

# Police Abuse or Just Deserts? Deservingness Perceptions and State Violence: Supplementary Material

Mackenzie Israel-Trummel\* and Shea Streeter†

## Contents

<b>1</b>	<b>Experimental Design</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>2</b>	<b>Measures</b>	<b>3</b>
2.1	Variables Used to Test for Balance Across Treatments . . . . .	4
<b>3</b>	<b>Tables</b>	<b>6</b>

## List of Tables

S1	Experimental Treatments Balance Table . . . . .	7
S2	Omnibus Balance Tests Relative to White Male Condition . . . . .	7
S3	Treatment Group Means and t-tests, all respondents . . . . .	8
S4	Treatment Group Means and t-tests, by respondent race and gender . . . . .	9
S5	OLS Models for Figure 4—Modeling Support for Restorative Justice via Financial Restitution . . . . .	11
S6	OLS Models of Restoring Justice on Shared Race and Gender with Detainee . . . . .	12
S7	Additional Tests of Experimental Treatments . . . . .	13
S8	Additional Tests of Experimental Treatments, White Respondents . . . . .	14
S9	Additional Tests of Experimental Treatments, Black Respondents . . . . .	15

---

\*Assistant Professor, William & Mary, mit@wm.edu

†Assistant Professor, University of Michigan, sashea@umich.edu

# 1 Experimental Design

The survey experiment was part of the Race and Carceral State Survey.<sup>1</sup> The survey instrument was administered to a pool of consenting and anonymous adults, recruited by the online survey company, Survey Sampling International (now Dynata) during the summer of 2017. Participants included a diverse pool of respondents with respect to age, gender, region, income and education, but who all indicated at the beginning of the survey that they were either White or Black/African American.

One-quarter of respondents identify themselves as politically liberal and another quarter as politically conservative. This is also not simply a case of White respondents being conservative and Black respondents being liberal. Twenty-four percent of White respondents are liberal compared to 32% identifying as conservative, and 31% of Black respondents are liberal compared to 14% of Black respondents who say they are conservative.

Respondents were randomized into one of four treatment groups which varied the race and gender of the detainee. The detainee was either a Black man, Black woman, White man, or White woman. The detainee is described by their race and gender identity in the first sentence of the story and then also identified by a name drawn from Bertrand and Mullanaithan’s 2004 study that identifies names as predominantly Black or White.

## *New Video Shows Police Beating a Detainee*

A recent video shows a police officer beating a [Black/White] [man/woman]. The detainee, identified only by [his/her] first name, [Darnell/Tamika/Neil/Allison], does not appear to be resisting arrest.

What the video doesn’t show—according to a spokesman for the police department—is that the suspect was threatening police in the minutes before the video begins.

“It’s not an assault,” the police spokesman said. “The officers were responding to a dangerous and threatening situation.”

The victim disagrees. In a complaint to the department [he/she] stated, “They were just kicking. I was kicked about three times in the side, kicked in my forehead. After a while, I couldn’t really tell where I was being assaulted. I just knew my body was hurting.”

The district attorney is reviewing the video and investigating whether to file charges against the officers involved. The police department is also conducting an internal investigation. The officers are currently on paid leave.

---

<sup>1</sup>Anoll, Allison P. and Mackenzie Israel-Trummel. 2017. “The Race and Carceral State Survey.” <https://allisonanoll.com/data/>

## 2 Measures

**Fault of Detainee.** Do you think the detainee could have done something differently to change the outcome of this interaction?

- Yes, definitely (3)
- Yes, probably (2)
- No, probably not (1)
- No, definitely not (0)

**Fault of Police.** Do you think the police officers could have done something differently to change the outcome of this interaction?

- Yes, definitely (3)
- Yes, probably (2)
- No, probably not (1)
- No, definitely not (0)

**Deserve Financial Restitution.** The detainee is bringing a suit against the city and police department for [his/her] injuries. Do you think [he/she] should receive a monetary settlement?

