

# Racialized Mass Shootings and Attitudes Toward Targeted Groups

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## Abstract

A growing literature finds evidence that mass shooting incidents in the United States have few, if any, lasting consequences for mass political behavior. But when those incidents clearly and undisputedly target specific ethno-racial groups, is there evidence that such violence might shift perceptions and biases about the targeted group and related policy attitudes? Using several sources of nation-wide survey data, we consider if and how attitudes about an ethno-racial group change in the aftermath of four mass shooting events targeting Asian, Black, and Latinx Americans between 2015 and 2022. We expect that the attitudes of White Americans about the targeted group will not change substantially in the aftermath of these racially-targeted mass shootings across the United States. Our findings present a more robust picture of the political aftermath of racially-targeted violence by exploring the impact of racialized mass shootings on public opinion and theorizing important distinctions in their impact across ethno-racial groups.

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# Introduction

With the 2015 murder of nine Black parishioners, mid-worship, on a summer evening in Charleston, the nation’s attention swiftly turned toward South Carolina and the legacy of white supremacy that has shaped its streets, monuments, and institutions. The racial layers underneath this act quickly became apparent. Charleston’s Fort Sumter was a crucible for civil war, and the targeted Mother Emanuel AME Church was a home for enslaved revolutionaries. The perpetrator’s championing of white supremacist views, as well as his desire to interracial conflict left no doubt about his intention to terrorize Black people in Charleston and across the country.<sup>1</sup>

This racially-targeted mass shooting also served to highlight issues of symbolic importance to a larger swath of African Americans, even as it revealed racial conflict. The incident focused national media attention, temporarily, on symbols of the Confederacy and, in particular, the Confederate flag’s place over the South Carolina state capitol. While public sentiment toward the flag and legacies of the Confederacy soured after the mass shooting,<sup>2</sup> it is less apparent whether this incident engendered feelings of empathy for African-Americans more widely.

Tragic, devastating events that are – at times – catalysts for broader change by directing attention towards the concerns and treatment of those who have experienced those tragedies. Acts of violence, in particular, become a moment to understand and empathize with the marginalized. Yet, violence can also reveal underlying tensions that instead elicit hostility and perceptions of threat among racial groups in conflict. Are there measurable changes in attitudes toward these groups in the aftermath of these acts of violence?

We consider four mass shootings across the United States that targeted members of

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<sup>1</sup> “Dylann Roof Said He Wanted To Start A Race War, Friends Say,” June 19, 2015. *National Public Radio*.

<sup>2</sup> “Before Charleston, Not Many People Wanted To Take Down The Confederate Flag,” June 22, 2015. *FiveThirtyEight*. Also see Huffmon et al. (2017).

historically-marginalized ethno-racial groups: African-Americans in Charleston, SC (2015) and Buffalo, NY (2022); Latinx people in El Paso, Texas (2019), and Asian-Americans in Atlanta, GA (2021). We put forth several competing expectations as to how these incidents impacted the prosocial attitudes of white Americans – that is, attitudes which are indicative of altruism and cooperation. We also use this term, more generally, to refer to attitudes which reflect favorably on or warmly toward the targeted group.

Examining four incidents of racially-targeted mass shootings across the United States, we measure changes in white Americans' prosocial attitudes toward the targeted ethnoracial group, as well as their opinions about policies associated with those groups. The timing of these incidents was unpredictable to all except the perpetrator, and so our sources of data are limited to studies and surveys which were underway at the time that each incident took place. For each incident, we describe both the circumstances surrounding the event and the data and dependent variables that we use to measure shifts in public opinion.

Broadly, we contribute to a literature which is at odds about the impact of mass shootings on American political behavior. Historically, violence and victimization narratives have been pathways through which marginalized groups have sought to shift white public opinion (Francis, 2014; Hill, 2016). These incidents can serve to focus attention on the policy concerns of those who are impacted. Yet, we do not find evidence that racially-targeted mass shootings over the past decade have been impactful on the attitudes that white Americans hold toward members of the targeted groups.

Within a larger discussion and debate on gun control in the United States, this work adds crucial complexity. While research has considered why incidents of civilian mass shootings – for example, school shootings – do not place electoral pressure on elected officials, we step away from the electoral realm to consider the attitudes themselves that Americans hold. If these incidents are not reshaping the ways in which Americans consider race and gun control, then electoral stagnation around these topics should not be surprising. We also dis-

aggregate the American public and consider the important positioning of white Americans atop a racial hierarchy. Theoretically, we argue that occupying a dominant role in American society should have implications for if and how white Americans empathize with violence committed against those in marginalized positions.

## Apathy, Empathy, or Hostility?

Do civilian mass shootings that target members of historically-marginalized groups impact the prosocial attitudes of white Americans? A developing literature in political science has looked toward these mass shootings for evidence of changing policy attitudes and electoral behavior (Barney and Schaffner, 2019; Garcia-Montoya et al., 2022; Hassell et al., 2020; Newman and Hartman, 2019; Rogowski and Tucker, 2019). While a mass shooting's media coverage is undoubtedly influenced by contextual factors like its scale, location, and perceived motivation, the ways in which an incident impacts the opinions and behaviors outside of a fleeting media cycle is still unclear. For this reason, we set three competing expectations predicting the ways in which mass shootings may impact the prosocial attitudes of white Americans.

**Apathy** – Civilian mass shootings, of all types, are not uncommon in the United States. Their frequency may speak to broader desensitization to these incidents. There is evidence of apathy toward and immobility of opinion regarding mass shootings in their aftermath. First, therefore, we expect to find no measurable change in white attitudes toward the targeted group after these shootings.

Recent studies have found that mass shooting events have minimal impact on political behavior in the United States. This extends to school shootings and other forms of identity violence, whereby the lasting impact of mass shootings on electoral behaviors (Barney and Schaffner, 2019; Hassell et al., 2020; Garcia-Montoya et al., 2022). Similarly, work in the area

of policing has shown that incidents of fatal police violence, regardless of the identity of the victim(s), have little impact on perceptions of police and policing (Crabtree and Yadon, 2022; McGowen and Wylie, 2020; Walker et al., 2020). Specifically, these studies of police violence find that white attitudes about police and policing are stalwart, regardless of a victim's identity. For people of color, however, there is evidence to suggest that their attitudes about police are more malleable when exposed to incidents of police violence (Weitzer, 2002).

Americans do not react at the ballot box to acts of mass civilian violence (Hassell et al., 2020). This is indicative of a broader apathy or neutrality in literature which has considered the aftermath of both civilian and police violence in the United States. This leads to the expectation that white public opinion on policies and groups adjacent to a mass shooting are not impacted in their wake. Thus, we do not expect to find any measurable differences in the prosocial attitudes of whites in the aftermath of racialized mass shootings ( $H1_a$ ).

**Empathy** – Our second expectation proposes that the prosocial attitudes of white Americans increase in the aftermath of racially-targeted mass shootings. While our first expectation speaks to a normalization of and apathy toward mass shootings, our second and third expectations propose that distinctions between racially-targeted mass shootings and other civilian mass shootings may become apparent when considering prosocial attitudes along racial lines.

While some authors assert that Americans are unchanging in their political behavior in the aftermath of mass shootings, others have found evidence to suggest that attitudes, if not actual behavior is malleable. Roman and Thompson (2023), for example, find that attitudes toward the LGBTQ+ community are warmer – though only temporarily – in the wake of the 2016 Pulse Night Club Massacre in Orlando, Florida. Similar to the way in which the Pulse Massacre briefly focused attention on anti-LGBTQ+ sentiments as well as adjacent topics, racially-targeted mass shootings channel attention toward the targeted groups. These incidents highlight the extent to which minority groups have been repressed throughout

American history. This is in part through the conversations which emerge in their aftermath. The 2015 mass shooting in Charleston, for example, prompted a national media conversation about symbolism behind the Confederate battle flag, as well as the distinct differences that symbol holds for white and Black Americans. While white Americans predominantly saw the flag as representing Southern pride, Black Americans overwhelming regarded it as a symbol of racism.<sup>3</sup>

In comparison to people of color, there is also greater room for movement in white prosocial attitudes. People of color have more favorable opinions toward and are more empathetic of other people of color and disadvantaged groups in comparison to whites (Sirin et al., 2016; Sirin et al., 2021). Sirin et al. (2016), for example, find that “African-Americans and Latinos have significantly higher levels of group empathy compared to Anglos.” Their group empathy for Arabs, African Americans, and Latinos is also significantly higher than that of white respondents. Among whites, there is more potential for attitudes to change in a positive direction. Therefore, we should expect to see that white pro-social attitudes increase in the aftermath of these incidents( $H1_b$ ).

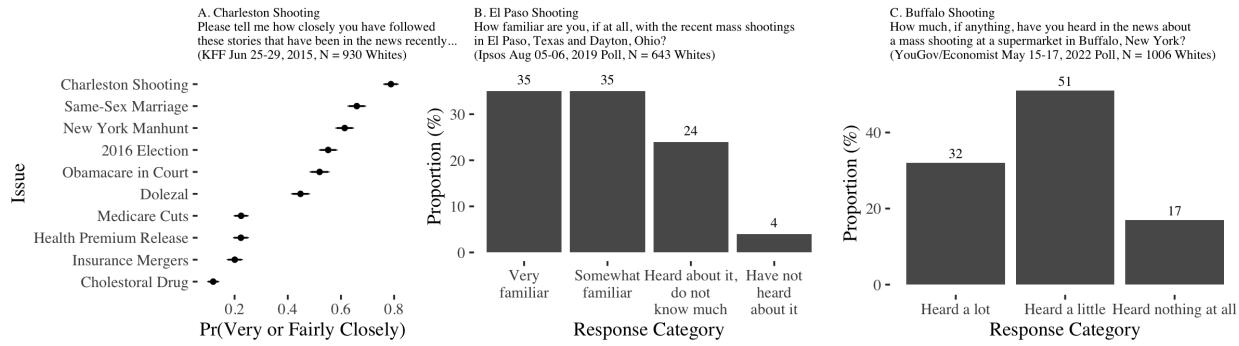
When connected to a larger discussion of white supremacy and structural racism, racially-targeted mass shootings represent a pattern of white supremacist violence in the United States. Even if only a temporary increase in the pro-social attitudes of whites, confirmation of hypothesis  $1_b$  could mark a recognition that these incidents are connected to a broader network and history of white supremacy. Yet, when asked about where responsibility for racially-targeted mass shootings lies or how to classify racially-targeted mass shootings, responses from the general public suggest a more individualized perception. Figure 2 shows that the greatest proportion of respondents surveyed after the 2022 Buffalo mass shooting believed that the incident should be classified as a “violent crime,” “hate crime,” or as an

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<sup>3</sup>“Public Opinion on the Confederate Flag and the Civil War” 2015. Roper Center for Public Opinion Research. Also see Huffmon et al. (2017).

incident motivated by “mental illness.” This is in comparison to classifying the shooting as “terrorism,” which was higher proportionally than only those who were unsure of any classification or did not agree with any provided classification. The popularity of labels and classifications that are indicative of individual onus (e.g., “mental illness” or “hate crime”) rather than those which point to systemic and organized racism and pervasive racist ideology (e.g., “terrorism”) suggest that racially-targeted mass shooting may not impact white Americans in the ways predicted by hypothesis 1<sub>b</sub>. Rather than reflecting obscured structures of white supremacy and white supremacist ideology, racially-targeted mass shooting may instead be indicative of a larger racial threat to white Americans.

**Hostility** – Therefore, and in contrast to our second expectation, we propose that there is a decrease in white prosocial attitudes in the aftermath of racially-targeted mass shootings. These incidents focus attention on marginalized groups, but that attention is not necessarily positive. Rather than increasing prosocial attitudes, these incidents may instead provoke hostility among whites. We propose that racially-targeted mass shooting may dredge up concerns of inter-group competition (Bobo and Hutchings, 1996; Tajfel and Turner, 2004). In some incidents, this happens explicitly. Perpetrators of mass shootings in Charleston, Buffalo, and El Paso all espoused white supremacist beliefs and manifestos, while also expressing their desire to ignite violent, interracial conflict. In other cases, these mass shootings may highlight the threat that these minority, out-groups pose to the dominant, in-group. For example, the 2021 Atlanta mass shooting occurred in the midst of a rise in anti-Asian hate crimes and bias toward Asian-Americans stemming from the COVID-19 pandemic. Similarly, the El Paso mass shooting, notably occurring in a town on the U.S.-Mexico border, may have brought issues of immigration – and threats posed to whites by immigration – to the political forefront. With an eye toward racial threat that is stirred up around these incidents, we expect that white prosocial attitudes might actually decrease in the aftermath of racially-targeted mass shootings ( $H1_c$ ).



**Figure 1: Attention to Racial Violence Incidents.** Panel A is the proportion of white respondents (x-axis) who indicate they followed the Charleston Shooting very or fairly closely relative to not closely relative to other salient stories 8-12 days after the shooting (y-axis) using Kaiser Family Foundation data. Panel B is the proportion of white respondents (y-axis) who were familiar with the recent mass shootings in El Paso, Texas and Dayton, Ohio 2-3 days after the El Paso shooting using Ipsos data. Panel C is the proportion of white respondents (y-axis) who have heard “a lot,” “a little,” or “nothing at all” about the Buffalo shooting 1-3 days after the shooting (x-axis) using YouGov/Economist data.

## Studies 1-4: Evidence From 4 Racial Violence Shootings

To test our expectations, we evaluate the consequences of four instances of racialized violence on prosocial attitudes toward targeted groups among whites: a 2015 mass shooting in Charleston, South Carolina (2015-06-17, Study 1), a 2019 mass shooting in El Paso, Texas (2019-08-03, Study 2), a 2021 mass shooting in Atlanta, Georgia (2021-03-16, Study 3), and a 2022 mass shooting in Buffalo, New York (2022-05-14, Study 4). Here, we outline a brief description of each violent event and proceed to discuss our data and empirical strategy.

