

Racial Resentment and the Death Penalty

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Appendix. Full Mediation Results

Mediation Tables for Black Death Sentencing

Tables A1 through A5 report complete results for mediation analyses treating black death sentencing as the outcome variable. Because sensitivity analyses for mediation analysis using negative binomial models have not been defined, we approximate the sensitivity analysis using a linear multilevel model that treats logged death sentences as the dependent variable. ρ provides the required correlation between the error terms of the mediator model (i.e., the model treating resentment or ideology as the outcome) and the outcome model (the model treating the black or white death sentence rate as the outcome) necessary to alter conclusions about the indirect effect. Higher values indicate that an omitted variable would have to explain a larger share of variance in *both* the mediator and outcome for substantive conclusions about indirect pathways to change.

Results in Tables A1 through A5 reveal that only a handful of independent variables have direct effects on the number of black death sentences. In other words, the number of total lynchings and the percent black population are *only* related to the number of black death sentences through their effects on contemporary racial resentment. The exception to this rule is the conservative ideology variable, which both affects the number of black death sentences directly as well as indirectly by acting through racial resentment (Table A5). Here, the total effect of a one-unit increase in conservative ideology is a .014 increase in the number of black death sentences per capita through all direct and indirect pathways.

Table A1. Mediation Analysis for Total Lynchings

	Resentment as Mediator	Ideology as Mediator
Direct effect	-.032 [-.205, .019]	-.084 [-.503, .050]
Indirect effect	.009* [.004, .030]	.027* [.003, .085]
Total effect	-.022 [-.189, .024]	-.056 [-.414, .061]
Proportion mediated	-.169	-.210
ρ	.301	.216

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (Two-tailed test). p -values calculated using 10,000 Monte Carlo samples (Imai et al. 2010). Confidence intervals in brackets. Standard errors clustered on states. All indirect effects multiplied by 1,000,000 to be interpreted as effects per million capita.

Table A2. Mediation Analysis for Percent Black.

	Resentment as Mediator	Ideology as Mediator
Direct effect	.076 [-.794, .375]	-.216 [-.503, .106]
Indirect effect	.116*** [.017, .438]	-.073 [-.477, .118]
Total effect	.192 [-.348, .461]	-.289 [-.516, .100]
Proportion mediated	.270	-.031
ρ	.279	.182

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (Two-tailed test). p -values calculated using 10,000 Monte Carlo samples (Imai et al. 2010). Confidence intervals in brackets. Standard errors clustered on states. All indirect effects multiplied by 1,000,000 to be interpreted as effects per million capita.

Table A3. Mediation Analysis for Percent Black Squared.

	Resentment as Mediator	Ideology as Mediator
Direct effect	-.068 [-.600, .021]	-.078 [-.707, .041]
Indirect effect	-.036*** [-.291, -.003]	-.007 [-.047, .005]
Total effect	-.103 [-.759, .013]	-.086 [-.725, .039]
Proportion mediated	.254	.018
ρ	.300	.253

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (Two-tailed test). p -values calculated using 10,000 Monte Carlo samples (Imai et al. 2010). Confidence intervals in brackets. Standard errors clustered on states. All indirect effects multiplied by 1,000,000 to be interpreted as effects per million capita.

Table A4. Mediation Analysis for White Poverty Rate.

	Resentment as Mediator	Ideology as Mediator
Direct effect	-.431 [-2.425, .358]	-1.050 [-5.553, 9.237]
Indirect effect	-.075 [-.246, .050]	-.122 [-.424, .042]
Total effect	-.505 [-2.573, .323]	-1.180 [-5.923, 8.142]
Proportion mediated	.113	.607
ρ	.107	.165

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (Two-tailed test). p -values calculated using 10,000 Monte Carlo samples (Imai et al. 2010). Confidence intervals in brackets. Standard errors clustered on states. All indirect effects multiplied by 1,000,000 to be interpreted as effects per million capita.

Table A5. Mediation Analysis for the Indirect Effect of Resentment acting through Conservative Ideology (First Column of Results) and the Indirect Effect of Conservative Ideology acting through (Resentment).

	Ideology as Mediator	Resentment as Mediator
Direct effect	.013*** [.001, .047]	.322** [.029, .950]
Indirect effect	.001** [.000, .005]	.084*** [.033, .173]
Total effect	.014*** [.001, .052]	.405** [.077, 1.113]
Proportion mediated	.065	.221
ρ	.249	.166

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (Two-tailed test). p -values calculated using 10,000 Monte Carlo samples (Imai et al. 2010). Confidence intervals in brackets. Standard errors clustered on states. All indirect effects multiplied by 1,000,000 to be interpreted as effects per million capita.

