

Pulled-Over Rates, Causal Attributions, and Trust in Police

Supplementary Materials

Contents:

- p. 2Distribution of attributions
- p. 4Distribution of trust in police
- p. 6Trust in police by attribution
- p. 7Study stimuli and measures
- p. 10Ordered logistic regression results
- p. 12Main text regression results with controls for partisanship
- p. 13Regressions with full sample and control for experimental condition
- p. 14Treatment effects by attribution type in figures
- p. 16Multinomial regressions predicting attribution type

Distribution of attributions of the reason for racial disparities in pulled over rates

Study 1

Research shows black drivers are more likely to be pulled over for minor traffic violations than white drivers. What do you think is the primary reason this occurs?

Percentage of People in Each Attribution Type by Group

Attribution	Full Sample	Group 1 (no racial disparity cue)	Group 2 (racial disparity cue first)
Black drivers are committing more traffic violations than white drivers	13.73 (N=177)	12.65 (N=82)	14.82 (N=95)
Police are racially profiling drivers	40.96 (N=528)	41.98 (N=272)	39.94 (N=256)
Police are more likely to be in areas where blacks drive	19.78 (N=255)	20.06 (N=130)	19.50 (N=125)
Other	3.41 (N=44)	3.55 (N=23)	3.28 (N=21)
Don't know	22.11 (N=285)	21.76 (N=141)	22.46 (N=144)

Study 2

Research shows black drivers are more likely to be pulled over for minor traffic violations than white drivers.

For example, black drivers are almost 3 times more likely to be pulled over for minor traffic violations such as failure to use a turn signal, a broken light, or an expired tag. What do you think is the primary reason this occurs?

[People who say “don’t know” are then asked]: If you had to choose, what do you think is the primary reason black drivers are more likely to be pulled over for minor traffic violations than white drivers

Percentage of People in Each Attribution Type by Group

Attribution	Full Sample	Group 1 (no racial disparity cue)	Group 2 (racial disparity cue first)
Black drivers are committing more traffic violations than white drivers	19.33 (N=69)	18.44 (N=33)	20.22 (N=36)
Police are racially profiling drivers	40.34 (N=144)	42.46 (N=76)	38.20 (N=68)
Police are more likely to be in areas where blacks drive	28.57 (N=102)	23.46 (N=42)	33.71 (N=60)
Don’t know	11.76 (N=42)	15.64 (N=28)	7.87 (N=14)

Distribution of Trust in Police: Study 1

How much trust do you have in police officers to treat people fairly?

Percentage of People at Each Trust Level by Group

Trust Level	Full Sample	Group 1 (no racial disparity cue)	Group 2 (racial disparity cue first)
Almost no trust at all (1)	8.6 (N=111)	8.46 (N=55)	8.74 (N=56)
A little (2)	22.15 (N=286)	20.31 (N=132)	24.02 (N=154)
A moderate amount (3)	39.19 (N=506)	40.31 (N=262)	38.07 (N=244)
A lot (4)	23.55 (N=304)	24 (N=156)	23.09 (N=148)
Almost complete trust (5)	6.51 (N=84)	6.92 (N=45)	6.08 (N=39)
<i>Mean Trust</i>	2.97 (SE=0.03)	3.01 (SE=0.04)	2.94 (SE=0.04)

Note: There is no statistically significant difference between experimental conditions in mean trust levels ($p < 0.233$).

Distribution of Trust in Police: Study 2

How much trust do you have in police officers to treat people fairly?

Percentage of People at Each Trust Level by Group

Trust Level	Full Sample	Group 1 (no racial disparity cue)	Group 2 (racial disparity cue first)
Almost no trust at all	4.62	2.72	6.52
(1)	(N=17)	(N=5)	(N=12)
(2)	5.16	5.43	4.89
	(N=19)	(N=10)	(N=9)
(3)	9.24	6.52	11.96
	(N=34)	(N=12)	(N=22)
A moderate amount	24.18	23.37	25
(4)	(N=89)	(N=43)	(N=46)
(5)	22.01	22.83	21.20
	(N=81)	(N=42)	(N=39)
(6)	18.75	21.20	16.30
	(N=69)	(N=39)	(N=30)
Almost complete trust (7)	16.03	17.93	14.13
	(N=59)	(N=33)	(N=26)
Mean Trust	4.74	4.93	4.55
	(SE=0.08)	(SE=0.11)	(SE=0.12)

Note: There is a statistically significant difference between experimental conditions in mean trust levels ($p < 0.03$).