- Yes (1)
- No (0)

**Criminal Involvement.** How likely do you think it is, that the detainee has been involved in some sort of crime?

- Very likely (3)
- Somewhat likely (2)
- Somewhat unlikely (1)
- Very unlikely (0)

**Race.** What racial or ethnic group best describes you?

- White (0)
- Black or African-American (1)
- Asian or Asian-American (terminate)
- Native American (terminate)
- Mixed Race (terminate)
- Other (please specify) (terminate)

## 2.1 Variables Used to Test for Balance Across Treatments

### Racial Resentment

1. Irish, Italians, Jews and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors.
2. Generations of discrimination and slavery have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class. (Reverse coded)
3. Over the past few years, blacks have gotten less than they deserve. (Reverse coded)
4. It's really a matter of people not trying hard enough; if blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites.

- Strongly disagree (0)
- Somewhat disagree (1)
- Neither agree nor disagree (2)
- Somewhat agree (3)
- Strongly agree (4)

\*\*Items added together to create 0-16 scale.

**Fear Police.** How worried are you that you or a member of your family might be a victim of police violence?

- Not worried (0) ..... Very worried (4)

**Police Abuse in Network** Have any of your closest friends and family ever been physically mistreated or abused by the police?

- No (0)
- Yes, 1 person (1)
- Yes, 2 people (1)
- Yes, 3 or more people (1)

**Crime Victim.** Have you, yourself, been the victim of a serious crime in the last 5 years?

- Yes (1)
- No (0)

**Felony Conviction.** Have you ever been convicted of or pled guilty to a felony since turning 18 years old?

- Yes (1)
- No (0)
- Not sure (0)

**Income.** Thinking back over the last year, what was your family's annual income?

- Less than \$10,000 (0)
- \$10,000–\$19,999 (1)
- \$20,000–\$29,999 (2)
- \$30,000–\$39,999 (3)
- \$40,000–\$49,999 (4)
- \$50,000–\$59,999 (5)
- \$60,000–\$69,999 (6)
- \$70,000–\$79,999 (7)
- \$80,000–\$99,999 (8)
- \$100,000–\$119,999 (9)
- \$120,000–\$149,999 (10)
- More than \$150,000 (11)

**Ideology.** In general, how would you describe your own political viewpoint?

- Very liberal (0)
- Liberal (1)
- Moderate (2)
- Conservative (3)
- Very conservative (4)
- Not sure (2)

**Partisanship.** C015 Generally speaking, where would you place yourself on the following scale?

- Strong Democrat (0)..... Strong Republican (6)

**Education.** What is the highest level of education you have completed?

- Did not graduate from high school (0)
- High school graduate (1)
- Some college, but no degree (yet) (2)
- 2-year college degree (3)
- 4-year college degree (4)
- Postgraduate degree (MA, MBA, MD, JD, PhD, etc.) (5)

**Woman.** Are you a man or woman?

- Man (0)
- Woman (1)

# 3 Tables

## Summary of Tables

- Table S1 shows the mean values for a series of demographic and attitudinal variables across the detainee race-gender treatment groups (coding for these variables is included in section 2.1 of this appendix). Using chi-square tests, the only statistically significant difference across groups is respondent gender. Women were most likely to be assigned to the White male condition and least likely to be assigned to the Black male condition.
- Table S2 reports the results of omnibus balance tests using the same demographic and attitudinal variables as in Table S1. We use randomization inference with 5000 replications and compare assignment to the White female, Black male, and Black female detainee conditions against assignment to the White male condition.
- Tables S3 and S4 are the same as Tables 1 and 2 in the article, but includes the effects of the treatments on the fault variables (police and detainee) and perceptions of criminality, as well as the t statistics that were omitted in Tables 1 and 2 for space.
- Table S5 provides the regression models used to produce Figure 4 in the article. These models show that while the correlations between perceived fault of detainee, fault of police, and criminal involvement are correlated with supporting restorative justice via financial settlements for both White and Black respondents, the magnitudes of the coefficients are much smaller among Black respondents than among Whites.
- Table S6 recodes the treatments such that they indicate whether the detainee shares a race and/or gender identity with the respondent. We find no evidence of shared intersectional race-gender identities influencing respondent decisions about awarding financial settlements.
- Tables S7- S9 explore the analysis of the treatments in a stepped process. First, we examine the main effects of detainee race and gender. Then we interact them. Then we include each of the perceptions variables (fault of police, fault of detainee, detainee criminal involvement) individually.

