Maximum | Mean | Median | Std. Dev. |
| Diffuse support | -2.505 | 1.435 | .113 | .232 | .954 |
| Age | 2 | 13 | 6.325 | 6 | 3.072 |
| Education | 2 | 8 | 6.900 | 8 | 1.411 |
| Female | 0 | 1 | .675 | 1 | .471 |
| Black | 0 | 1 | .813 | 1 | .393 |
| Black media exposure | 0 | 6.5 | 1.038 | .500 | 1.449 |
| Mainstream media exposure | 0 | 7 | 4.656 | 5 | 2.195 |
| Partisanship | -3 | 3 | -1.763 | -2 | 1.752 |
| Political ideology | -3 | 3 | .300 | 1 | 1.775 |
| Commitment to social order | -1.205 | 2.374 | -.106 | -.268 | .879 |
| Support for democratic norms | -1.865 | 2.103 | -.093 | .065 | .989 |
| Black political membership | 0 | 1 | .300 | 0 | .461 |
| Trust in the federal government | 1 | 4 | 2.225 | 2 | .616 |
| Political interest | 1 | 4 | 3.375 | 4 | .919 |
| *N* |  | 80 |

**Table A2(b). Descriptive Statistics for the Matched Data, by Race**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Blacks** | **Whites** |
|  | Min. | Max. | Mean | Median | Std. Dev. | Min. | Max. | Mean | Median | Std. Dev. |
| Diffuse support | -2.505 | 1.435 | .017 | .040 | .970 | -.754 | 1.435 | .528 | .535 | .778 |
| Age | 2 | 12 | 5.846 | 6 | 2.682 | 2 | 13 | 8.400 | 9 | 3.832 |
| Education | 2 | 8 | 6.692 | 7 | 1.468 | 6 | 8 | 7.800 | 8 | .561 |
| Female | 0 | 1 | .692 | 1 | .465 | 0 | 1 | .600 | 1 | .507 |
| Black | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Black media exposure | 0 | 6.5 | 1.192 | .500 | 1.558 | 0 | 1 | .367 | .500 | .399 |
| Mainstream media exposure | 0 | 7 | 4.231 | 4.500 | 2.189 | 4.5 | 7 | 6.500 | 7 | .906 |
| Partisanship | -3 | 3 | -2.185 | -3 | 1.198 | -3 | 3 | .067 | -1 | 2.520 |
| Political ideology | -3 | 3 | .369 | 1 | 1.746 | -3 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 1.927 |
| Commitment to social order | -1.205 | 2.374 | -.093 | -.268 | .851 | -1.205 | 2.108 | -.162 | -.310 | 1.021 |
| Support for democratic norms | -1.865 | 2.102 | .128 | .072 | .981 | -1.219 | 1.756 | -.060 | -.726 | 1.042 |
| Black political membership | 0 | 1 | .338 | 0 | .477 | 0 | 1 | .133 | 0 | .352 |
| Trust in the federal government | 1 | 4 | 2.138 | 2 | .527 | 2 | 4 | 2.600 | 2 | .828 |
| Political interest | 1 | 4 | 3.277 | 4 | .976 | 3 | 4 | 3.800  | 4 | .414 |
| *N* | 65 | 15 |

**4. Matching**

The treatment variable of our research interest is exposure vs. no exposure to the Black media. Because people’s exposure to the Black media is not random, we use coarsened exact matching to preprocess the raw data based on a set of pretreatment variables that are hypothesized to predict the treatment variable (Blackwell et al., 2009).

These pretreatment variables include gender (*female*), race (*black*), age (*agegrp*), education (*education*), partisanship (*partyid*), ideology (*ideology*), and mainstream media exposure (*mainmd*). In the raw dataset, gender and race are binary variables; age is a continuous variable; education, partisanship and ideology are categorical variables. We categorize age into 13 age groups (*agegrp*) because the effect of age is probably not linear. Using either age or age group in the matching process has little substantive impact on the size of the matched sample and our estimation of the treatment variable in our analysis. Lastly, mainstream media exposure is operationalized as the arithmetic mean of the number of days respondents reported reading a mainstream newspaper and the number of days respondents reported watching a mainstream news program on television, thus it is a continuous variable.

 For the raw data or the unmatched data, Table A3(a) below presents the multivariate *L1* statistic, which measures the overall imbalance in the data based on the treatment variable as well as a set of univariate imbalance statistics with respect to each of the pretreatment variables included in the matching process.