### 2015 Charleston Shooting

On June 17, 2015, 9PM EST, a white gunman shot and killed 9 Black people during a Bible Study at the Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Charleston, South Carolina. Emanuel AME is one of the oldest U.S. Black churches. The gunman deliberately targeted Emanuel AME since it is a historic center for civil rights organizing.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup>“Affidavits spell out chilling case against Dylann Roof.” June 19, 2015. *USA Today*.

The gunman espoused racial hatred in a website manifesto he published before the shooting, verbally during the shooting, and in a journal he wrote from jail afterward.<sup>5</sup> His website displayed several white supremacist emblems. The perpetrator was eventually convicted of 33 Federal hate crime and murder charges, in addition to 9 counts of murder in state court.<sup>6</sup>

The shooting was a salient event. Charleston Mayor Joseph Riley, South Carolina Governor Nikki Haley, and President Barack Obama all condemned the shooting the day after.<sup>7</sup> Eighteen 2016 presidential election candidates, Republicans and Democrats, expressed reactions through various media and addresses.<sup>8</sup> *The Daily Show's* Jon Stewart delivered a monologue condemning the attack the night after.<sup>9</sup>

Consistent with the notion the shooting was salient and the mass public perceived it, Mediacloud data show there was a discontinuous increase in online news articles regarding the Charleston shooting and hate crimes the moment of the shooting (Figure 5, Panels A-B, Figure 6, Panels A-B). Additionally, Google searches for information regarding the Charleston shooting and hate crimes precipitously increased the moment of the shooting (Figure 4, Panels A-B). Important to our research design, Google searches for information and online articles related to the shooting and hate crimes are not increasing prior to the event, suggesting the Charleston shooting was an unanticipated event. Moreover, nearly 80% of whites interviewed 8-12 days after the shooting reported they were following the shooting closely (Figure 1, Panel A), statistically more than other salient events at the time (e.g. same-sex marriage decision, the 2016 election, the Obamacare court decision).

Although media reports suggest political elites disagreed on how to frame the event,

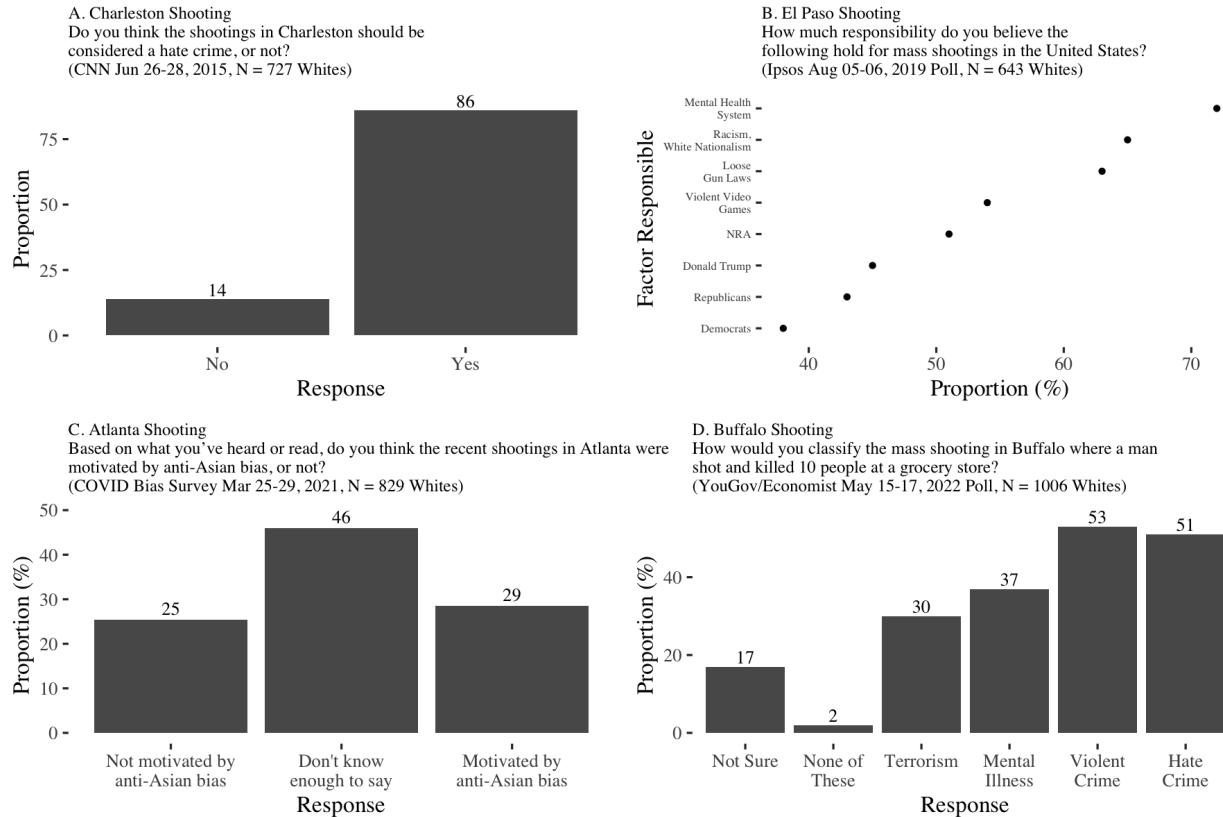
<sup>5</sup> "The 2 Degrees of Separation Between Dylann Roof and the Republican Party." June 22, 2015. *The Nation*.

<sup>6</sup> "Victim's dad warns Dylann Roof: 'Your creator . . . he's coming for you.'" January 11, 2017. CNN.

<sup>7</sup> "9 people killed in shooting at black church in Charleston, S.C." June 17, 2015. CBC.; "Obama On Charleston Shooting: 'This Type Of Mass Violence Does Not Happen In Other Advanced Countries.'" June 18, 2015. *Huffington Post*.

<sup>8</sup> "U.S. presidential candidates react to South Carolina church shootings." June 18, 2015. Reuters.

<sup>9</sup> "Watch Jon Stewart's Heartbreaking Charleston Shooting Monologue." June 19, 2015. *Rolling Stone*.



**Figure 2: Perceptions of Violence as Racialized.** Panel A characterizes the proportion of whites (y-axis) who perceived the Charleston shooting as a hate crime using CNN data. Panel B characterizes the proportion of whites who think “Racism, White Nationalism” is responsible for mass shootings in the United States in Ipsos data fielded 2-3 days after the El Paso shooting. Panel C characterizes the proportion of whites (y-axis) who think the recent shootings in Atlanta were motivated by anti-Asian bias in the Amerispeak COVID Bias Survey sponsored by Enns and Schuldt. Panel D characterizes the proportion of whites (y-axis) who would classify the mass shooting as a hate crime (among other things) (x-axis) in YouGov/Economist data.

with Democrats espousing gun control and identifying systemic white supremacy as a core motivation for the shooting, and Republicans emphasizing mental illness and the violence as a “random act,”<sup>10</sup> 86% of whites thought the shooting was a racially-motivated hate crime (Figure 2, Panel A).

Given the perpetrator’s website included several white supremacist emblems (e.g. the

<sup>10</sup>“Predictably, Democrats, Republicans Don’t Agree On Charleston Causes, Solutions.” June 19, 2015. NPR.

Confederate flag), the shooting raised debate over whether South Carolina should fly the Confederate battle flag on state grounds.<sup>11</sup> An online petition with 370,000 signatures encouraged the flag's removal. Obama, Mitt Romney, and Jeb Bush called for the flag's removal. On June 22, South Carolina Governor Haley and Senators Lindsey Graham and Tim Scott called for the flag to be removed by the state legislature. Eventually, the South Carolina senate voted to remove the Confederate flag from display. On June 23, several major retailers (e.g. Walmart, Amazon, Sears, eBay) announced plans to stop selling Confederate flags.<sup>12</sup> Consistent with  $H1_b$ , prior research demonstrates the white mass public reduced support for flying the Confederate flag in South Carolina between two surveys administered before and after the shooting (Huffmon et al., 2017). However, there is limited research on whether the shooting may have elicited prosocial attitudes toward Black people among whites. Consistent with  $H1_a$ , support for the flag's removal may be symbolic, and not concomitant with reductions in negative attitudes toward Black people after the shooting among whites.

## 2019 El Paso Shooting

On August 3, 2019, 10:30 AM MST, a white gunman, shot and murdered 23 individuals in a Wal-Mart in El Paso, Texas. This mass shooting is notable for our purposes because the perpetrator chose this location with the explicit intent of targeting Mexicans, Mexican-Americans, and people of Hispanic-descent, and the media narrative after the shooting also emphasized this framing of the incident.<sup>13</sup> El Paso's location at the physical Mexican-American border also emphasized the perpetrator's stated desire to stymie what he called the "Hispanic invasion of Texas" in a manifesto he wrote prior to the shooting. In February

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<sup>11</sup> "Charleston Shooting Reignites Debate About Confederate Flag." June 19, 2015. *New York Times*.

<sup>12</sup> "Walmart, Amazon, Sears, eBay to stop selling Confederate flag merchandise." June 24, 2015. CNN.

<sup>13</sup> "El Paso Walmart Shooting Suspect Pleads Not Guilty." October 10, 2019. NPR.

2023, the perpetrator pled guilty to federal hate crime charges and is awaiting sentencing.<sup>14</sup>

The event was highly salient and interpreted as ethno-racial violence. President Trump, Obama, El Paso U.S. Representative Escobar, Texas Senator Ted Cruz, Beto O'Rourke, and Texas Governor Greg Abbott all condemned the shooting. Two days after the shooting, Trump indicated “in one voice, our nation must condemn racism, bigotry, and white supremacy. These sinister ideologies must be defeated. Hate has no place in America.” At the same time, “#WhiteSupremacistInChief” was the number one trending Twitter topic the day after the shooting as some pointed out Crusius’ manifesto contained anti-immigrant rhetoric similar to Trump’s speeches. Many Democratic party members criticized Trump’s anti-immigrant rhetoric in the wake of the shooting, including several 2020 presidential candidates. Although some Republicans emphasized mental illness or violent video games as responsible for the shooting, many, including Trump, George P. Bush, the Texas Land Commissioner, and Ted Cruz, spoke of the need to combat white supremacist terrorism.

Auxiliary evidence suggests the event was salient and perceived as ethno-racial violence among the mass public. The number and proportion of online news articles related to the El Paso shooting and hate crimes discontinuously increased after the shooting (Figure 5, Panels C-D, Figure 6, Panels C-D). Google searches for information related to the El Paso shooting and hate crimes precipitously increased in an unanticipated manner immediately after the shooting (Figure 4, Panels C-D).<sup>15</sup> Indeed, a representative Ipsos poll fielded 2-3 days post-shooting indicated 70% of whites were “familiar” with the mass shootings in El Paso and Dayton, Ohio.<sup>16</sup> The same poll indicates 65% of whites attributed the cause of the

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<sup>14</sup>“Man who killed 23 at El Paso Walmart pleads guilty to hate crimes.” February 8, 2023.. The Texas Tribune.

<sup>15</sup>In 2019, Google search intensity for information related to hate crimes was at its highest on February-March due to the Jussie Smollett hate crime scandal (see: <https://www.bbc.com/news/newsbeat-47317701>). However, information-seeking concerning hate crimes decreases between April-July, suggesting our design is examining the consequences of relatively unanticipated information concerning ethno-racial violence.

<sup>16</sup>In Dayton, another mass shooting, not ethno-racially targeted, occurred 13 hours after the El Paso shooting.

shooting(s) to “racism, white nationalism.”

## 2021 Atlanta Spa Shooting

On March 16, 2021, 4:50PM EST, a gunman shot and killed 8 people, 6 of which were Asian women, at three separate spas or massage parlors in and around Atlanta, Georgia. Unlike the Charleston or El Paso shootings, however, the motivation for the violence is less clear. The gunman was taken into custody, and told police that he targeted establishments where he previously paid for sex because he was motivated by a sex addiction at odds with his Christianity. The gunman denied the victims’ race played a role in the killings.

However, despite the stated intentions of the shooter, segments of the media and political establishment interpreted the violence as a racially-motivated hate crime. Korean media sources indicated one of the spa managers that witnessed the shooting indicated the shooter said “I’m going to kill all the Asians.” President Biden, Vice President Kamala Harris, and several Democratic politicians immediately condemned the attack as a hate crime.<sup>17</sup> Three days after the shooting, Biden gave a speech condemning rising hate crimes during the COVID-19 pandemic against Asian-Americans and declared his support for the proposed COVID-19 Hate Crimes Act, which passed Congress a month later. The South Korean foreign minister met with Secretary of State Blinken to discuss the shooting and U.S. government anti-hate crime efforts on March 19. *Stop AAPI Hate*, a prominent initiative supported by several pro-Asian social justice organizations declared that racism should not be ruled out despite the shooters stated intention. Some commentators also noted that the fact most of the shooter’s victims were Asian women, who have experienced a history of sexual fetishization, may be grounds for understanding the event as a hate crime.

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<sup>17</sup>The shootings took place in two jurisdictions, and so the gunman faced charges in both. He pled guilty to four murder charges in Cherokee County, Georgia and was sentenced to life in prison. In Fulton County, he is awaiting trial on charges that include murder, aggravated assault with a deadly weapon, and domestic terrorism, which include hate crime enhancements.