Average trust in police levels by attribution (GROUP 1 ONLY)

Attribution	Average Trust Study 1	Average Trust Study 2
Black drivers are committing more traffic violations than white drivers	3.463 (0.114) Median=4	5.303 (0.244) Median=6
Police are racially profiling drivers	2.555 (0.059) Median=3	4.323 (0.172) Median=5
Police are more likely to be in areas where blacks drive	3.315 (0.085) Median =3	5.548 (0.194) Median=6
Other	3.13 (0.211) Median=3	NA
Don't know	3.298 (0.073) Median=3	5.393 (0.264) Median=5

Study 1 Stimuli and Measures:

[Trust]

How much trust do you have in police officers to treat people fairly?

Almost no trust at all (1)

A little (2)

A moderate amount (3)

A lot (4)

Almost complete trust (5)

[Treatment and attribution]

Research shows black drivers are more likely to be pulled over for minor traffic violations than white drivers. What do you think is the primary reason this occurs?

Black drivers are committing more traffic violations than white drivers (1)

Police are racially profiling drivers (2)

Police are more likely to be in areas where blacks drive (3)

Other (4)

Don't know (5)

Study 2 Stimuli and Measures:

[Trust]

How much trust do you have in police officers to treat people fairly?

Almost no trust at all (1)

(2)

(3)

A moderate amount (4)

(5)

(6)

Almost complete trust (7)

[Treatment]

Research shows black drivers are more likely to be pulled over for minor traffic violations than white drivers.

For example, black drivers are almost 3 times more likely to be pulled over for minor traffic violations such as failure to use a turn signal, a broken light, or an expired tag.

[Attribution Question]

[Treatment group only] Earlier we provided you with some information about traffic stops. On the next page, we will show you this information again and ask you a question about it.

[All respondents]

Research shows black drivers are more likely to be pulled over for minor traffic violations than white drivers.

For example, black drivers are almost 3 times more likely to be pulled over for minor traffic violations such as failure to use a turn signal, a broken light, or an expired tag. What do you think is the primary reason this occurs?

Black drivers are committing more traffic violations than white drivers (1)

Police are racially profiling drivers (2)

Police are more likely to be in areas where blacks drive (3)

Don't know (4)

Other survey question measures (for regression models in Study 2):

[Worry]

How much do you worry about being the victim of a crime?

- None at all (1)
- A little (2)
- A moderate amount (3)
- A lot (4)
- A great deal (5)

[Feel Safe]

How safe do you feel in your neighborhood?

- Not safe at all (1)
- (2)
- Moderately safe (3)
- (4)
- Very safe (5)

[Neighborhood quality; presented as a grid. Average of the 4 items.]

How often do you see the following things in your neighborhood?

Garbage in the streets

Graffiti on the walls

People drinking alcohol on the street

People buying or selling drugs on the street

- Never (1)
- Sometimes (2)
- A fair amount of the time (3)
- Most of the time (4)
- Always (5)

[Negative experience with police. Average of the 6 items]

Have you ever been stopped by police without good reason?

- Yes (1)
- No (0)

Has anyone else in your household ever been stopped by police without good reason?

- Yes (1)
- No (0)

Have the police ever used insulting language toward you?

- Yes (1)
- No (0)

Have the police ever used insulting language toward anyone else in your household?

- Yes (1)
- No (0)

Have the police ever used excessive force against you?

- Yes (1)
- No (0)

Have the police ever used excessive force against anyone else in your household?