Table S1: Experimental Treatments Balance Table

	White male (N=2821)	White female (N=2795)	Black male (N=2768)	Black female (N=2782)	$\chi^2$ (df)	p-value
Woman	0.698	0.662	0.643	0.685	23.099(3)	0.000
Black	0.267	0.283	0.287	0.264	5.435(3)	0.143
Income	4.281	4.226	4.141	4.281	29.680(33)	0.633
Education	2.244	2.250	2.248	2.295	17.351(15)	0.298
Ideology	1.990	2.015	1.994	2.012	6.925(12)	0.863
Party ID	2.738	2.715	2.684	2.780	12.903(18)	0.797
Fear police	1.045	1.074	1.083	1.078	5.6705(12)	0.932
Network police abuse	0.387	0.397	0.411	0.425	4.6607(9)	0.863
Crime victim	0.068	0.077	0.065	0.082	7.0589(3)	0.070
Felony conviction	0.052	0.058	0.059	0.062	2.668(3)	0.446
Racial resentment	8.485	8.339	8.367	8.427	50.534(48)	0.374

This table shows mean values in each detainee race-gender treatment group and Pearson's Chi-squared test statistic. The chi-squared value for the distribution of respondents across the four treatments is 0.546 with 3 degrees of freedom ( $p=0.909$ ).

Table S2: Omnibus Balance Tests Relative to White Male Condition

	White female	Black male	Black female
F statistic	1.372	2.564	1.143
p-value	0.171	0.002	0.318

This table shows the results of omnibus balance tests using randomization inference comparing treatment assignment conditions to the White male detainee condition. We use 5000 replications.

Table S3: Treatment Group Means and t-tests, all respondents

		Detainee Treatment Condition			
		White male	White female	Black male	Black female
Restitution	<b>Mean</b>	<b>0.611</b>	<b>0.641</b>	<b>0.613</b>	<b>0.595</b>
	t stat (p-val)				
	White female	-2.382(0.017)			
	Black male	-0.160(0.873)	2.211(0.027)		
	Black female	1.221(0.222)	3.593(0.000)	1.374(0.170)	
Fault detainee	<b>Mean</b>	<b>1.720</b>	<b>1.698</b>	<b>1.670</b>	<b>1.745</b>
	t stat (p-val)				
	White female	1.007(0.314)			
	Black male	2.271(0.023)	1.273(0.203)		
	Black female	-1.146(0.252)	-2.116(0.034)	-3.327(0.001)	
Fault police	<b>Mean</b>	<b>2.310</b>	<b>2.335</b>	<b>2.302</b>	<b>2.312</b>
	t stat (p-val)				
	White female	-1.325(0.185)			
	Black male	0.417(0.676)	1.726(0.084)		
	Black female	-0.123(0.902)	1.185(0.236)	-0.533(0.594)	
Crim. involv.	<b>Mean</b>	<b>2.008</b>	<b>1.898</b>	<b>1.937</b>	<b>1.833</b>
	t stat (p-val)				
	White female	5.865(0.000)			
	Black male	3.827(0.000)	-2.004(0.045)		
	Black female	9.003(0.000)	3.231(0.001)	5.188(0.000)	

T statistics and p-values are provided for comparisons between each treatment condition using two-tailed t-tests.