The Atlanta shooting was a salient event. Google searches and online media coverage related to the shooting precipitously increased the moment of the shooting (Figure 4, Panel E; Figure 5, Panels E-F). There is also some evidence that the mass public perceived the shooting as a hate crime. Online media coverage on hate crimes also precipitously increased post-shooting (Figure 6, Panels E-F). Google searches for hate crimes increase precipitously post-shooting (Figure 4, Panel F). Moreover, 29% of the white mass public perceived the shooting as an anti-Asian hate crime (Figure 2, Panel C). However, to the extent that the white mass public may adopt prosocial attitudes in response to violence against racialized groups toward racialized groups, the effects of the Atlanta shooting may be weaker given a smaller proportion of whites perceived the Atlanta shooting as racially motivated relative to the Charleston and El Paso shootings.

## 2022 Buffalo Shooting

The most recent racially-targeted mass shooting we consider took place on May 14, 2022, 2:30PM EST, in Buffalo, New York. In that incident, the perpetrator murdered 10 individuals in a grocery store, the majority of whom were African-American. The attack was pre-meditated months in advance, and he noted that he chose the location for the shooting because its ZIP code had the "highest percentage of Black people close enough to where he lived in Conklin, New York."<sup>18</sup> Similar to the mass shootings in Charleston and El Paso, the perpetrator actively sought out a location that he knew would communicate a larger message. The public at-large appears to have seen the animus within that message. Figure 2, Panel D shows that 51% of white respondents in a YouGov/Economist survey fielded immediately after the shooting said they would classify the attack as a "hate crime." In the time since, the perpetrator has pled guilty to charges of murder and to the charge of "domestic terrorism

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<sup>18</sup>"Buffalo grocery store mass shooter willing to plead guilty to federal charges if death penalty off the table, attorneys say." December 9, 2022. CNN.

motivated by hate.”<sup>19</sup> He stands charged with hate crime enhancements in Federal court.<sup>20</sup> The event was salient. Google searches related to the shooting and hate crimes precipitously increased in an unanticipated manner the moment of the shooting (Figure 4). Online media coverage of the shooting and hate crimes also increased in a discontinuous, unanticipated manner post-shooting.

## Data and Design

To test our hypotheses and the effects of these racialized violent incidents on white attitudes toward targeted groups, we use a variety of datasets. To assess the effects of the Charleston shooting on prosocial attitudes toward Black people (Study 1), we use the Project Implicit Race Implicit Association Test (PI-RIAT) survey from January-December 2015.<sup>21</sup> The PI-RIAT is an online survey of individuals who self-select to take an implicit association test on race in addition to answering explicit questions related to race. We subset the raw data to white U.S. adult residents who completed the survey. 354 whites take the survey each day on average. Although the PI-RIAT is not representative, prior research suggests external stimuli produces similar effects in unrepresentative samples relative to representative samples (**coppock2019generalizing**). Nevertheless, we weight the PI-RIAT sample to census quotas for age, college-education, and gender from the 2015 American Community Survey (ACS). The dependent variables of interest are the *D-score*, *ethnocentrism*, and *bias*. The *D-score* measures the degree to which respondents make more negative/positive associations with Black/white people. *Ethnocentrism* is based on two feeling thermometers measuring warmth toward Black and white people. We take the difference between the white and Black thermometer to measure differential warmth towards whites relative to Black people. *Bias*

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<sup>19</sup>In New York state, this is a hate crime enhancement for crimes that involve at least one death and the attempted murder of at least four other people. See: New York Law Section 490.28.

<sup>20</sup>“Buffalo Gunman Sentenced to Life in Emotional and Dramatic Hearing.” February 15, 2023. *The New York Times*.

<sup>21</sup><https://osf.io/52qx1/>

is based on a measure in the PI-RIAT explicitly asking respondents “how much do they prefer European-Americans people to African-Americans” on a scale from “I strongly prefer African Americans to European Americans” to “I strongly prefer European-Americans to African-Americans.” All outcomes are rescaled between 0-1. The independent variable of interest is a binary indicator equal to 1 if the respondent was interviewed after June 17, 2015, the moment of the Charleston shooting.

To assess the effects of the El Paso shooting on prosocial attitudes towards Latinxs (Study 2), we use the UCLA + Democracy Fund Nationscape survey (NS) fielded between July 2019-April 2021.<sup>22</sup> We subset the data to white adults. Unlike the PI-RIAT, the survey was implemented by LUCID, who recruited online respondents to meet Census representative quotas. The data and analyses include population weights for gender, census region, ethnicity, race, age, language, birth country, household income, metropolitan status, and Trump vote. 667 whites take the survey each day on average. The dependent variables of interest are: *Latino unfavorability*, a measure of feeling unfavorable towards Latinos from “very favorable” to “very unfavorable”; *undocumented unfavorability*, a measure of feeling unfavorable towards undocumented immigrants from “very favorable” to “very unfavorable”; *separation*, a measure of agreement with the notion that children should be separated from their parents when parents could be prosecuted for immigration violations; *merit*, a measure of agreement with shifting from a family to a merit-based immigration; *require citizenship*, a measure of agreement with requiring citizenship to wire money to another country; *no pathway*, a measure of disagreement with creating a path to citizenship for all undocumented immigrants; *no DREAM*, a measure of disagreement with creating a path to citizenship for undocumented immigrants brought here as children; *deportations*, a measure of agreement with deporting all undocumented immigrants. Although many of the outcomes in the NS deal with attitudes toward immigrants and policies related to their political rights, the white

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<sup>22</sup><https://www.voterstudygroup.org/nationscape>

mass public may adopt prosocial attitudes toward immigrants given the perpetrator in the El Paso shooting was motivated by anti-Latinx, anti-immigrant beliefs and the Latinx population an immigrant population. All outcomes are rescaled between 0-1. The independent variable of interest is a binary indicator equal to 1 if the respondent was interviewed after August 3, 2019, the moment of the El Paso shooting.

To assess the effects of the Atlanta spa shooting on prosocial attitudes towards Asians (Study 3), we use the Project Implicit Asian Implicit Association Test (PI-AIAT) survey from January-December 2015.<sup>23</sup> Like the PI-RIAT, the PI-AIAT is an online survey of individuals self-selecting to take an implicit association test on anti-Asian bias in addition to answering explicit questions related to evaluations of Asians. We subset the raw data to white U.S. adult residents who completed the survey. 63 whites take the survey each day on average. We weight the PI-AIAT sample to census quotas for age, college-education, and gender from the 2015 American Community Survey (ACS). The dependent variables of interest are the anti-Asian *D-score*, *ethnocentrism*, and *bias*. The anti-Asian *D-score* measures the degree to which respondents make more negative/positive associations with Asian/European people. *Ethnocentrism* is based on two feeling thermometers measuring warmth toward Asian-American and European-American people. We take the difference between the European-American and Asian-American thermometer to measure differential warmth towards Europeans-Americans relative to Asian-American people. *Bias* is based on a measure in the PI-RIAT explicitly asking respondents “how much do they prefer European-Americans people to African-Americans” on a scale from “I strongly prefer African Americans to European Americans” to “I strongly prefer European-Americans to African-Americans.” All outcomes are rescaled between 0-1. The independent variable of interest is a binary indicator equal to 1 if the respondent was interviewed after March 16, 2021, the moment of the Atlanta shooting.

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<sup>23</sup><https://osf.io/52qx1/>

To assess the effects of the Buffalo shooting on prosocial attitudes toward Black people, we conduct a preregistered data processing and analysis (Study 4).<sup>24</sup> Like Study 1, we use the Project Implicit Race Implicit Association Test (PI-RIAT) survey from January-December 2022. We subset the raw data to white U.S. adult residents who completed the survey. 434 whites take the survey each day on average. The outcomes are the same as Study 1. The independent variable of interest is a binary indicator equal to 1 if the respondent was interviewed after May 14, 2022.

## Estimation Strategy

We use the following linear model for all studies:

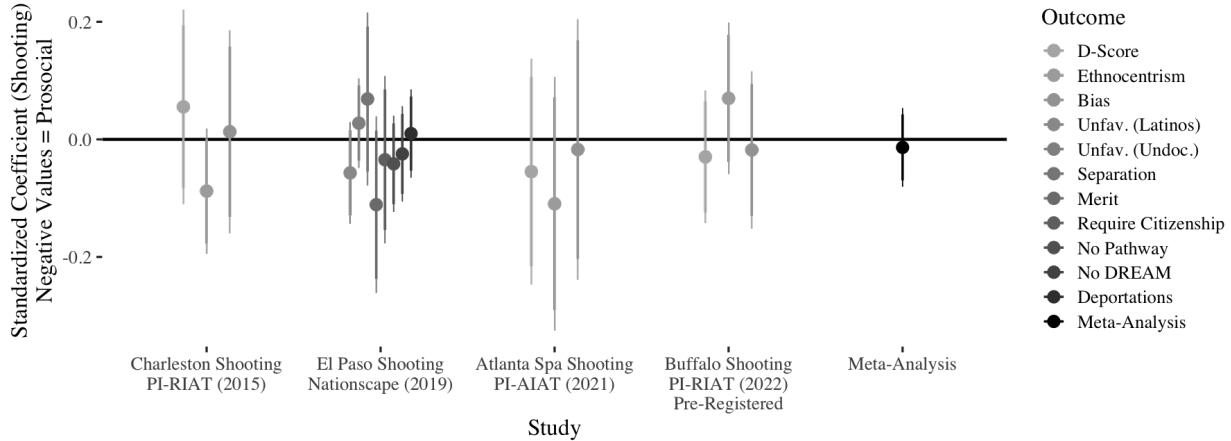
$$Y_i = \alpha + \beta_1 \text{shooting}_i + \sum_{k=1}^k \beta^{k+1} X_i^k + \varepsilon_i$$

Where  $Y_i$  is an outcome of interest for respondent  $i$ ,  $D_i$  is an indicator equal to one if respondent  $i$  takes the survey *post-shooting*.  $\sum_{k=1}^k \beta^{k+1} X_i^k$  are  $k$  control covariates for gender, age, college-education, state of residence (Texas, Pennsylvania, New York, California, Florida), ideology, and religiosity for Studies 1, 3-4; gender, age, evangelicalism, foreign-born, college-education, income, employment, union, ideology, partisanship, and state of residence for Study 2.  $\varepsilon_i$  are robust errors. For the purposes of consistency and brevity, we present standardized estimates for  $\beta_1$ . Given our outcomes are coded so that lower values suggest prosocial beliefs, if  $\beta_1 < 0$ , then that is evidence the shootings motivate prosocial beliefs.

Our estimation strategy is consistent with an unexpected-event-during-survey design (UESD). We compare respondents exposed to a context where a racialized shooting occurred to respondents not exposed to a context where a shooting occurred. Given each survey is fielded for a long time period, we present post-*shooting* coefficients that are 1)

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<sup>24</sup>See <https://osf.io/5bwz6> for the pre-analysis plan.



**Figure 3: The Effect of Racial Violence on Attitudes Toward Targeted Groups.**  
The x-axis is the study, the y-axis is the standardized *post-shooting* coefficient. Color denotes the outcome of interest. 95% CIs displayed derived from HC2 SEs.

using at least 5 days before and after the shooting and 2) are the most statistically balanced between pre- and post-*shooting* respondents on baseline covariates. Given the media and mass public immediately discussed and sought information on each shooting (Figures 4, 5, 6), the number of respondents 5 days before and after each shooting are large (Study 1 N: 2010, Study 2 N: 5867, Study 3 N: 841, Study 4 N: 3726), and there is high statistical balance on covariates for the samples we use following these decision rules (Study 1: 6 days, 0/17 baseline covariates imbalanced; Study 2: 6 days, 1/26 baseline covariates imbalanced; Study 3: 6 days 0/16 baseline covariates imbalanced, Study 4: 5 days 3/17 covariates imbalanced), we feel confident in our approach. However, we present alternative bandwidth estimates and demonstrate they are similar to the statistical and substantive conclusions of our main estimates.

## Results

Figure 3 displays the standardized effects of the Charleston, El Paso, Atlanta, and Buffalo shootings. Across the board, the shootings have a statistically insignificant effect on attitudes

toward targeted groups, consistent with the notion the white mass public is apathetic to violence perpetrated against marginalized groups. ( $H1_a$ ).

The findings are robust. The results do not change using alternative bandwidth samples (Figures 11, 16, 17, 21, 25). The null results are not a function of pre-treatment secular trends. To rule out pre-treatment secular attitudinal trends, we compare the effect of being interviewed the number of post-treatment days for each study immediately before the shooting relative to the number of post-treatment days beforehand. For the most part, the placebo estimates are statistically null across the studies (Tables 1, 5, 6, 14, 18). Moreover, there is limited heterogeneity across a number of covariates in response to the racialized shootings, suggesting that the white mass public responded in a homogeneous manner (Tables 4, 10, 21, 17).

## Discussion & Conclusion

While, anecdotally, expressions of grief, empathy, and outrage in the media may suggest that racially-targeted mass shootings elicit changes in prosocial attitudes toward the targeted groups, our findings provide evidence to the contrary. Rather than finding support for our first two expectations – no change or increases in prosocial attitudes, our results suggest that racially-targeted mass shootings are not impactful on the prosocial attitudes of white Americans. These mass shootings may serve as focusing events, directing attention toward discussions of the Second Amendment and racial prejudice. However, as others have found a limited or null impact of mass shootings on electoral behavior, we also find that even the intense media focus on these events is not enough to elicit changes in attitudes toward the targeted group.

Our work makes a much needed contribution to literature on mass shootings, political behavior, and public opinion in the United States with its focus on race and racialized

violence. Distinct from much of the literature on the impact of mass shootings on American politics, this paper provides a nuanced consideration of mass shooting events by analyzing them with attention to racial differences. There is substantial literature to suggest that the views white Americans hold about violence and conflict are different from – and more entrenched – than those held by people of color. Our findings align with this literature. We also point to the need for more nuanced and dis-aggregated study of mass shootings. Considering where these mass shootings happen, who they target, and what motivates them may provide a foundation for understanding a lack of widespread electoral and non-electoral political participation in their aftermath.