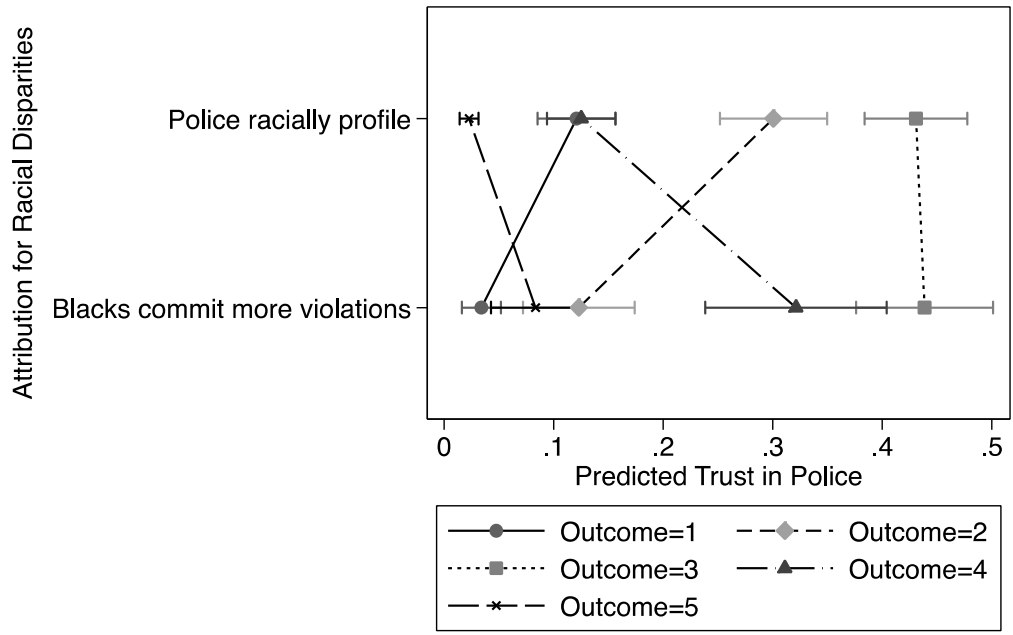
- Yes (1)
- No (0)

Trust in Police (Ordered Logit Results)

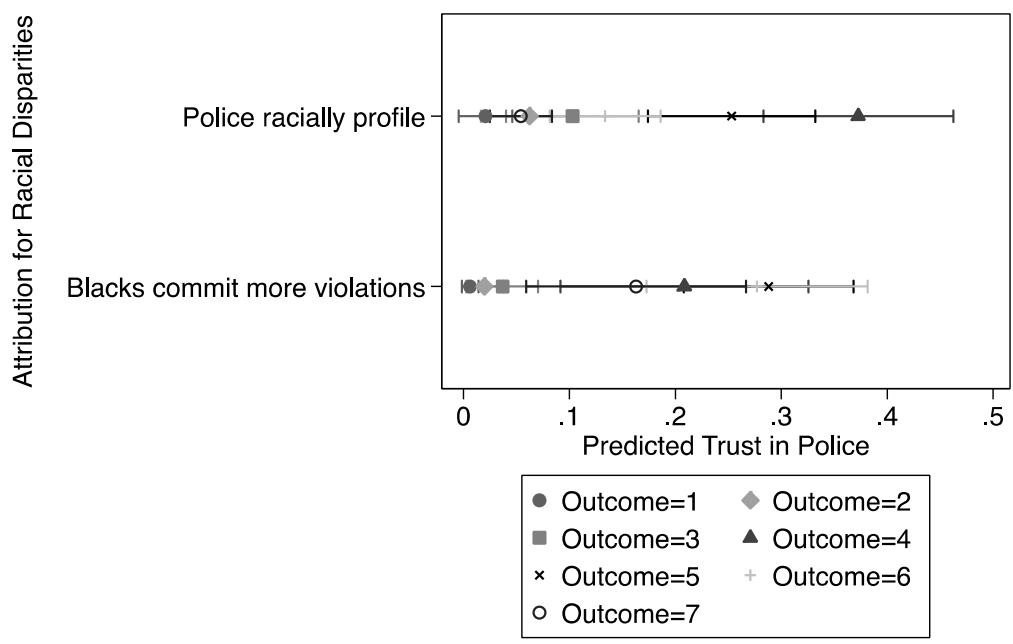
Variable	Study 1		Study 2	
<i>Attribution:</i>				
<i>Police racially profile</i>	-1.365***	(0.275)	-1.222***	(0.413)
<i>Police more likely where blacks drive</i>	-0.191	(0.283)	-0.0171	(0.484)
<i>Other</i>	-0.457	(0.468)		
<i>Don't know</i>	-0.309	(0.277)	-0.284	(0.522)
<i>Race</i>				
<i>Black</i>	-0.515**	(0.228)	-1.414***	(0.514)
<i>Other</i>	-0.422*	(0.223)	-0.534	(0.425)
<i>Age</i>	0.152***	(0.0547)	0.261**	(0.123)
<i>Ideology</i>	0.283***	(0.0524)	0.149	(0.110)
<i>Education</i>	0.00744	(0.0805)	0.0696	(0.220)
<i>Income</i>	0.0249	(0.0572)	-0.0324	(0.0604)
<i>Gender</i>	0.173	(0.148)	0.365	(0.332)
<i>Worry</i>			0.193	(0.144)
<i>Feel safe</i>			0.617***	(0.193)
<i>Neighborhood quality</i>			0.273	(0.222)
<i>Negative experience</i>			-1.726**	(0.819)
<i>Constant cut 1</i>	-1.634***	(0.458)	-0.479	(1.493)
<i>Constant cut 2</i>	0.0341	(0.459)	0.975	(1.418)
<i>Constant cut 3</i>	2.103***	(0.470)	1.899	(1.436)
<i>Constant cut 4</i>	4.113***	(0.508)	3.611**	(1.468)
<i>Constant cut 5</i>			4.838***	(1.478)
<i>Constant cut 6</i>			6.233***	(1.489)
<i>Pseudo R²</i>		0.09		0.12
<i>Log Likelihood</i>		-843.293		-268.091
<i>Likelihood ratio X²</i>		150.35		83.52
<i>N</i>		648		175

