**APPENDIX**

**Adding Negative Police Experiences and Interactions with Black People**

Kevin Drakulich, Eric Rodriguez‐Whitney, and Jesenia Robles

As we argue in the main paper (Drakulich, Rodriguez‐Whitney, and Robles, 2023), we do not have reason to believe that omitted variables had a major impact on our key finding that racial resentment has a substantial influence on views of the police and explains a significant portion of the difference between Black and white Americans. However, for the sake of thoroughness, we located a third dataset that allows us to explore two specific additional possibilities.

The first is a more direct measure of a specifically negative experience with the police: the self-reported experience of being unfairly stopped by the police because of your race or ethnicity. The second is a measure of self-reported interactions with Black people, which may help capture one dimension of another possible explanation for racial differences: that white people may have fewer interactions with Black people than do Black people, giving them fewer opportunities to hear about the experiences of those who are disproportionately mistreated by the police.

Several other differences exist between this analysis and the one reported in the paper, including the lack of a general measure of warmth toward the police, the wording of the perceived police discrimination question, the lack of a measure of racial violence stereotypes, and the wording of the questions used to create a measure of modern racism. Despite these differences, we believe these analyses provide additional and reassuring evidence against concerns about potential omitted variables in the main analysis.

**Data**

To do this we use wave 43 from the American Trends Panel—a national, probability-based online panel of adults in the United States—conducted by Pew Research Center between January 22 to February 5, 2019 (Menasce Horowitz, Brown, and Cox, 2019; Pew Research Center, 2019). The sample was pre-divided into two panels that received different forms/questions. The questions we are interested in are in Form 1. Using included sample weights, respondents are weighted to represent the noninstitutionalized age 18+ population on the basis of gender, race-ethnicity, age, census region, education, party identification, volunteerism, and voter registration. For comparability with the main study, we restrict the analysis to Black and white respondents.

**Measures**

***Perceived police discrimination.*** The survey includes one question capturing views of the police which is comparable to the measure of perceived police discrimination used in our main analyses. Respondents were asked whether they would say in general that black people were treated more or less fairly than white people “in dealing with the police.”

***Experienced police discrimination.*** The survey also asks respondents whether they have been “unfairly stopped by police” because of their race or ethnicity. Around nine percent of white respondents report such an experience versus around 45 percent of Black respondents.

***Interactions with Black people.*** Respondents were asked “in your daily life, how much interaction, if any, would you say you have with people who are Black.” Not surprisingly, Black respondents reported significantly more interactions with other Black people than did white respondents.

***Racial attitudes.*** The survey includes identical questions to the main studies capturing racial affect: feeling thermometers asked separated about feelings toward “Blacks” and “Whites,” allowing us to construct identical measures. The survey unfortunately does not have questions capturing violent crime stereotypes.

While the study does not have identical measures capturing racial resentment, it does include a variety of measures that allow us to construct a similar measure of modern racism. As we describe in the main paper, a modern racial logic “operates by explicitly eschewing race, emphasizing individualism and meritocracy, but while simultaneously and intentionally minimizing or dismissing the special barriers faced by Black Americans that explain unequal outcomes.” A broader dismissal of the importance of race is captured in a question asking respondents how much being black affects people’s ability to get ahead in our country these days. Similarly, a second question asks what is the bigger problem for our country: people not seeing racism where it really does exist or people seeing racism where it really does not exist. The third and fourth questions tap into dismissals of a history of slavery and of contemporary discrimination. Respondents were asked how much they think the legacy of slavery affects the position of Black people in American society today, and whether racial discrimination is or isn’t a major reason why Black people in our country may have a harder time getting ahead than white people. Finally, a fifth question capture a preference for individualistic attributions for racial economic inequalities, asking whether Black people have a harder time getting ahead than white people because of a “lack of motivation to work hard.” A simple orthogonal principal components exploratory factor analysis of these five questions, all coded such that higher values reflect a modern racial logic, confirmed that the measures all loaded well on a single dimension. We use factor scores from this exploratory factor analysis in the analyses to capture a modern racial logic. A measure created by averaging standardized scores produced similar results.