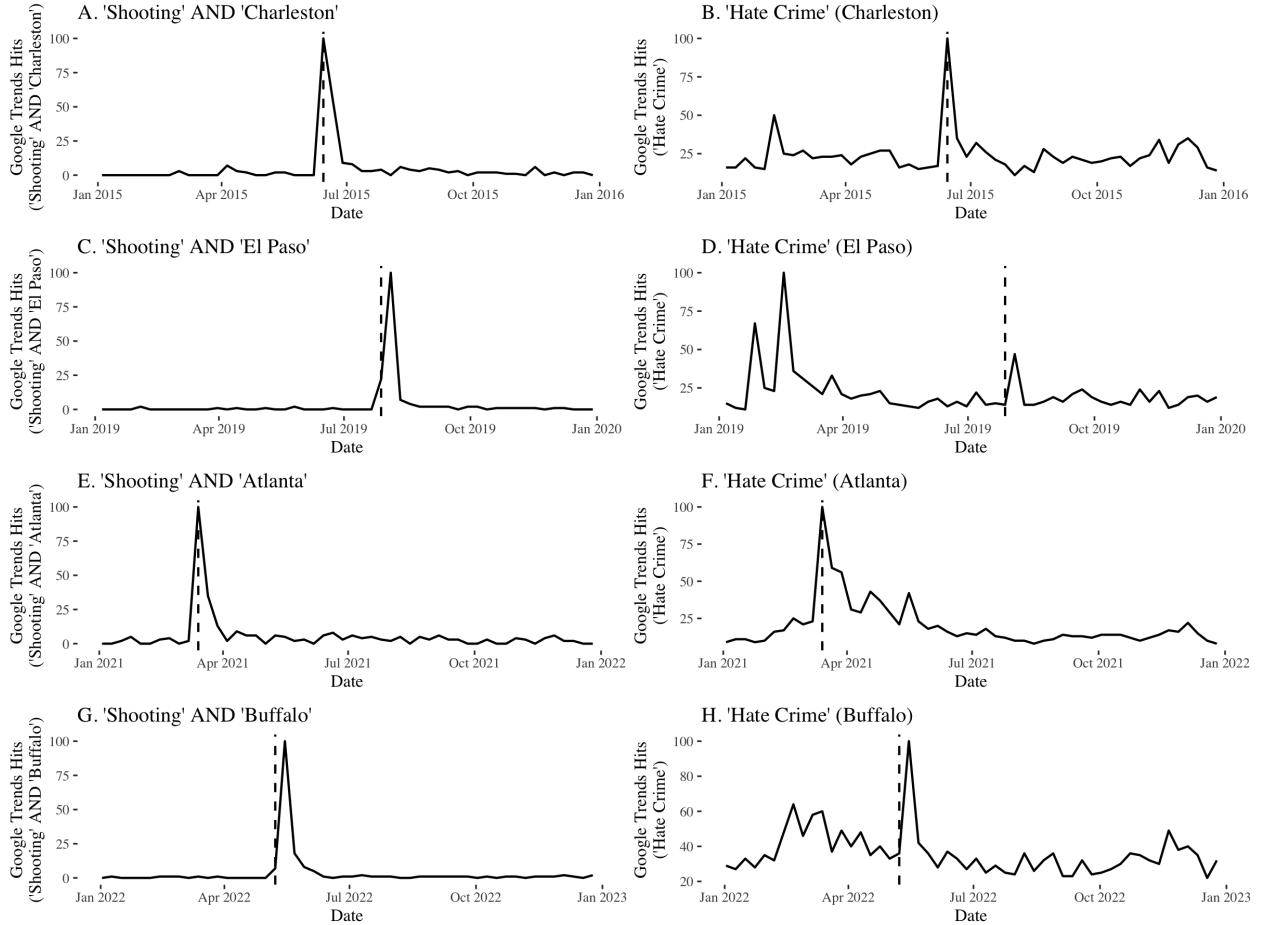
There is further disaggregation to be done, and this points to several areas for future consideration. First, though the responses of people of color have not been the focus of this paper, their attitudes (and variation in their attitudes) warrant a great deal of further study. Group Empathy Theory “posits that minority group members find it easier to cognitively imagine themselves in the position of a person being unfairly treated due solely to their race/ethnicity, even when that person is from a different racial/ethnic group” (Sirin et. al. 2016, 895). This leads us to imagine that people of color have more prosocial responses to racially-targeted mass shootings against other marginalized groups. Specifically, we believe that the responses of whites and people of color (African Americans, in particular) to these racially-targeted mass shootings should not be identical. Where we have observed the lack of response among white Americans, among people of color, we would expect to find greater prosociality in the aftermath of these events. As we move forward, it is our intention to test these expectations. In the case of El Paso, for example, we expect to find that African-Americans exhibited increased prosociality in the aftermath of the 2019 mass shooting. Our work also provokes the question as to how these events may change the attitudes of those who are targeted. Moving forward, we also intend to study how the targeted group’s prosocial attitudes toward white Americans are shifted (if at all) as a result of racially-targeted mass

shootings.

Finally, this paper speaks more broadly to mobilization and issue framing, and reiterates a lesson of history – a strategy of changing hearts and minds may be less fruitful and tougher to achieve than expected. As leaders of anti-lynching efforts learned in the early-20th century, even in the face of horrific, white supremacist violence, white attitudes toward the targeted are deeply entrenched (Francis, 2014; Hill, 2016). We do not find evidence that racially-targeted mass shootings substantially increase hostility toward the targeted groups, which suggests that these events do not incite the interracial conflict that many of the perpetrators hoped to ignite. Yet, our results also suggest that political battles surrounding gun control, racial prejudice, and racial inequities are not to be won by swaying white public opinion.

# A Treatment Reception

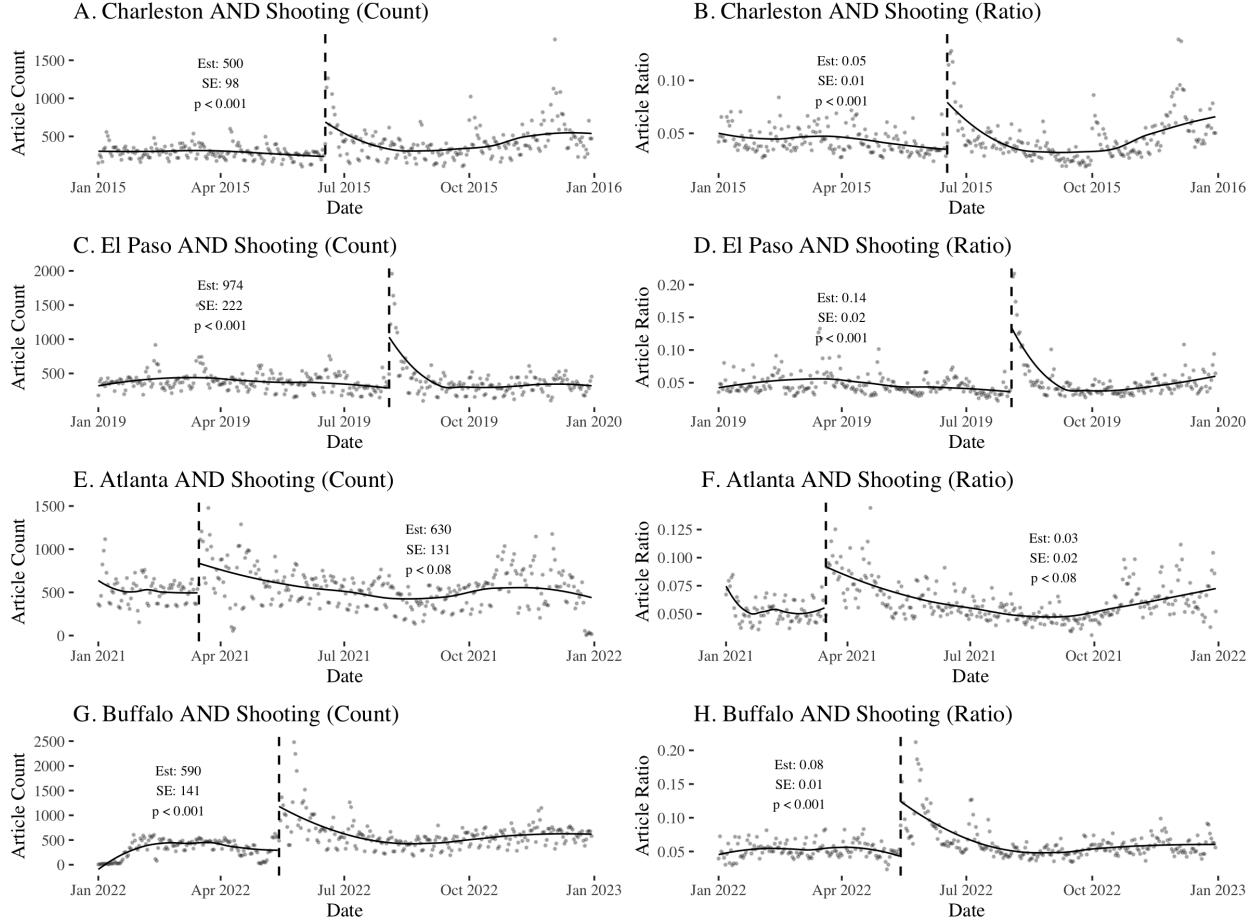
## A.1 Google Trends



**Figure 4: Google Search Intensity Over Time.** Panels A, C, E, and G display the Google Search intensity for the phrases “Shooting” and “Charleston”; “Shooting” and “El Paso”; “Shooting” and “Atlanta”; and “Shooting” and “Buffalo” for the years 2015, 2019, 2021, and 2022 respectively. Panels B, D, F and H display the Google Search intensity for the phrase “hate crime” for the years 2015, 2019, 2021, and 2022 respectively.

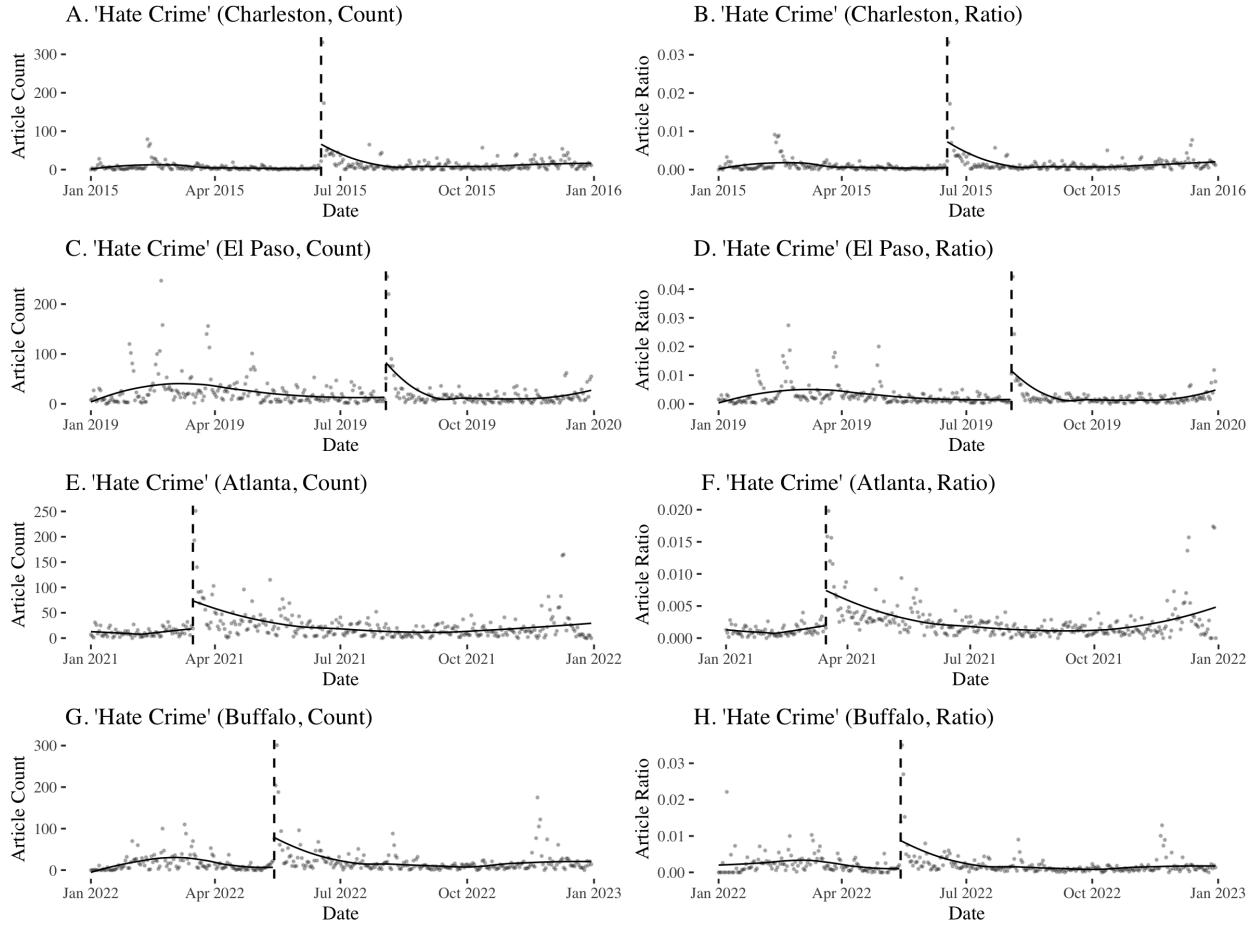
## A.2 Mediablog

### A.2.1 Media Coverage of Shooting Incident(s)



**Figure 5: Online Media Coverage of Shooting Incidents Over Time.** Panels A, C, E, and G display the count of online articles related to the search phrases: “Shooting” and “Charleston”; “Shooting” and “El Paso”; “Shooting” and “Atlanta”; and “Shooting” and “Buffalo” for the years 2015, 2019, 2021, and 2022 respectively. Panels B, D, F and H display the proportion of online articles related to the aforementioned search phrases relative to all online articles.