Note: Table shows ordered logistic regression results with standard errors in parentheses. Negative values indicate lower levels of trust relative to the baseline attribution category of “blacks commit more violations.” The dependent variable was on a 5-point scale in Study 1 and a 7-point scale in Study 2. Two-tailed tests of significance. Significance codes: * <0.10 , ** <0.05 , *** <0.01 .

Trust in Police by Attribution (Study 1)



Trust in Police (Study 2)



Note: Figures show predicted probabilities, based on ordered logistic regression results, of trust levels by attribution type holding other variables constant (see regression table above). Horizontal lines reflect 95% confidence intervals. The dependent variable was on a 5-point scale in Study 1 and a 7-point scale in Study 2.

Trust in Police with Controls for Partisanship

Variable	Study 1		Study 2	
<i>Attribution:</i>				
<i>Police racially profile</i>	-0.655***	(0.132)	-1.002***	(0.306)
<i>Police more likely where blacks drive</i>	-0.0850	(0.137)	-0.148	(0.292)
<i>Other</i>	-0.159	(0.219)		
<i>Don't know</i>	-0.0900	(0.134)	-0.241	(0.323)
<i>Race</i>				
<i>Black</i>	-0.266**	(0.121)	-0.886***	(0.324)
<i>Other</i>	-0.216**	(0.109)	-0.414	(0.304)
<i>Age</i>	0.0657**	(0.0259)	0.203**	(0.0801)
<i>Ideology</i>	0.118***	(0.0287)	0.0691	(0.0863)
<i>Education</i>	-0.0107	(0.0392)	0.0613	(0.131)
<i>Income</i>	0.0123	(0.0284)	-0.0177	(0.0382)
<i>Gender</i>	0.0837	(0.0748)	0.245	(0.220)
<i>Republican</i>	0.0757	(0.112)	0.0827	(0.313)
<i>Independent</i>	-0.144	(0.110)	-0.228	(0.295)
<i>Worry</i>			0.116	(0.103)
<i>Feel safe</i>			0.387***	(0.126)
<i>Neighborhood quality</i>			0.232*	(0.136)
<i>Negative experience</i>			-1.272**	(0.525)
<i>Constant</i>	2.595***	(0.224)	2.237**	(0.876)
<i>R²</i>		0.225		0.364
<i>N</i>		648		172

Note: Entries are OLS coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses. Negative values indicate a decrease in trust relative to the baseline attribution category of “blacks commit more violations.” The dependent variable was on a 5-point scale in Study 1 and a 7-point scale in Study 2. Analyses are restricted to the control group. “Republican” is a dummy variable for Republican or not, and “Independent” is a dummy variable for Independent or not; thus, the baseline is Democrats. Leaners are coded as partisans. Two-tailed tests of significance. Significance codes: * <0.10 , ** <0.05 , *** <0.01 .