**Table A3(a). Multivariate and Univariate Imbalance Statistics, the Raw Data (age group used in the matching process)**

|  |
| --- |
| **Multivariate *L1*** |
| .987 |
| **Univariate *L1*** |
| *mainmd* | .151  |
| *agegrp* | .135  |
| *education* | .138  |
| *female* | .052 |
| *black* | .4232  |
| *partyid* | .256  |
| *ideology* | .198 |

When using *age* instead of *agegrp* for the raw data, the same multivariate *L1* statistic is generated (see Table A3(b) below).

**Table A3(b). Multivariate and Univariate Imbalance Statistics, the Raw Data (actual years of age used in the matching process)**

|  |
| --- |
| **Multivariate *L1*** |
| .987 |
| **Univariate *L1*** |
| *mainmd* | .151  |
| *age* | .151  |
| *education* | .138 |
| *female* | .052  |
| *black* | .423  |
| *partyid* | .256  |
| *ideology* | .198  |

Before we use coarsened exact matching to preprocess our raw data, we “set the coarsening for each variable such that substantively indistinguishable values are grouped and assigned the same numerical value” (Blackwell et al., 2009, p. 533). Accordingly, we divide age into six segments: the very young (18 to 20), young adults (21–30), early middle-aged (31–40), middle-aged (41–50), late middle age (51–60), and the elderly (61–91). We classify education into four levels of educational attainment—consisting of less than high school, high school graduate, some college or university, and college graduate or higher. We recode partisanship into three categories (*cem\_partyid*): Republican, Independent, and Democrat. For ideological preferences, we group people into conservatives, moderates, and liberals (*cem\_ideo*). For mainstream media exposure, we use the 25%, 50%, and 75% quartiles as the cut points. Lastly, gender and race, which are dichotomous variables, do not need further coarsening.

Table A3(c) below presents several matching statistics after we implement the coarsened exact matching. The matching process results in a matched sample size of eighty and reductions in the overall imbalance in the data as well as all the univariate imbalance statistics (for a visual display of these reductions, refer to Figure A1).

**Table A3(c). Multivariate and Univariate Imbalance Statistics, the Matched Data**

|  |
| --- |
| **Multivariate *L1*** |
| .469 |
| **Univariate *L1*** |
| *mainmd* | .093  |
| *agegrp* | .008  |
| *education* | .05814 |
| *female* | 0  |
| *black* | 0  |
| *partyid* | 0  |
| *ideology* | 0  |

**Figure A1. Univariate Imbalance Statistics Before and After Matching**



**5.**

**Table A4. Impact Estimates of Black Media Exposure on Diffuse Support for the Supreme Court in the Post-CEM Data (Black Political Membership is included in the matching procedure.)**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | Estimated Coefficient | Standard Error |
|  Exposure to the Black media | -.618\*\* | .220 |
|  Mainstream media exposure | .176\* | .080 |
|  Age | .013 | .057 |
|  Education | .246† | .137 |
|  Female | -.335 | .409 |
|  Black | .541 | .393 |
|  Partisanship | .191\* | .085 |
|  Ideology | -.190\* | .077 |
|  Commitment to social order | -.017 | .139 |
|  Support for democratic norms | .103 | .129 |
|  Black political membership | -.025 | .453 |
|  Trust the federal government | .160 | .213 |
|  Political interest | -.215 | .136 |
|  Constant | -1.625 | 1.196 |
| *N* | 43 |
| Adjusted R2 | .480 |

\*\* *p* < .01; \**p* < .05; † *p* < .10

**6.**

**Table A5. Logistic Regression Results for Variables Predicting Exposure to the Black Media**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | Estimated Coefficient | Standard Error |
| Mainstream media exposure | .251\*\*\* | .057 |
| Age | -.109\*\* | .038 |
| Education | -.103 | .083 |
| Female | -.265 | .233 |
| Black | 1.858\*\*\* | .287 |
| Partisanship | -.106† | .064 |
| Ideology | -.178\*\* | .064 |
| Commitment to social order | .049 | .130 |
| Support for democratic norms | .130 | .124 |
| Black political membership | .477† | .286 |
| Trust the federal government | -.022 | .194 |
| Political interest | .103 | .145 |
| Constant | -.707 | .834 |
| *N* | 489 |
| Model *χ2* | 146.69 (*p* < .001) |
| Pseduo *R2* | .227 |
| \*\*\* p < .001; \*\* *p* < .01; \**p* < .05; † *p* < .10 |

**REFERENCES (for online appendix)**

Blackwell, Matthew, Stefano Iacus, Gary King, and Giuseppe Porro (2009). CEM: Coarsened Exact Matching in Stata. *The Stata Journal*, 9(4): 524–546.

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Sullivan, John L., James Piereson, and Gorge E. Marcus (1982). *Political Tolerance and American Democracy*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.