We also include a measure distinguishing respondents identifying as Black relative to white so we can examine potential mediation. We include controls similar to those in the models in the main paper: sex, age categories (with 65-plus as the reference), marital status (those who are married or cohabitating and those who are separated, divorced or widowed, with single people as the reference category), indicators for whether the respondent has finished some college or whether they have a college degree or beyond (with a high school diploma or less as the reference), and family income categories (30-75 thousand dollars, more than 75 thousand dollars, with less than 30 as the reference).

**Methods**

 Our methodological approach and our limitations are similar to those reported in the main paper. As in that paper, we begin by looking at stepped regression models and then exploring average mediation effects more directly (using the same software and packages).

**Results**

 Table A1 presents the results from the stepped regressions predicting perceived police discrimination. In the first column we look at the direct effect of race controlling for basic demographic and biographical characteristics. Respondents who have graduated from college or who have an advanced degree are significantly more likely to believe that the police treat Black Americans less fairly. Even after the controls, Black respondents were significantly more likely to believe that the police treat Black people less fairly than white people.

 The second column add our two new measure of racialized experiences that may inform views of the police. The experience of being personally mistreated by the police on the basis of race is not significantly related to perceptions of police discrimination overall (although we explore this in more depth below). Those respondents who interact more frequently with Black people were more likely to believe that the police more often treat Black people unfairly, as expected. However, just as in the main paper, this stage does not seem to add much to the model overall (there is no change in adjusted R2 and the BIC suggests slightly worse fit after adjusting for the added complexity) nor does it appear to have much influence on the direct effect of race on perceived police discrimination.

 The third column adds the measures of political and racial views. Those who identify as Republicans are significantly less likely to perceive the police as biased against Black Americans. And, just as in the main paper, those who hold a modern racial logic that includes a minimization of the importance of race and a preference for explanations of Black inequalities rooted in Black deficiencies rather than discrimination and a history of racism are substantially less likely to perceive the police as biased against Black people. Including these measures substantially increases the variance explained and the fit of the model overall, and they appear to almost completely explain the direct effect of race, given the sizable drop in the estimate and significance for Black.

As in the main paper, we also explore the possibility of mediation directly. Only Republican identification and modern racism are significantly related to perceived police discrimination in the final model and thus are candidates for mediation. However, for thoroughness, we also report mediation analyses for the two novel measures included in this analysis over that in the main paper. Not surprisingly, the average mediation effects (indirect effects) are not significant for either experienced police discrimination (.00 with a 95% CI of -.02, .02) or frequency of interactions with Black people (.01 with a 95% CI of -.02, .03). However, there is a significant average mediation effect for Republican identification (.05 with a 95% CI of .01, .08) and for our measure of modern racism (.20 with a 95% CI of .17, .25). For the measure of modern racism, even the 99.99% confidence interval (.14, .28) does not include zero.

Finally, given the unexpected lack of a significant effect for negative experiences with the police, we also explore the possibility that white and Black respondents interpreted these experiences differently. The fourth column of Table A1 replicates the second column, but adds an interaction between being unfairly stopped by the police based on race and the race of the respondent. The interaction is significant, and suggests that for Black respondents, the experience of a racially biased police encounter produces a small increase in perceptions that the police are biased against Black people overall. Among white respondents, the experience of an unjust police stop produces a small decrease in beliefs that the police act unfairly toward Black relative to white people overall. Column 5 adds in the measures of political and racial attitudes. Republican identification and a modern racial logic remain significantly associated with perceived police discrimination. The interaction between race and unjust police experiences drops in size and is no longer significant. We suspect that the story in which some white respondents both deny that the police treat Black people unfairly overall and report that they have personally experienced police discrimination for being white are in fact a reflection of an extreme version of the modern racial logic in which white Americans are now the more common victims of racial discrimination (e.g. Norton and Sommers 2011). In any case, our measure of the modern racial logic remains significant and continues to significantly mediate the direct effect of race even after this interaction is included in the model. Results from the mediation analysis based on the model in column 5 show an average mediation effect of .05 (95% confidence interval: .01, .08) for Republican identification and .20 (95% confidence interval: .17, .25) for a modern racial logic.