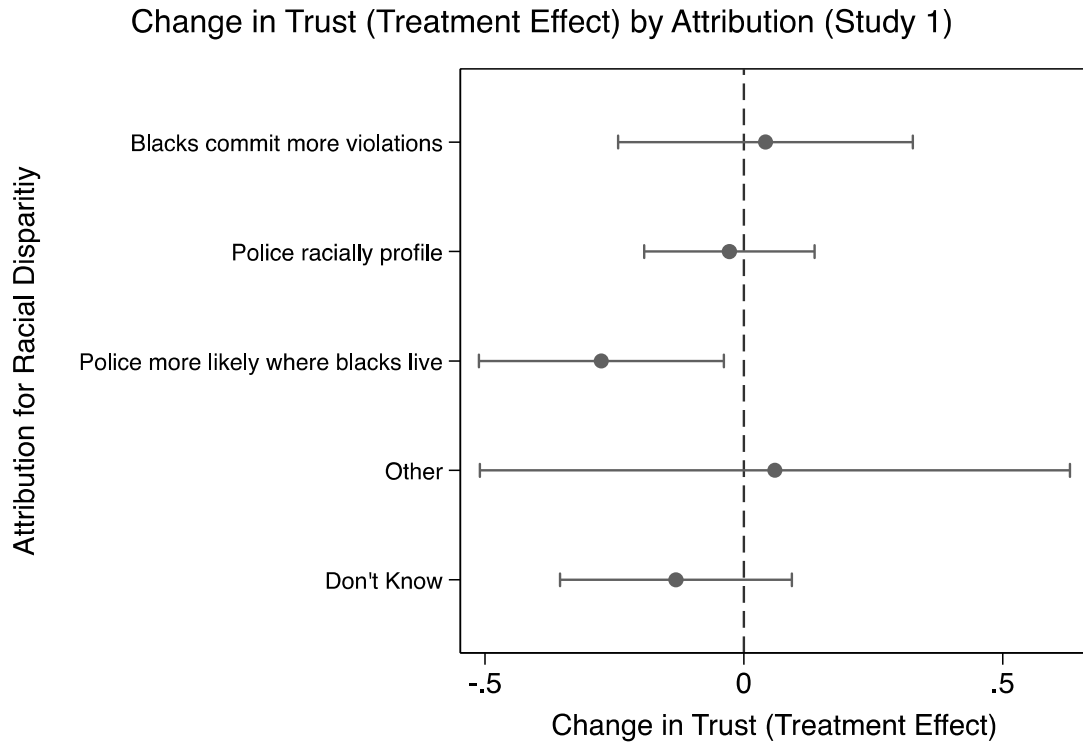
Full Sample Regression Results with Control for Experimental Condition

Variable	Study 1		Study 2	
<i>Attribution:</i>				
<i>Police racially profile</i>	-0.731***	(0.0903)	-1.072***	(0.204)
<i>Police more likely where blacks drive</i>	-0.257***	(0.0962)	-0.419**	(0.204)
<i>Other</i>	-0.288	(0.180)		
<i>Don't know</i>	-0.227**	(0.0911)	-0.280	(0.255)
<i>Race</i>				
<i>Black</i>	-0.383***	(0.0848)	-0.761***	(0.254)
<i>Other</i>	-0.227***	(0.0771)	0.0681	(0.234)
<i>Age</i>	0.0936***	(0.0176)	0.0607	(0.0602)
<i>Ideology</i>	0.108***	(0.0178)	0.134**	(0.0532)
<i>Education</i>	0.000818	(0.0289)	0.0651	(0.0814)
<i>Income</i>	0.0237	(0.0208)	0.00402	(0.0255)
<i>Gender</i>	0.0450	(0.0522)	-0.0477	(0.151)
<i>Experimental Group</i>	-0.0928*	(0.0513)	-0.370***	(0.141)
<i>Worry</i>			0.0724	(0.0712)
<i>Feel safe</i>			0.333***	(0.0814)
<i>Neighborhood quality</i>			0.275**	(0.111)
<i>Negative experience</i>			-1.296***	(0.393)
<i>Constant</i>	2.589***	(0.169)	2.851***	(0.636)
<i>R²</i>		0.212		0.355
<i>N</i>		1,289		345

Note: Entries are OLS coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses. Negative values indicate a decrease in trust relative to the baseline attribution category of “blacks commit more violations.” The dependent variable was on a 5-point scale in Study 1 and a 7-point scale in Study 2. Two-tailed tests of significance. Significance codes: * <0.10 , ** <0.05 , *** <0.01 .