## A.2.2 Media Coverage of Hate Crime



**Figure 6: Online Media Coverage of Hate Crimes Over Time.** Panels A, C, E, and G display the count of online articles related to the search phrase “hate crime” for the years 2015 (Charleston), 2019 (El Paso), 2021 (Atlanta), and 2022 (Buffalo) respectively. Panels B, D, F and H display the proportion of online articles related to the “hate crime” search phrase relative to all online articles.

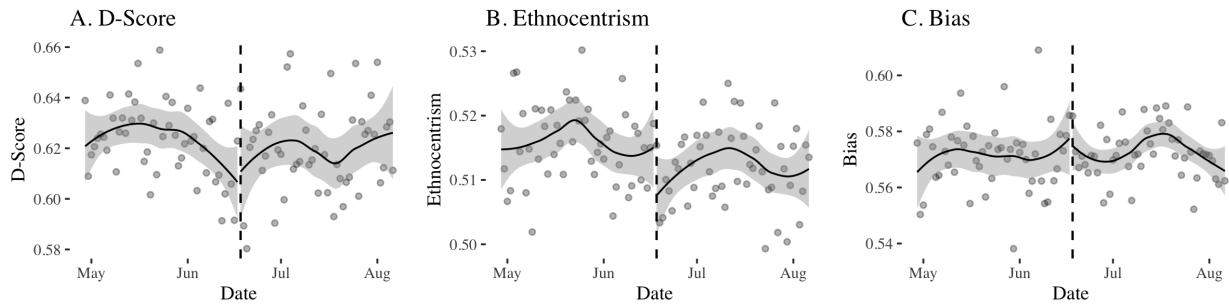
### A.3 BrandWatch – Social Media Engagement



**Figure 7: Online Social Media Engagement Over Time.** Panels A, B, and C show the evolution of mentions across social media platforms for the phrases “Shooting” and “El Paso”; “Shooting” and “Atlanta”; and “Shooting” and “Buffalo” for the years 2019, 2021, and 2022 respectively.

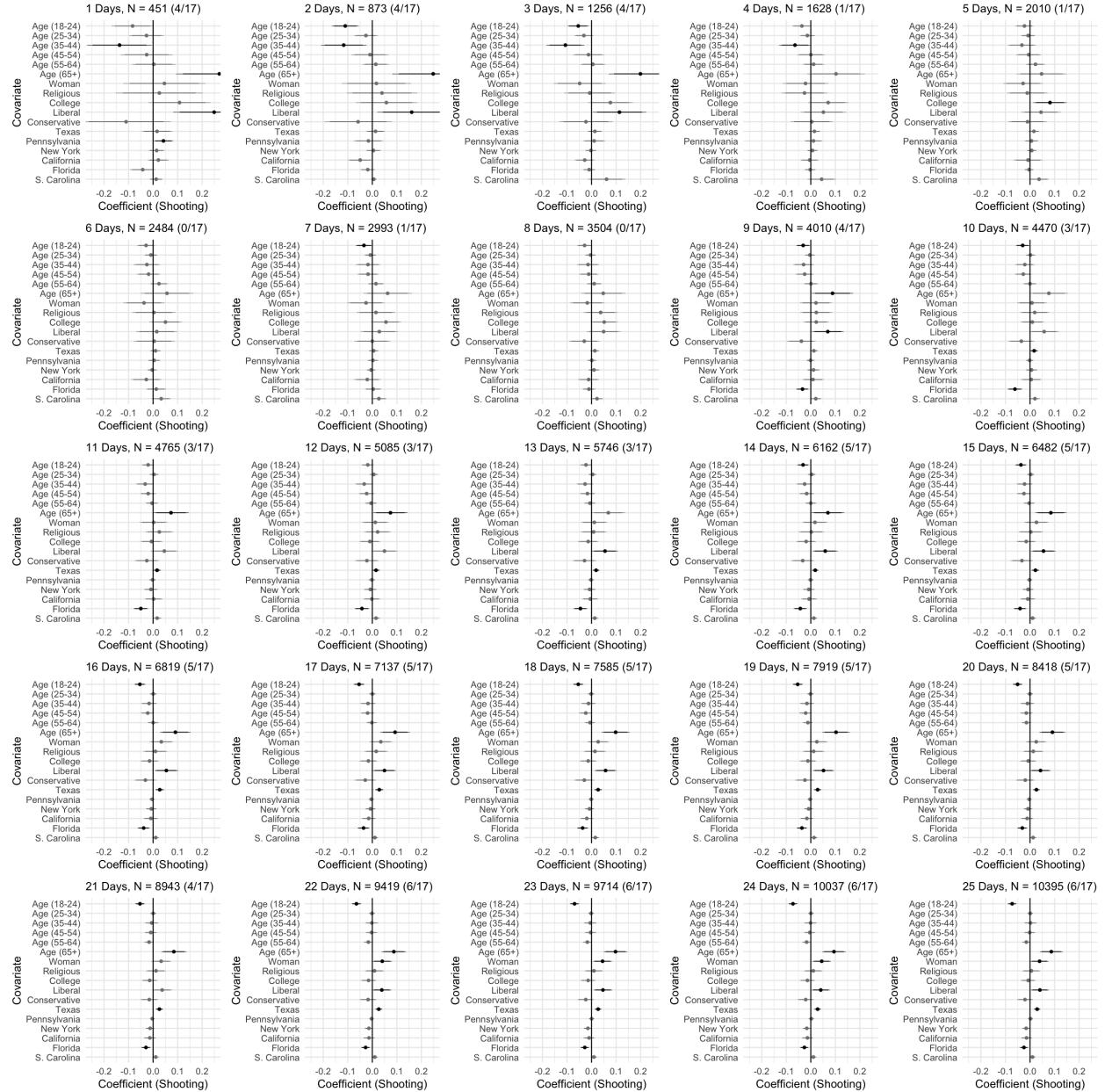
## B Study 1: Charleston Shooting

### B.1 Descriptive Statistics

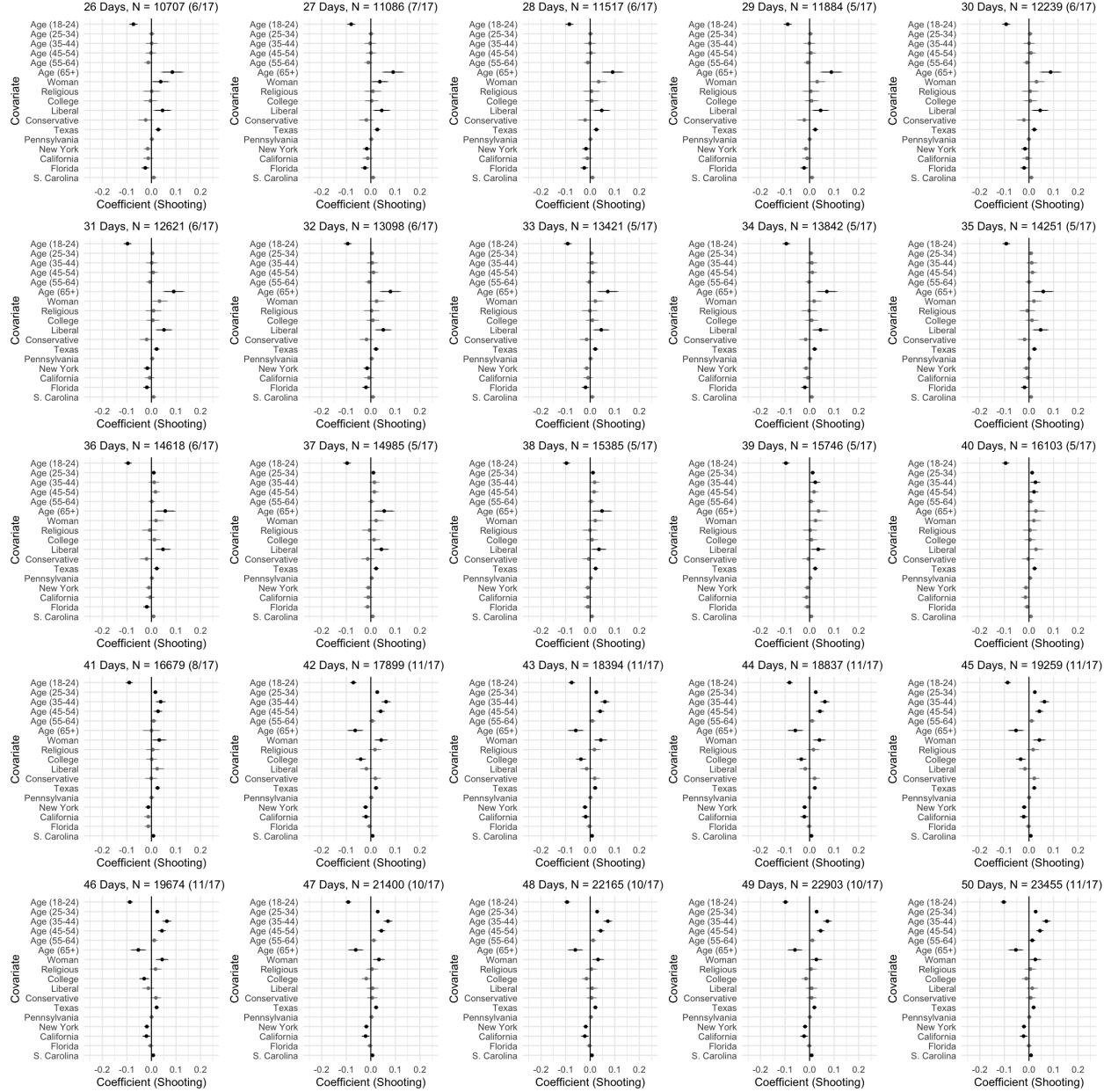


**Figure 8: Outcomes Over Time.** The x-axis is the date, the y-axis is the outcome value for the *D-score*, *ethnocentrism*, and *bias*. The dashed vertical line denotes the moment the Charleston Shooting occurred. The solid line characterizes a loess line fit on each side of the moment the shooting occurred. Data from 50 days before and after the shooting are displayed.

## B.2 Covariate Balance Across Bandwidths

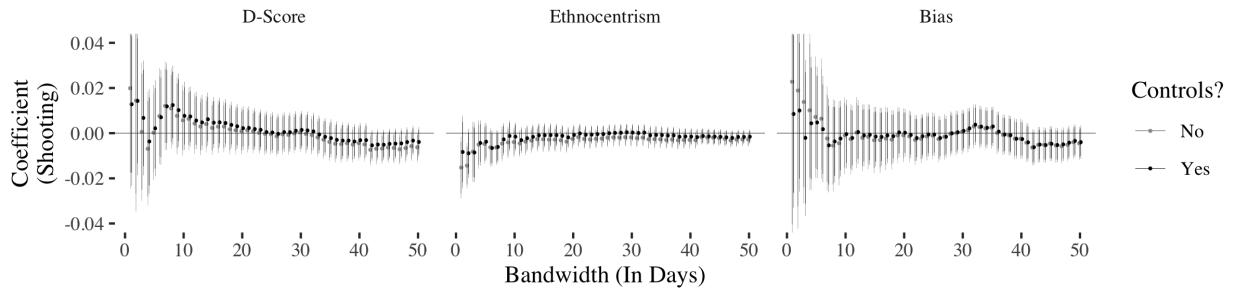


**Figure 9: Assessing Covariate Balance Between Respondents Surveyed Before and After the Charleston Shooting (1-25 day bandwidth samples).** X-axis is the *shooting* coefficient from separate regression models across balance covariates (y-axis). Titles denote bandwidth sample, sample size, and level of imbalance (# covariates imbalanced / # of covariates). Grey coefficients are statistically insignificant, black otherwise. All covariates rescaled between 0-1, 95% CIs displayed from HC2 robust SEs.



**Figure 10: Assessing Covariate Balance Between Respondents Surveyed Before and After the Charleston Shooting (26-50 day bandwidth samples).** X-axis is the *shooting* coefficient from separate regression models across balance covariates (y-axis). Titles denote bandwidth sample, sample size, and level of imbalance (# covariates imbalanced / # of covariates). Grey coefficients are statistically insignificant, black otherwise. All covariates rescaled between 0-1, 95% CIs displayed from HC2 robust SEs.

### B.3 Alternative Bandwidths



**Figure 11: Effect of Charleston Shooting on Anti-Black Attitudes.** X-axis is the bandwidth sample (in days). Y-axis is the *shooting* coefficient. Title denotes outcome. Black coefficients adjust for covariates, grey otherwise. All covariates rescaled between 0-1, 95% CIs displayed from HC2 robust SEs.