**Conclusion**

 Despite a number of differences with the analyses reported in the main paper—including the inclusion of a measure of personal experiences with police racial discrimination and a measure of interactions with Black people—the results are remarkably similar, emphasizing the importance of political and racial views and particularly the role of a modern racial logic in shaping views of the police. This is the case even after controlling for two possible explanations not accounted for in the main analyses: a direct measure of negative and discriminatory experiences with the police, and at least one mechanism by which the racial context might matter: the frequency of interactions with Black people. This strengthens our confidence in our interpretations and conclusion.

**References**

Drakulich, Kevin, Eric Rodriguez‐Whitney, and Jesenia Robles (2022). Why White Americans More Frequently Fail to View the Police Critically: A Subtle but Vital Shift in Focus. *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race*, online.

Menasce Horowitz, Juliana, Anna Brown, and Kiana Cox (2019). *Race in America 2019*. Pew Research Center.

Norton, Michael I., and Samuel R. Sommers (2011). Whites See Racism as a Zero-Sum Game That They Are Now Losing. *Perspectives on Psychological Science,* 6(3): 215–218.

Pew Research Center (2019). American Trends Panel Wave 43 [Dataset].

**Tables**

|  |
| --- |
| Table A1. Coefficients from models predicting views of police discrimination from Pew data |
|  | Perceived police discrimination |
|  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|  | b | SE | b | SE | b | SE | b | SE | b | SE |
| *Intercept* | 2.55\*\*\* | *.04* | 2.48\*\*\* | *.06* | 2.82\*\*\* | *.06* | 2.49\*\*\* | *.06* | 2.83\*\*\* | *.06* |
| Female | .03 | *.02* | .02 | *.02* | -.01 | *.02* | .03 | *.02* | -.01 | *.02* |
| Age 18-29 | .03 | *.04* | .02 | *.04* | -.05 | *.03* | .02 | *.04* | -.05 | *.03* |
| Age 30-49 | -.05 | *.03* | -.05 | *.03* | -.07\* | *.03* | -.05 | *.03* | -.07\* | *.03* |
| Age 50-64 | -.06 | *.03* | -.07\* | *.03* | -.05 | *.03* | -.07\* | *.03* | -.05 | *.03* |
| Married/ partner | -.04 | *.03* | -.03 | *.03* | -.02 | *.03* | -.03 | *.03* | -.01 | *.03* |
| Separated/div./wid. | .04 | *.04* | .04 | *.04* | .02 | *.03* | .03 | *.04* | .02 | *.03* |
| Some college | .03 | *.03* | .03 | *.03* | .00 | *.02* | .03 | *.03* | .00 | *.02* |
| College plus | .25\*\*\* | *.03* | .25\*\*\* | *.03* | .05\* | *.02* | .24\*\*\* | *.03* | .05\* | *.02* |
| Income 30-75K | -.01 | *.03* | -.01 | *.03* | .01 | *.03* | -.02 | *.03* | .01 | *.03* |
| Income 75K+ | .00 | *.03* | .00 | *.03* | .02 | *.03* | .00 | *.03* | .02 | *.03* |
| Black | .25\*\*\* | *.03* | .24\*\*\* | *.03* | -.02 | *.03* | .16\*\*\* | *.04* | -.04 | *.04* |
| Unfairly stopped by police |  |  | -.01 | *.03* | .00 | *.03* | -.11\* | *.04* | -.03 | *.04* |
| Interact with Black people |  |  | .03\* | *.01* | .01 | *.01* | .03\* | *.01* | .01 | *.01* |
| Republican |  |  |  |  | -.05\*\*\* | *.01* |  |  | -.05\*\*\* | *.01* |
| Conservative |  |  |  |  | -.01 | *.01* |  |  | -.01 | *.01* |
| Cold black/white |  |  |  |  | .00 | *.00* |  |  | .00 | *.00* |
| Modern racial logic |  |  |  |  | -.26\*\*\* | *.01* |  |  | -.25\*\*\* | *.01* |
| Black\*unfairly stopped |  |  |  |  |  |  | .25\*\*\* | *.07* | .07 | *.06* |
| Adjusted R2 | .07 |  | .07 |  | .35 |  | .08 |  | .35 |  |
| BIC | 4297.06 |  | 4308.38 |  | 3526.70 |  | 4302.41 |  | 3532.70 |  |
| N | 2253 |
| \* p<.05; \*\* p<.01; \*\*\*p<.001. |