Treatment Effects in Figures

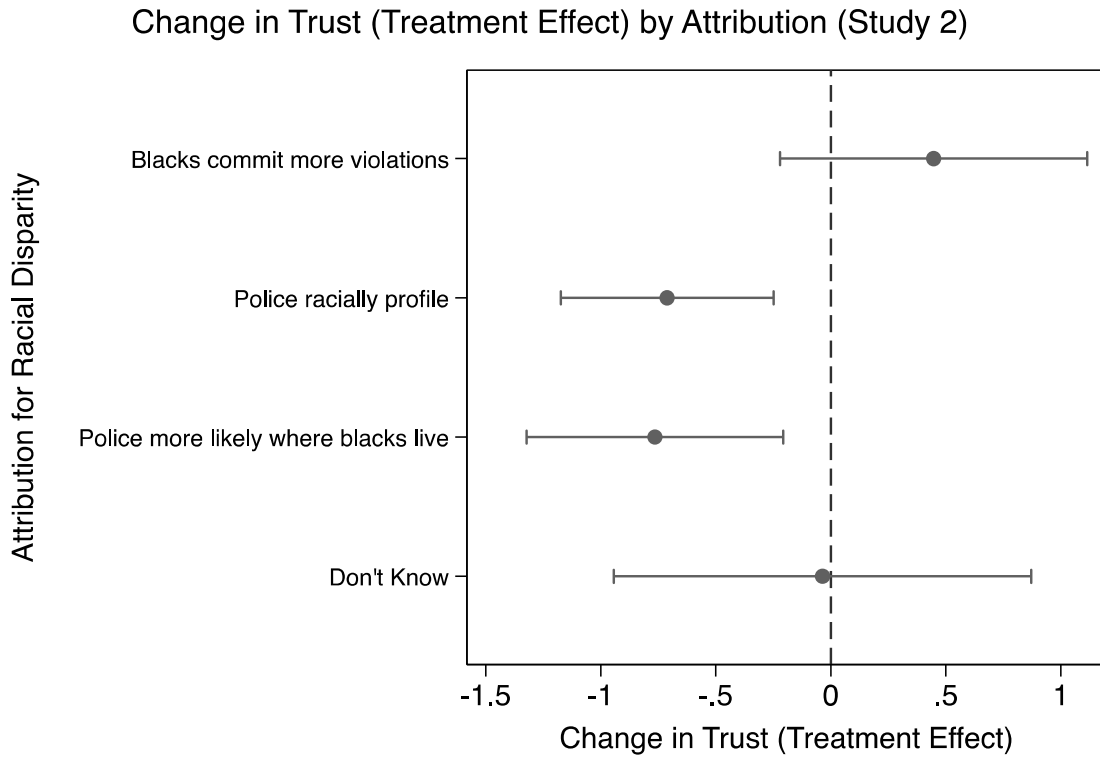
Study 1



Note: This figure shows the change in predicted trust in police in response to the treatment message by attribution type. Points represent treatment effects and horizontal lines show 95% confidence intervals. Negative treatment effects reflect reduced trust in treatment condition. The dependent variable was on a 5-point scale.

Treatment Effects in Figures

Study 2



Note: This figure shows the change in predicted trust in police in response to the treatment message by attribution type. Points represent treatment effects and horizontal lines show 95% confidence intervals. Negative treatment effects reflect reduced trust in treatment condition. The dependent variable was on a 7-point scale.