Table S4: Treatment Group Means and t-tests, by respondent race and gender

		Detainee Treatment Condition			
		White male	White female	Black male	Black female
<i>White Men Respondents</i>					
Restitution	<b>Mean</b>	<b>0.518</b>	<b>0.538</b>	<b>0.500</b>	<b>0.479</b>
	t stat (p-val)				
	White female	-0.666(0.506)			
	Black male	0.603(0.547)	1.301(0.193)		
	Black female	1.300(0.194)	2.000(0.046)	0.729(0.466)	
Fault detainee	<b>Mean</b>	<b>1.899</b>	<b>1.836</b>	<b>1.830</b>	<b>1.916</b>
	t stat (p-val)				
	White female	1.364(0.173)			
	Black male	1.496(0.135)	0.134(0.894)		
	Black female	-0.342(0.732)	-1.715(0.087)	-1.847(0.065)	
Fault police	<b>Mean</b>	<b>2.167</b>	<b>2.240</b>	<b>2.207</b>	<b>2.188</b>
	t stat (p-val)				
	White female	-1.685(0.092)			
	Black male	-0.940(0.347)	0.809(0.419)		
	Black female	-0.465(0.642)	1.236(0.217)	0.468(0.640)	
Crim. involv.	<b>Mean</b>	<b>2.104</b>	<b>1.968</b>	<b>2.067</b>	<b>2.004</b>
	t stat (p-val)				
	White female	3.259(0.001)			
	Black male	0.927(0.354)	-2.418(0.016)		
	Black female	2.407(0.016)	-0.839(0.402)	1.547(0.122)	
<i>White Women Respondents</i>					
Restitution	<b>Mean</b>	<b>0.541</b>	<b>0.573</b>	<b>0.527</b>	<b>0.514</b>
	t stat (p-val)				
	White female	-1.760(0.078)			
	Black male	0.774(0.439)	2.474(0.013)		
	Black female	1.494(0.135)	3.218(0.001)	0.684(0.494)	
Fault detainee	<b>Mean</b>	<b>1.714</b>	<b>1.737</b>	<b>1.715</b>	<b>1.814</b>
	t stat (p-val)				
	White female	-0.794(0.427)			
	Black male	-0.008(0.994)	0.759(0.448)		
	Black female	-3.587(0.000)	-2.745(0.006)	-3.456(0.001)	
Fault police	<b>Mean</b>	<b>2.276</b>	<b>2.296</b>	<b>2.241</b>	<b>2.278</b>
	t stat (p-val)				
	White female	-0.812(0.417)			
	Black male	1.374(0.170)	2.147(0.032)		
	Black female	-0.079(0.937)	0.730(0.465)	-1.443(0.149)	
Crim. involv.	<b>Mean</b>	<b>2.068</b>	<b>1.995</b>	<b>2.034</b>	<b>1.941</b>
	t stat (p-val)				
	White female	3.069(0.002)			
	Black male	1.4307(0.153)	-1.5813(0.114)		
	Black female	5.178(0.000)	2.127(0.034)	3.665(0.000)	