## B.4 Temporal Placebo

**Table 1: Temporal Placebo Tests**

	D-Score (1)	Ethnocentrism (2)	Bias (3)	D-Score (4)	Ethnocentrism (5)	Bias (6)
Placebo	-0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.00 (0.00)	0.02 (0.01)
Woman	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.01 (0.01)
College	0.02 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)
Religious	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.01* (0.01)	-0.05*** (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.01* (0.00)	-0.05*** (0.01)
Age (25-34)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)
Age (35-44)	-0.03* (0.01)	-0.01* (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	-0.03* (0.01)	-0.01* (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)
Age (45-54)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.03*** (0.01)	0.00 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.02** (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)
Age (55-64)	0.00 (0.02)	-0.02* (0.01)	0.02 (0.02)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.02* (0.01)	0.01 (0.02)
Age (65+)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.02* (0.01)	-0.00 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.02** (0.01)	-0.01 (0.02)
Liberal	-0.02* (0.01)	-0.02*** (0.01)	-0.03* (0.01)	-0.03* (0.01)	-0.02*** (0.01)	-0.02* (0.01)
Conservative	0.00 (0.01)	0.02** (0.01)	0.06*** (0.02)	0.00 (0.01)	0.02*** (0.01)	0.05*** (0.02)
Texas	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.01)	0.01 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.01)	0.00 (0.02)
Pennsylvania	-0.02 (0.03)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.02)
New York	-0.00 (0.02)	0.00 (0.01)	0.02 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.02)	0.00 (0.01)	0.02 (0.02)
California	-0.04 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.04 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.02)
Florida	0.01 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.02)	0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)
South Carolina	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.06)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.05)
Pre-Shooting Placebo	5 days	5 days	5 days	6 days	6 days	6 days
R <sup>2</sup>	0.04	0.08	0.08	0.04	0.07	0.07
Num. obs.	2005	1992	1982	2277	2255	2244

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ ; \*\* $p < 0.01$ ; \* $p < 0.05$

## B.5 Assessing Sorting

**Table 2:** Assessing Sorting After the Charleston Shooting

	# of Respondents	
	(1)	(2)
(Intercept)	174.80*** (18.61)	174.17*** (15.21)
Shooting	52.40 (28.94)	65.67* (26.80)
Bandwidth	5 day	6 day
R <sup>2</sup>	0.29	0.38
Num. obs.	10	12

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ ; \*\* $p < 0.01$ ; \* $p < 0.05$ . HC2 robust SEs in parentheses.

**Table 3: Re-Analyzing Effects of Charleston Shooting Adjusting For Sorting**

	D-Score (1)	Ethnocentrism (2)	Bias (3)	D-Score (4)	Ethnocentrism (5)	Bias (6)
Shooting	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
# Respondents	0.00* (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00* (0.00)	0.00** (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Woman	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.01 (0.01)
College	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.00)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.00 (0.00)	-0.01 (0.01)
Religious	0.00 (0.01)	-0.01** (0.00)	-0.02 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	-0.01* (0.00)	-0.02 (0.01)
Age (25-34)	0.00 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Age (35-44)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.01* (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01* (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)
Age (45-54)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.03*** (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.02*** (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)
Age (55-64)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.03 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.02 (0.02)
Age (65+)	0.01 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.03 (0.03)	0.02 (0.02)	-0.02* (0.01)	0.02 (0.03)
Liberal	-0.03* (0.01)	-0.02*** (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.03** (0.01)	-0.02*** (0.00)	-0.02 (0.01)
Conservative	0.02 (0.01)	0.02** (0.01)	0.08*** (0.02)	0.02 (0.01)	0.02*** (0.01)	0.08*** (0.02)
Texas	0.01 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.04* (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.02)
Pennsylvania	-0.04 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)
New York	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.01)	0.01 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.02)
California	-0.05* (0.02)	-0.02*** (0.01)	-0.04* (0.02)	-0.05* (0.02)	-0.02*** (0.00)	-0.03 (0.02)
Florida	-0.05* (0.02)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.06 (0.05)
South Carolina	-0.04 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.10* (0.04)	-0.04 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)	0.11* (0.04)
Bandwidth	5 day	5 day	5 day	6 day	6 day	6 day
R <sup>2</sup>	0.06	0.08	0.12	0.06	0.07	0.11
Num. obs.	1983	1978	1962	2453	2447	2427

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ ; \*\* $p < 0.01$ ; \* $p < 0.05$ . All covariates scaled between 0-1 except the count of respondents. HC2 Robust SEs in parentheses.

## B.6 Assessing Heterogeneity

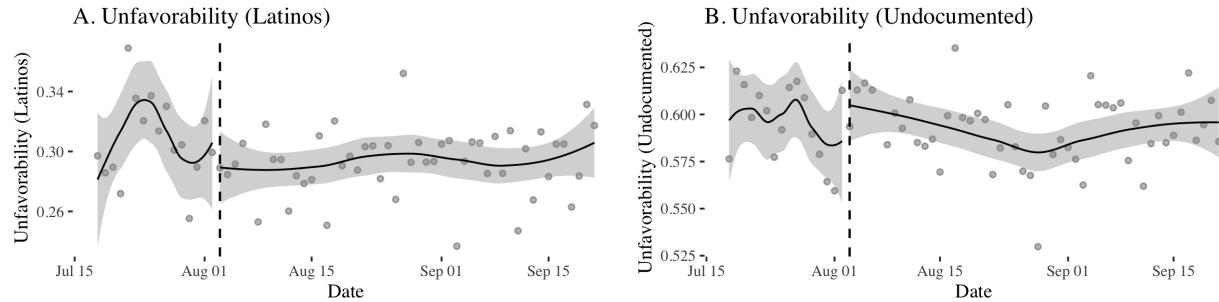
**Table 4: Assessing Heterogeneous Effects of Charleston Shooting**

Het. Effect	SE	p-value	Outcome	Moderator	Sample
0.00	0.02	0.89	D-Score	Woman	5 days
0.00	0.01	0.93	D-Score	Age	5 days
-0.01	0.02	0.47	D-Score	College	5 days
-0.04	0.02	0.05	D-Score	Liberal	5 days
0.05	0.03	0.03	D-Score	Conservative	5 days
-0.00	0.05	0.99	D-Score	South Carolina	5 days
-0.00	0.01	1.00	Ethnocentrism	Woman	5 days
-0.00	0.00	0.64	Ethnocentrism	Age	5 days
-0.00	0.01	0.81	Ethnocentrism	College	5 days
0.00	0.01	0.56	Ethnocentrism	Liberal	5 days
0.00	0.01	0.86	Ethnocentrism	Conservative	5 days
0.09	0.05	0.06	Ethnocentrism	South Carolina	5 days
-0.01	0.03	0.71	Bias	Woman	5 days
0.01	0.01	0.32	Bias	Age	5 days
-0.02	0.02	0.28	Bias	College	5 days
0.00	0.02	0.88	Bias	Liberal	5 days
0.04	0.04	0.30	Bias	Conservative	5 days
0.20	0.08	0.02	Bias	South Carolina	5 days
-0.00	0.02	0.97	D-Score	Woman	6 days
0.00	0.01	0.59	D-Score	Age	6 days
-0.02	0.02	0.42	D-Score	College	6 days
-0.03	0.02	0.12	D-Score	Liberal	6 days
0.06	0.03	0.03	D-Score	Conservative	6 days
-0.00	0.05	0.92	D-Score	South Carolina	6 days
0.00	0.01	0.55	Ethnocentrism	Woman	6 days
-0.00	0.00	0.64	Ethnocentrism	Age	6 days
-0.01	0.01	0.52	Ethnocentrism	College	6 days
0.00	0.01	0.78	Ethnocentrism	Liberal	6 days
0.00	0.01	0.62	Ethnocentrism	Conservative	6 days
0.10	0.05	0.03	Ethnocentrism	South Carolina	6 days
0.00	0.03	0.90	Bias	Woman	6 days
0.01	0.01	0.31	Bias	Age	6 days
-0.01	0.02	0.48	Bias	College	6 days
0.02	0.02	0.53	Bias	Liberal	6 days
0.03	0.04	0.49	Bias	Conservative	6 days
0.22	0.08	0.01	Bias	South Carolina	6 days

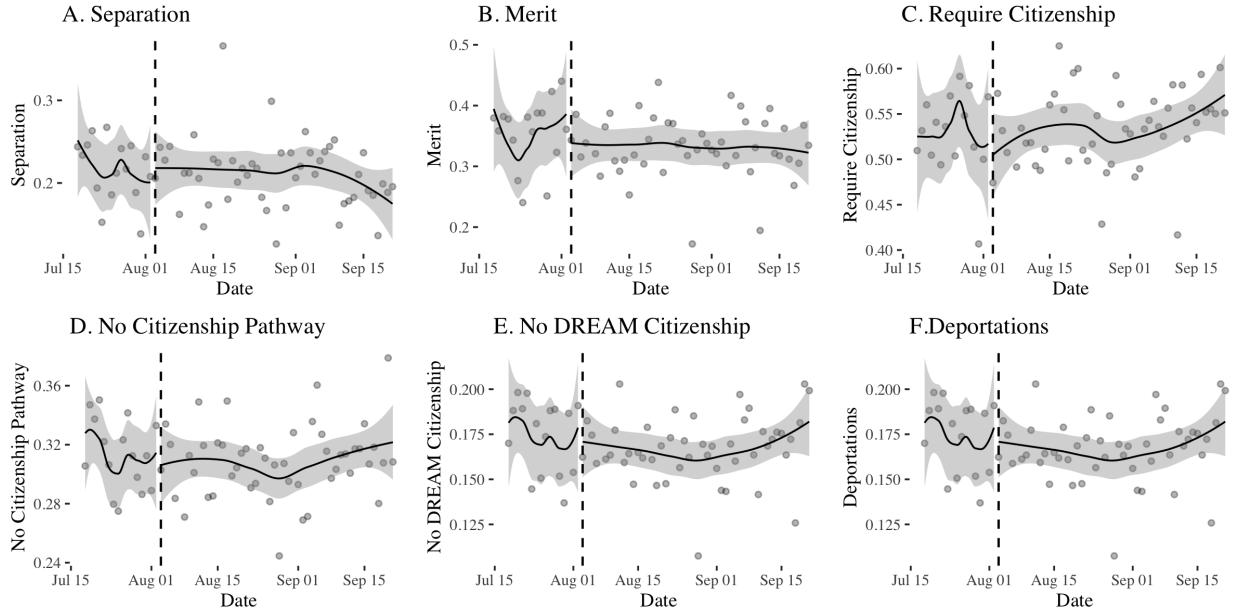
All covariates rescaled between 0-1. HC2 Robust SEs presented.

## C Study 2: El Paso Shooting

### C.1 Descriptive Statistics

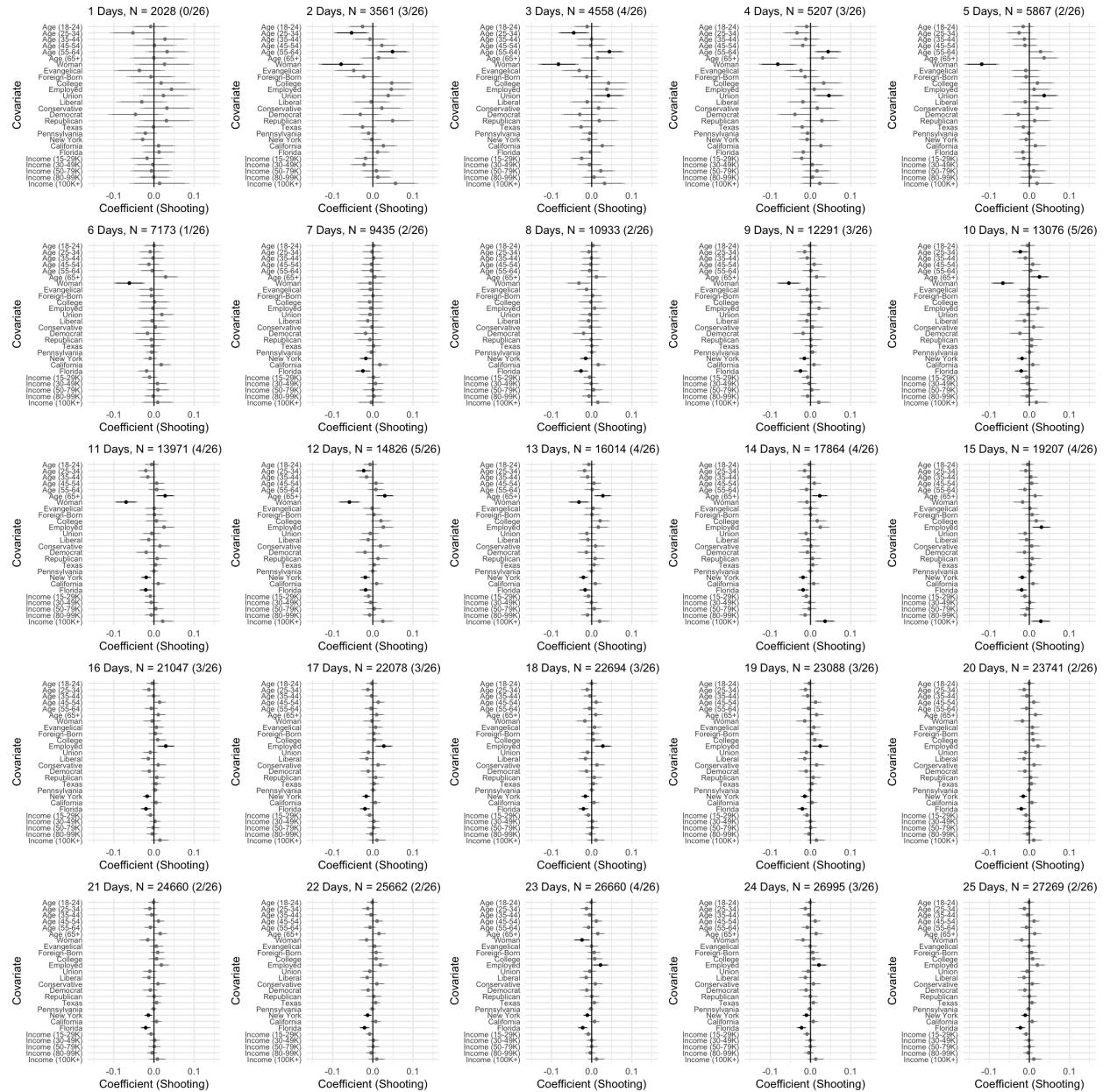


**Figure 12: Outcomes Over Time.** The x-axis is the date, the y-axis is the value for the *Latino unfavorability* and *undocumented unfavorability* outcomes. The dashed vertical line denotes the moment the El Paso Shooting occurred. The solid line characterizes a loess line fit on each side of the moment the shooting occurred. Data from 16 days before and 50 days after the shooting are displayed.