Predicting Attribution Type (Multinomial Logistic Regression Models)
Baseline set at “police racially profile” attribution category

Study 1

Variable	Attribution Type			
	Blacks Commit More Violations		Police More Likely in Areas where Blacks Drive	
<i>Race</i>				
<i>Black</i>	-1.306***	(0.424)	-0.523**	(0.259)
<i>Other</i>	-0.141	(0.286)	-0.0826	(0.251)
<i>Age</i>	-0.169***	(0.0641)	-0.0455	(0.0553)
<i>Ideology</i>	0.401***	(0.0736)	0.268***	(0.0611)
<i>Education</i>	0.102	(0.105)	-0.0297	(0.0900)
<i>Income</i>	0.0718	(0.0682)	0.0215	(0.0603)
<i>Gender</i>	-0.276	(0.189)	-0.220	(0.162)
<i>Republican</i>	0.974***	(0.278)	0.716***	(0.234)
<i>Independent</i>	0.480*	(0.281)	0.244	(0.232)
<i>Interest</i>	0.190	(0.126)	0.324***	(0.113)
<i>Constant</i>	-3.433***	(0.624)	-2.678***	(0.546)
<i>N</i>		1,289		1,289

Variable	Attribution Type			
	Other		Don't Know	
<i>Race</i>				
<i>Black</i>	-0.106	(0.495)	-1.512***	(0.331)
<i>Other</i>	-0.342	(0.561)	-0.147	(0.238)
<i>Age</i>	0.0922	(0.114)	-0.00986	(0.0545)
<i>Ideology</i>	0.284**	(0.124)	0.340***	(0.0628)
<i>Education</i>	0.0650	(0.180)	-0.0153	(0.0897)
<i>Income</i>	-0.0282	(0.124)	-0.0740	(0.0617)
<i>Gender</i>	-0.0287	(0.323)	0.0796	(0.160)
<i>Republican</i>	0.632	(0.497)	0.472**	(0.235)
<i>Independent</i>	1.031**	(0.432)	0.693***	(0.210)
<i>Interest</i>	0.201	(0.221)	-0.233**	(0.100)
<i>Constant</i>	-5.121***	(1.122)	-1.137**	(0.507)
<i>N</i>		1,289		1,289

Note: Entries are multinomial regression coefficients with standard errors in parentheses. Positive coefficients reflect higher likelihood of selecting that attribution type relative to the baseline “police racially profile” category.

Two-tailed tests of significance. Significance codes: * <0.10 , ** <0.05 , *** <0.01 .

Study 2

Variable	Attribution Type			
	Blacks Commit More Violations		Police More Likely in Areas where Blacks Drive	
<i>Race</i>				
<i>Black</i>	-0.555	(0.563)	-1.165**	(0.546)
<i>Other</i>	0.598	(0.457)	-0.497	(0.482)
<i>Age</i>	-0.0474	(0.143)	-0.117	(0.128)
<i>Ideology</i>	0.551***	(0.117)	0.450***	(0.103)
<i>Education</i>	0.00989	(0.176)	0.173	(0.157)
<i>Income</i>	-0.0265	(0.0560)	-0.0515	(0.0500)
<i>Gender</i>	-0.698**	(0.339)	-0.567*	(0.302)
<i>Worry</i>	0.119	(0.160)	-0.0306	(0.151)
<i>Feel safe</i>	0.376**	(0.189)	0.290*	(0.174)
<i>Neighborhood quality</i>	0.405	(0.258)	0.453*	(0.245)
<i>Negative experience</i>	-0.507	(0.814)	-1.549*	(0.811)
<i>Constant</i>	-4.599***	(1.407)	-2.958**	(1.310)
<i>N</i>		345		345

Variable	Don't Know	
<i>Race</i>		
<i>Black</i>	-0.642	(0.737)
<i>Other</i>	0.0904	(0.647)
<i>Age</i>	0.114	(0.175)
<i>Ideology</i>	0.635***	(0.147)
<i>Education</i>	-0.129	(0.214)
<i>Income</i>	-0.0239	(0.0686)
<i>Gender</i>	-1.077**	(0.421)
<i>Worry</i>	0.169	(0.200)
<i>Feel safe</i>	-0.0203	(0.235)
<i>Neighborhood quality</i>	0.493	(0.315)
<i>Negative experience</i>	-3.132**	(1.309)
<i>Constant</i>	-4.000**	(1.795)
<i>N</i>		345

Note: Entries are multinomial regression coefficients with standard errors in parentheses. Positive coefficients reflect higher likelihood of selecting that attribution type relative to the baseline “police racially profile” category.

Two-tailed tests of significance. Significance codes: * <0.10 , ** <0.05 , *** <0.01 .