		Detainee Treatment Condition			
		White male	White female	Black male	Black female
<i>Black Men Respondents</i>					
Restitution	<b>Mean</b>	<b>0.809</b>	<b>0.803</b>	<b>0.807</b>	<b>0.825</b>
	t stat (p-val)				
	White female	0.221(0.825)			
	Black male	0.069(0.945)	-0.160(0.873)		
	Black female	-0.529(0.597)	-0.769(0.442)	-0.621(0.535)	
Fault detainee	<b>Mean</b>	<b>1.720</b>	<b>1.639</b>	<b>1.559</b>	<b>1.562</b>
	t stat (p-val)				
	White female	1.200(0.230)			
	Black male	2.422(0.016)	1.239(0.216)		
	Black female	2.206(0.028)	1.104(0.270)	-0.042(0.967)	
Fault police	<b>Mean</b>	<b>2.441</b>	<b>2.447</b>	<b>2.418</b>	<b>2.362</b>
	t stat (p-val)				
	White female	-0.111(0.912)			
	Black male	0.423(0.673)	0.544(0.587)		
	Black female	1.329(0.185)	1.459(0.145)	0.940(0.347)	
Crim. involv.	<b>Mean</b>	<b>1.840</b>	<b>1.753</b>	<b>1.704</b>	<b>1.540</b>
	t stat (p-val)				
	White female	1.504(0.133)			
	Black male	2.422(0.016)	0.837(0.403)		
	Black female	4.809(0.000)	3.330(0.001)	2.654(0.008)	
<i>Black Women Respondents</i>					
Restitution	<b>Mean</b>	<b>0.824</b>	<b>0.873</b>	<b>0.884</b>	<b>0.862</b>
	t stat (p-val)				
	White female	-1.975(0.049)			
	Black male	-2.446(0.015)	-0.471(0.638)		
	Black female	-1.503(0.133)	0.478(0.633)	0.950(0.342)	
Fault detainee	<b>Mean</b>	<b>1.516</b>	<b>1.427</b>	<b>1.389</b>	<b>1.407</b>
	t stat (p-val)				
	White female	1.516(0.130)			
	Black male	2.037(0.042)	0.592(0.554)		
	Black female	1.818(0.069)	0.317(0.751)	-0.283(0.777)	
Fault police	<b>Mean</b>	<b>2.511</b>	<b>2.498</b>	<b>2.538</b>	<b>2.564</b>
	t stat (p-val)				
	White female	0.269(0.788)			
	Black male	-0.567(0.571)	-0.805(0.421)		
	Black female	-1.120(0.263)	-1.344(0.180)	-0.517(0.606)	
Crim. involv.	<b>Mean</b>	<b>1.799</b>	<b>1.595</b>	<b>1.637</b>	<b>1.443</b>
	t stat (p-val)				
	White female	3.953(0.000)			
	Black male	3.114(0.002)	-0.773(0.440)		
	Black female	6.720(0.000)	2.758(0.006)	3.494(0.001)	

T statistics and p-values are provided for comparisons between each treatment condition using two-tailed t-tests.

Table S5: OLS Models for Figure 4—Modeling Support for Restorative Justice via Financial Restitution

	White Men Rs	White Women Rs	Black Men Rs	Black Women Rs
(Intercept)	0.56 (0.05) <i>0.000</i>	0.49 (0.03) <i>0.000</i>	0.37 (0.04) <i>0.000</i>	0.43 (0.04) <i>0.000</i>
(Ref: White male)				
White female detainee	-0.02 (0.03) <i>0.348</i>	0.02 (0.02) <i>0.120</i>	-0.01 (0.03) <i>0.651</i>	0.04 (0.02) <i>0.044</i>
Black male detainee	-0.04 (0.03) <i>0.079</i>	-0.01 (0.02) <i>0.544</i>	-0.01 (0.03) <i>0.824</i>	0.05 (0.02) <i>0.036</i>
Black female detainee	-0.05 (0.03) <i>0.044</i>	-0.02 (0.02) <i>0.189</i>	0.02 (0.03) <i>0.433</i>	0.02 (0.02) <i>0.452</i>
Detainee’s fault	-0.19 (0.01) <i>0.000</i>	-0.20 (0.01) <i>0.000</i>	-0.04 (0.01) <i>0.001</i>	-0.04 (0.01) <i>0.000</i>
Police’s fault	0.25 (0.01) <i>0.000</i>	0.26 (0.01) <i>0.000</i>	0.22 (0.01) <i>0.000</i>	0.19 (0.01) <i>0.000</i>
Criminal involvement	-0.10 (0.01) <i>0.000</i>	-0.10 (0.01) <i>0.000</i>	-0.02 (0.01) <i>0.097</i>	-0.02 (0.01) <i>0.050</i>
R <sup>2</sup>	0.29	0.30	0.18	0.17
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.28	0.30	0.18	0.17
Num. obs.	2245	5834	1407	1659

This table shows the models used to produce Figure 4 in the article. Standard errors are in parentheses; p-values are in italics.