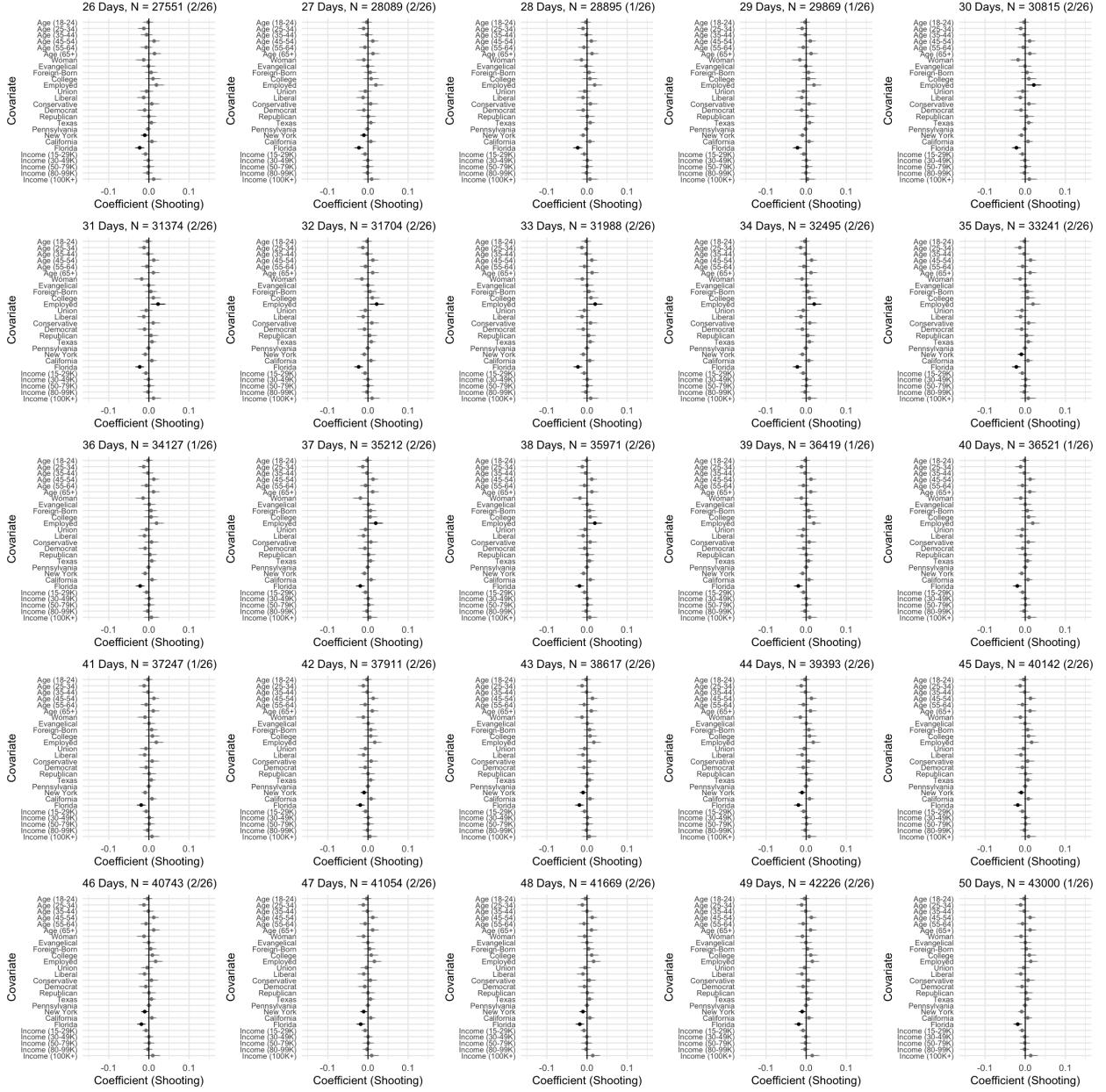


**Figure 13: Outcomes Over Time.** The x-axis is the date, the y-axis is the value for the *separation*, *merit*, *require citizenship*, *no citizenship pathway*, *no DREAM citizenship*, and *deportations* outcomes. The dashed vertical line denotes the moment the El Paso Shooting occurred. The solid line characterizes a loess line fit on each side of the moment the shooting occurred. Data from 16 days before and 50 days after the shooting are displayed.

## C.2 Covariate Balance Across Bandwidths

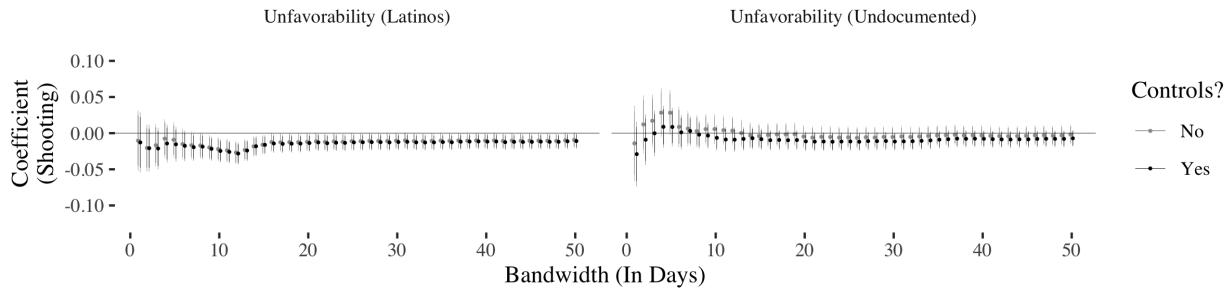


**Figure 14: Assessing Covariate Balance Between Respondents Surveyed Before and After the El Paso Shooting (1-25 day bandwidth samples).** X-axis is the *shooting* coefficient from separate regression models across balance covariates (y-axis). Titles denote bandwidth sample, sample size, and level of imbalance (# covariates imbalanced / # of covariates). Grey coefficients are statistically insignificant, black otherwise. All covariates rescaled between 0-1, 95% CIs displayed from HC2 robust SEs.

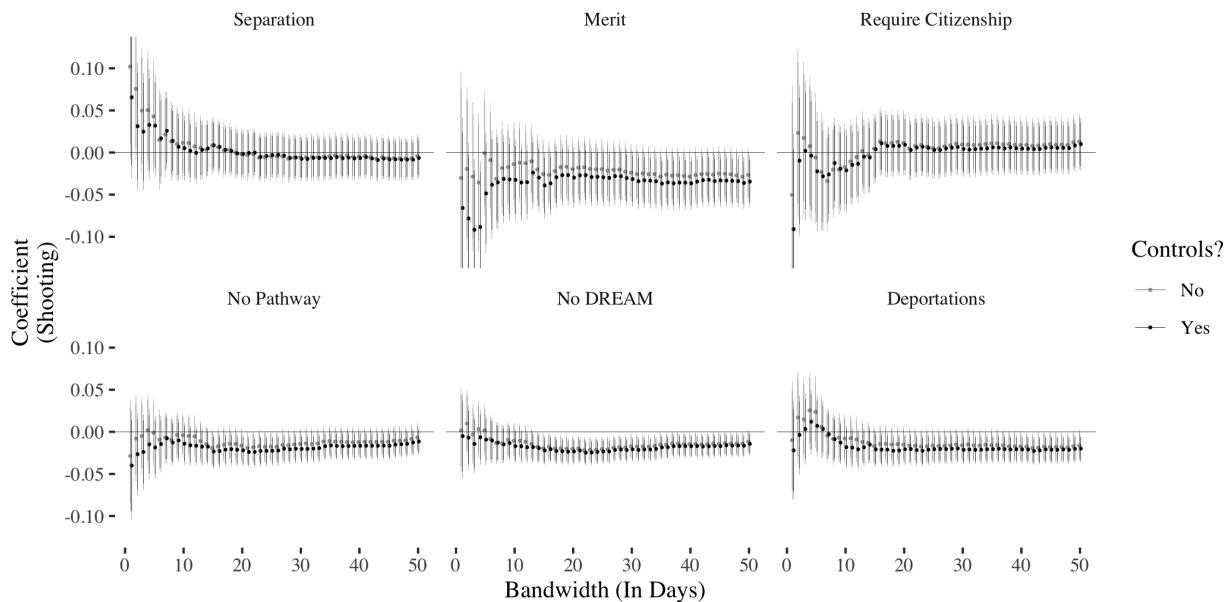


**Figure 15: Assessing Covariate Balance Between Respondents Surveyed Before and After the El Paso Shooting (26-50 day bandwidth samples).** X-axis is the *shooting* coefficient from separate regression models across balance covariates (y-axis). Titles denote bandwidth sample, sample size, and level of imbalance (# covariates imbalanced / # of covariates). Grey coefficients are statistically insignificant, black otherwise. All covariates rescaled between 0-1, 95% CIs displayed from HC2 robust SEs.

### C.3 Alternative Bandwidths



**Figure 16: Effect of El Paso Shooting on Anti-Latino, Anti-Immigrant Attitudes.** X-axis is the bandwidth sample (in days). Y-axis is the *shooting* coefficient. Title denotes outcome. Black coefficients adjust for covariates, grey otherwise. All covariates rescaled between 0-1, 95% CIs displayed from HC2 robust SEs.



**Figure 17: Effect of El Paso Shooting on Anti-Immigrant Policy Preferences.** X-axis is the bandwidth sample (in days). Y-axis is the *shooting* coefficient. Title denotes outcome. Black coefficients adjust for covariates, grey otherwise. All covariates rescaled between 0-1, 95% CIs displayed from HC2 robust SEs.

## C.4 Temporal Placebo

**Table 5: Temporal Placebo Tests (Part 1)**

	Unfav. (Latino) (1)	Unfav. (Undoc.) (2)	Unfav. (Latino) (3)	Unfav. (Undoc.) (4)
Placebo	-0.03 (0.01)	-0.04* (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)
Woman	0.02 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)
College	-0.03* (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.03* (0.01)	0.00 (0.02)
Age (25-34)	0.01 (0.02)	-0.07** (0.03)	0.01 (0.02)	-0.06** (0.02)
Age (35-44)	0.04 (0.02)	-0.06* (0.02)	0.04 (0.02)	-0.05* (0.02)
Age (45-54)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.04 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)
Age (55-64)	0.01 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)
Liberal	-0.05* (0.02)	-0.13*** (0.02)	-0.06*** (0.02)	-0.14*** (0.02)
Conservative	0.02 (0.02)	0.15*** (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.14*** (0.02)
Texas	-0.05* (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.06* (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)
Pennsylvania	-0.00 (0.03)	0.05 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.07* (0.03)
New York	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.03)
California	-0.07** (0.03)	-0.07** (0.02)	-0.07** (0.02)	-0.07*** (0.02)
Florida	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.06* (0.03)	-0.04 (0.02)	-0.05* (0.02)
Pre-Shooting Placebo	5 days	5 days	6 days	6 days
R <sup>2</sup>	0.06	0.26	0.06	0.26
Num. obs.	5792	5809	6678	6700

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ ; \*\* $p < 0.01$ ; \* $p < 0.05$