Mediation Tables for White Death Sentencing

Tables A6 through A10 report complete mediation analysis results for white death sentencing.

As above, we approximate ρ using a linear multilevel model for the death sentence outcome with logged death sentences as the dependent variable.

A similar pattern is revealed for the white death sentence rate as the black death sentence rate. Tables A6 through A9 reveal that the direct effects of total lynchings, percent black, and the white poverty rate are all nonsignificant. However, in contrast to the black death sentence rate, the indirect effect of ideology acting through racial resentment is much weaker (Table A10).

This result is consistent with the reasoning that racial attitudes are associated with death sentences for black people, but that white death sentences are more closely tied to conservative dispositions.

Table A6. Mediation Analysis for Total Lynchings

	Resentment as Mediator	Ideology as Mediator
Direct effect	-.054 [-.267, .026]	.026 [-.044, .046]
Indirect effect	.012* [.000, .031]	.026* [.002, .072]
Total effect	-.042 [-.251, .330]	-.071 [-.368, .058]
Proportion mediated	-.181	-.216
ρ	.161	.220

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (Two-tailed test). p -values calculated using 10,000 Monte Carlo samples (Imai et al. 2010). Confidence intervals in brackets. Standard errors clustered on states. All indirect effects multiplied by 1,000,000 to be interpreted as effects per million capita.

Table A7. Mediation Analysis for Percent Black.

	Resentment as Mediator	Ideology as Mediator
Direct effect	-6.800 [-45.58, .438]	-.290 [-19.17, .929]
Indirect effect	1.190*** [.119, 6.171]	-.624 [-4.681, 1.002]
Total effect	-5.610 [-41.82, 6.371]	-.296 [-19.20, .837]
Proportion mediated	-.252	.038
ρ	.104	.232

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (Two-tailed test). p -values calculated using 10,000 Monte Carlo samples (Imai et al. 2010). Confidence intervals in brackets. Standard errors clustered on states. All indirect effects multiplied by 1,000,000 to be interpreted as effects per million capita.

Table A8. Mediation Analysis for Percent Black Squared.

	Resentment as Mediator	Ideology as Mediator
Direct effect	.021 [-.28, .051]	.037 [-.042, .084]
Indirect effect	-.010** [-.024, -.003]	-.003 [-.012, .003]
Total effect	.012 [-.043, .045]	.034 [-.041, .082]
Proportion mediated	-.296	.038
ρ	.158	.148

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (Two-tailed test). p -values calculated using 10,000 Monte Carlo samples (Imai et al. 2010). Confidence intervals in brackets. Standard errors clustered on states. All indirect effects multiplied by 1,000,000 to be interpreted as effects per million capita.

Table A9. Mediation Analysis for White Poverty Rate.

	Resentment as Mediator	Ideology as Mediator
Direct effect	-1.660 [-6.24, .022]	-2.940 [-10.12, .477]
Indirect effect	.105 [-.356, .079]	-.150 [-.494, .068]
Total effect	-1.770 [-6.37, .197]	-3.090 [-10.38, .405]
Proportion mediated	.062	.044
ρ	.120	.131

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (Two-tailed test). p -values calculated using 10,000 Monte Carlo samples (Imai et al. 2010). Confidence intervals in brackets. Standard errors clustered on states. All indirect effects multiplied by 1,000,000 to be interpreted as effects per million capita.

Table A10. Mediation Analysis for the Indirect Effect of Resentment acting through Conservative Ideology (First Column of Results) and the Indirect Effect of Conservative Ideology acting through (Resentment).

	Ideology as Mediator	Resentment as Mediator
Direct effect	.402* [.023, 1.08]	.052*** [.009, .142]
Indirect effect	.081*** [.031, .158]	.006* [.000, .026]
Total effect	.483*** [.073, 1.20]	.058*** [.010, .168]
Proportion mediated	.186	.078
ρ	.131	.180

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (Two-tailed test). p -values calculated using 10,000 Monte Carlo samples (Imai et al. 2010). Confidence intervals in brackets. Standard errors clustered on states. All indirect effects multiplied by 1,000,000 to be interpreted as effects per million capita.