Table S6: OLS Models of Restoring Justice on Shared Race and Gender with Detainee

(Intercept)	0.602 (0.009) <i>0.000</i>
Share race with detainee	0.020 (0.013) <i>0.126</i>
Share gender with detainee	-0.004 (0.013) <i>0.746</i>
Share race * share gender	0.022 (0.018) <i>0.233</i>
R <sup>2</sup>	0.001
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.001
Num. obs.	11157

This table models whether respondents share a race and/or gender identity with the detainee. Standard errors are in parentheses; p-values are in italics.

Table S7: Additional Tests of Experimental Treatments

	White Rs	White Rs	Black Rs	Black Rs
(Intercept)	0.55 (0.01) <i>0.000</i>	0.54 (0.01) <i>0.000</i>	0.82 (0.01) <i>0.000</i>	0.82 (0.01) <i>0.000</i>
Black detainee	-0.04 (0.01) <i>0.001</i>		0.02 (0.01) <i>0.180</i>	
Female detainee	0.01 (0.01) <i>0.528</i>		0.01 (0.01) <i>0.421</i>	
White female detainee		0.03 (0.02) <i>0.072</i>		0.02 (0.02) <i>0.255</i>
Black male detainee		-0.02 (0.02) <i>0.291</i>		0.03 (0.02) <i>0.129</i>
Black female detainee		-0.03 (0.02) <i>0.047</i>		0.03 (0.02) <i>0.137</i>
R <sup>2</sup>	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Num. obs.	8086	8086	3071	3071

This table shows additional models of support for restoring justice via settlement. Standard errors are in parentheses; p-values are in italics.

Table S8: Additional Tests of Experimental Treatments, White Respondents

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
(Intercept)	-0.09 (0.02) <i>0.000</i>	0.97 (0.02) <i>0.000</i>	0.96 (0.02) <i>0.000</i>
White female detainee	0.02 (0.01) <i>0.187</i>	0.03 (0.01) <i>0.045</i>	0.01 (0.02) <i>0.538</i>
Black male detainee	-0.01 (0.01) <i>0.410</i>	-0.02 (0.01) <i>0.179</i>	-0.02 (0.02) <i>0.117</i>
Black female detainee	-0.03 (0.01) <i>0.024</i>	-0.01 (0.01) <i>0.451</i>	-0.06 (0.01) <i>0.000</i>
Fault of police	0.28 (0.01) <i>0.000</i>		
Fault of detainee		-0.25 (0.01) <i>0.000</i>	
Criminal involvement			-0.20 (0.01) <i>0.000</i>
R <sup>2</sup>	0.15	0.15	0.08
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.15	0.15	0.08
Num. obs.	8085	8085	8081

This table shows additional models of support for restoring justice via settlement. Standard errors are in parentheses; p-values are in italics.

Table S9: Additional Tests of Experimental Treatments, Black Respondents

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
(Intercept)	0.31 (0.02) <i>0.000</i>	0.88 (0.02) <i>0.000</i>	0.85 (0.02) <i>0.000</i>
White female detainee	0.02 (0.02) <i>0.177</i>	0.02 (0.02) <i>0.316</i>	0.02 (0.02) <i>0.313</i>
Black male detainee	0.03 (0.02) <i>0.094</i>	0.02 (0.02) <i>0.206</i>	0.03 (0.02) <i>0.169</i>
Black female detainee	0.03 (0.02) <i>0.093</i>	0.02 (0.02) <i>0.213</i>	0.02 (0.02) <i>0.243</i>
Fault of police	0.20 (0.01) <i>0.000</i>		
Fault of detainee		-0.04 (0.01) <i>0.000</i>	
Criminal involvement			-0.02 (0.01) <i>0.032</i>
R <sup>2</sup>	0.16	0.01	0.00
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.16	0.01	0.00
Num. obs.	3069	3070	3069

This table shows additional models of support for restoring justice via settlement. Standard errors are in parentheses; p-values are in italics.