**Table 6: Temporal Placebo Tests (Part 2)**

	Separation (1)	Merit (2)	Require Citizenship (3)	No Pathway (4)	No DREAM (5)	Deportations (6)	Separation (7)	Merit (8)	Require Citizenship (9)	No Pathway (10)	No DREAM (11)	Deportations (12)
Placebo	0.01 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.04)	0.00 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.03)	0.01 (0.04)	0.03 (0.04)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)
Woman	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.11** (0.04)	-0.07 (0.04)	-0.06** (0.02)	-0.05** (0.02)	-0.05* (0.02)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.11** (0.04)	-0.06 (0.04)	-0.05* (0.02)	-0.05** (0.02)	-0.04* (0.02)
College	-0.05 (0.04)	0.08 (0.04)	-0.09* (0.05)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.05* (0.02)	-0.01 (0.03)	0.08* (0.04)	-0.09* (0.04)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.04 (0.02)
Age (25-34)	-0.01 (0.05)	-0.10 (0.07)	-0.13 (0.07)	-0.03 (0.03)	0.05 (0.03)	-0.10** (0.03)	-0.00 (0.03)	-0.07 (0.06)	-0.09 (0.07)	-0.04 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)	-0.08* (0.03)
Age (35-44)	0.00 (0.05)	-0.02 (0.07)	-0.04 (0.07)	-0.02 (0.03)	0.04 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)	0.04 (0.05)	0.01 (0.07)	-0.06 (0.06)	-0.03 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)
Age (45-54)	-0.00 (0.06)	-0.04 (0.07)	0.03 (0.07)	-0.02 (0.04)	0.03 (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)	0.03 (0.06)	0.00 (0.07)	0.04 (0.06)	-0.01 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)	0.04 (0.03)
Age (55-64)	0.04 (0.05)	-0.05 (0.06)	-0.03 (0.06)	0.05 (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)	0.05 (0.05)	-0.04 (0.06)	-0.03 (0.06)	0.02 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)
Liberal	0.01 (0.04)	0.08 (0.05)	-0.09 (0.06)	-0.05* (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.04 (0.03)	0.01 (0.04)	0.03 (0.05)	-0.14** (0.05)	-0.07** (0.05)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.05* (0.02)
Conservative	0.17*** (0.05)	0.13** (0.05)	0.07 (0.05)	0.16*** (0.03)	0.11*** (0.02)	0.19*** (0.03)	0.15*** (0.04)	0.12* (0.05)	0.09 (0.05)	0.16*** (0.03)	0.10*** (0.02)	0.19*** (0.03)
Texas	0.02 (0.06)	-0.04 (0.08)	-0.05 (0.09)	0.00 (0.04)	0.04 (0.04)	0.02 (0.04)	0.08 (0.07)	-0.03 (0.07)	-0.04 (0.08)	0.01 (0.04)	0.02 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)
Pennsylvania	-0.11 (0.07)	-0.09 (0.07)	0.03 (0.08)	-0.07* (0.04)	-0.07* (0.03)	-0.01 (0.05)	-0.09 (0.06)	-0.05 (0.08)	0.08 (0.07)	-0.05 (0.04)	-0.04 (0.03)	0.02 (0.04)
New York	0.05 (0.06)	-0.03 (0.08)	-0.02 (0.10)	-0.03 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.04)	0.02 (0.04)	0.06 (0.06)	-0.00 (0.07)	-0.02 (0.08)	-0.03 (0.04)	0.01 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.04)
California	0.05 (0.06)	-0.07 (0.06)	0.04 (0.07)	-0.05 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.08* (0.04)	0.06 (0.05)	-0.07 (0.06)	0.08 (0.07)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.07* (0.03)
Florida	0.03 (0.06)	-0.02 (0.07)	0.05 (0.07)	-0.01 (0.04)	-0.05 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	0.04 (0.06)	0.01 (0.07)	0.09 (0.06)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.05 (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)
Pre-Shooting Placebo	5 days	5 days	5 days	5 days	5 days	5 days	6 days	6 days	6 days	6 days	6 days	6 days
R <sup>2</sup>	0.19	0.10	0.13	0.14	0.09	0.22	0.17	0.09	0.14	0.14	0.09	0.22
Num. obs.	1912	1880	1835	5845	5851	5845	2219	2207	2150	6738	6746	6739

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ ; \*\* $p < 0.01$ ; \* $p < 0.05$

## C.5 Assessing Sorting

**Table 7:** Assessing Sorting After the El Paso Shooting

	# of Respondents	
	(1)	(2)
(Intercept)	511.40** (131.30)	551.67*** (114.52)
Shooting	316.10 (203.69)	220.93 (175.15)
Bandwidth	5 day	6 day
R <sup>2</sup>	0.26	0.15
Num. obs.	9	11

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ ; \*\* $p < 0.01$ ; \* $p < 0.05$ . HC2 Robust SEs in parentheses

**Table 8: Re-Analyzing Results Adjusting For Sorting, (Part 1)**

	Unfav. (Latino) (1)	Unfav. (Undoc.) (2)	Unfav. (Latino) (3)	Unfav. (Undoc.) (4)
Shooting	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
# Respondents	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00* (0.00)
Age (25-34)	-0.00 (0.02)	-0.09*** (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	-0.08*** (0.02)
Age (35-44)	0.04 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	0.04* (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)
Age (45-54)	0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)
Age (55-64)	0.04 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.04* (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)
Woman	-0.03* (0.01)	-0.07*** (0.01)	-0.03* (0.01)	-0.07*** (0.01)
Evangelical	0.02 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.03 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Foreign-Born	0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)
College	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.06*** (0.02)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.04** (0.01)
Income (15-29K)	-0.01 (0.03)	0.00 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.03)
Income (30-49K)	-0.00 (0.02)	0.01 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)
Income (50-79K)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.04 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	0.05* (0.02)
Income (80-99K)	0.02 (0.03)	0.09*** (0.03)	0.01 (0.02)	0.10*** (0.03)
Employed	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.03 (0.01)
Union	0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.00 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.02)
Liberal	-0.06** (0.02)	-0.13*** (0.02)	-0.06*** (0.02)	-0.14*** (0.02)
Conservative	-0.01 (0.02)	0.15*** (0.02)	-0.00 (0.02)	0.15*** (0.02)
Democrat	-0.05*** (0.02)	-0.10*** (0.02)	-0.06*** (0.01)	-0.11*** (0.02)
Republican	0.01 (0.02)	0.11*** (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.09*** (0.02)
Texas	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.05 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.02)
Pennsylvania	0.04 (0.03)	0.04 (0.03)	0.04 (0.02)	0.04 (0.03)
New York	-0.02 (0.02)	0.03 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.03)
California	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.07* (0.03)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.06** (0.02)
Florida	-0.04 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.04* (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)
Bandwidth	5 day	5 day	6 day	6 day
R <sup>2</sup>	0.05	0.29	0.06	0.29
Num. obs.	5800	5817	7092	7109

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ ; \*\* $p < 0.01$ ; \* $p < 0.05$

**Table 9: Re-Analyzing Results Adjusting For Sorting (Part 2)**

	Separation (1)	Merit (2)	Require Citizenship (3)	No Pathway (4)	No DREAM (5)	Deportations (6)	Separation (7)	Merit (8)	Require Citizenship (9)	No Pathway (10)	No DREAM (11)	Deportations (12)
Shooting	0.04 (0.03)	-0.06 (0.04)	-0.06 (0.04)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.04)	-0.05 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.02)
# Respondents	-0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Woman	-0.12*** (0.03)	-0.17*** (0.04)	-0.05 (0.04)	-0.05* (0.02)	-0.05** (0.02)	-0.05** (0.03)	-0.11** (0.03)	-0.16** (0.03)	-0.05 (0.03)	-0.05** (0.02)	-0.04** (0.01)	-0.05** (0.02)
College	-0.02 (0.04)	0.08* (0.04)	-0.12** (0.04)	-0.04 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.12*** (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	0.08* (0.04)	-0.13*** (0.04)	-0.04 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.10*** (0.02)
Income (15-29K)	-0.01 (0.06)	-0.07 (0.08)	-0.06 (0.08)	0.04 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.07 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.05)	-0.07 (0.07)	-0.07 (0.07)	0.04 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)
Income (30-49K)	-0.10 (0.05)	-0.06 (0.07)	-0.07 (0.07)	0.03 (0.03)	-0.05 (0.02)	-0.04 (0.04)	-0.07 (0.04)	-0.00 (0.06)	-0.04 (0.07)	0.02 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.03)
Income (50-79K)	-0.03 (0.05)	-0.07 (0.07)	0.02 (0.07)	0.02 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.05)	-0.06 (0.06)	0.03 (0.07)	0.02 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.03)
Income (80-99K)	-0.02 (0.07)	-0.09 (0.07)	0.03 (0.08)	0.01 (0.04)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.04)	0.01 (0.06)	-0.07 (0.06)	0.06 (0.08)	0.02 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.03)	0.00 (0.04)
Income (100K)	0.01 (0.05)	-0.04 (0.07)	-0.03 (0.07)	0.05 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.05 (0.03)	0.04 (0.05)	-0.03 (0.06)	-0.01 (0.06)	0.05 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.03)
Age (25-34)	-0.08 (0.05)	-0.05 (0.06)	-0.17** (0.06)	-0.06 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.05 (0.03)	-0.07 (0.04)	-0.05 (0.06)	-0.20** (0.06)	-0.07** (0.03)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.06 (0.03)
Age (35-44)	-0.03 (0.05)	-0.11 (0.06)	-0.05 (0.07)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.00 (0.03)	0.00 (0.05)	-0.08 (0.06)	-0.06 (0.06)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.03)
Age (45-54)	-0.06 (0.06)	-0.03 (0.07)	-0.03 (0.07)	0.01 (0.03)	0.06* (0.03)	0.04 (0.03)	-0.05 (0.05)	-0.05 (0.06)	-0.02 (0.06)	-0.00 (0.03)	0.05* (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)
Age (55-64)	-0.05 (0.05)	-0.08 (0.06)	-0.04 (0.06)	0.05 (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)	-0.00 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.05)	-0.06 (0.05)	-0.07 (0.05)	0.05 (0.03)	0.04 (0.02)	0.01 (0.03)
Liberal	-0.00 (0.04)	-0.04 (0.05)	-0.10* (0.05)	-0.06** (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.08*** (0.02)	-0.00 (0.03)	-0.05 (0.04)	-0.05 (0.05)	-0.08 (0.05)	-0.06** (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)
Conservative	0.19*** (0.05)	0.13* (0.05)	0.06 (0.05)	0.20*** (0.02)	0.12*** (0.02)	0.22*** (0.03)	0.16*** (0.03)	0.12** (0.04)	0.11* (0.04)	0.20*** (0.05)	0.13*** (0.03)	0.22*** (0.03)
Texas	-0.01 (0.06)	-0.03 (0.08)	-0.01 (0.08)	0.01 (0.04)	-0.00 (0.03)	0.01 (0.04)	-0.03 (0.05)	-0.05 (0.07)	-0.07 (0.07)	0.02 (0.04)	0.04 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)
Pennsylvania	-0.03 (0.07)	-0.05 (0.06)	0.01 (0.07)	0.05 (0.04)	-0.04 (0.03)	0.07 (0.04)	-0.05 (0.07)	-0.06 (0.06)	-0.06 (0.07)	-0.02 (0.04)	0.02 (0.02)	-0.05 (0.04)
New York	0.00 (0.06)	0.08 (0.08)	0.08 (0.08)	0.01 (0.04)	0.03 (0.04)	0.05 (0.04)	0.02 (0.06)	0.07 (0.07)	0.05 (0.07)	-0.01 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)	0.04 (0.04)
California	0.03 (0.06)	0.20** (0.08)	0.06 (0.06)	0.01 (0.03)	0.00 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.04)	0.03 (0.05)	0.18** (0.07)	0.08 (0.05)	-0.00 (0.03)	0.00 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)
Florida	-0.03 (0.07)	0.02 (0.07)	0.15* (0.07)	0.08 (0.04)	0.01 (0.03)	0.03 (0.04)	0.01 (0.06)	0.03 (0.06)	0.09 (0.07)	0.05 (0.06)	0.01 (0.04)	0.04 (0.03)
Bandwidth	5 day	5 day	5 day	5 day	5 day	5 day	6 day	6 day	6 day	6 day	6 day	6 day
R <sup>2</sup>	0.20	0.13	0.18	0.13	0.08	0.24	0.20	0.12	0.17	0.14	0.09	0.23
Num. obs.	1846	1896	1843	5827	5831	5826	2273	2327	2248	7128	7134	7126

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ ; \*\* $p < 0.01$ ; \* $p < 0.05$

## C.6 Assessing Heterogeneity

**Table 10: Assessing Heterogenous Effects of El Paso Shooting (Part 1)**

Het. Effect	SE	p-value	Outcome	Moderator	Sample
-0.06	0.02	0.00	Unfavorability (Latinos)	Woman	5 days
-0.06	0.02	0.00	Unfavorability (Latinos)	Age	5 days
-0.06	0.02	0.00	Unfavorability (Latinos)	College	5 days
0.00	0.02	0.83	Unfavorability (Latinos)	Conservative	5 days
0.00	0.01	0.83	Unfavorability (Latinos)	Liberal	5 days
0.00	0.01	0.83	Unfavorability (Latinos)	Democrat	5 days
0.00	0.02	0.82	Unfavorability (Latinos)	Republican	5 days
0.01	0.01	0.60	Unfavorability (Latinos)	Political Interest	5 days
0.00	0.01	0.84	Unfavorability (Latinos)	Fox News	5 days
0.00	0.01	0.82	Unfavorability (Latinos)	Texas	5 days
-0.13	0.02	0.00	Unfavorability (Undocumented)	Woman	5 days
-0.13	0.02	0.00	Unfavorability (Undocumented)	Age	5 days
-0.13	0.02	0.00	Unfavorability (Undocumented)	College	5 days
-0.02	0.02	0.34	Unfavorability (Undocumented)	Conservative	5 days
-0.02	0.02	0.35	Unfavorability (Undocumented)	Liberal	5 days
-0.02	0.02	0.34	Unfavorability (Undocumented)	Democrat	5 days
-0.02	0.02	0.33	Unfavorability (Undocumented)	Republican	5 days
-0.01	0.02	0.42	Unfavorability (Undocumented)	Political Interest	5 days
-0.01	0.02	0.37	Unfavorability (Undocumented)	Fox News	5 days
-0.02	0.02	0.34	Unfavorability (Undocumented)	Texas	5 days
0.00	0.04	0.95	Separation	Woman	5 days
0.00	0.04	0.92	Separation	Age	5 days
0.01	0.04	0.85	Separation	College	5 days
0.04	0.04	0.29	Separation	Conservative	5 days
0.04	0.04	0.30	Separation	Liberal	5 days
0.04	0.04	0.30	Separation	Democrat	5 days
0.04	0.04	0.33	Separation	Republican	5 days
0.03	0.04	0.38	Separation	Political Interest	5 days
0.04	0.04	0.22	Separation	Fox News	5 days
0.04	0.04	0.27	Separation	Texas	5 days
-0.04	0.05	0.41	Merit	Woman	5 days
-0.04	0.05	0.42	Merit	Age	5 days
-0.04	0.05	0.41	Merit	College	5 days
0.04	0.05	0.45	Merit	Conservative	5 days
0.04	0.05	0.45	Merit	Liberal	5 days
0.04	0.05	0.46	Merit	Democrat	5 days
0.04	0.05	0.45	Merit	Republican	5 days
0.03	0.05	0.53	Merit	Political Interest	5 days
0.03	0.05	0.49	Merit	Fox News	5 days
0.03	0.05	0.49	Merit	Texas	5 days

**Table 11: Assessing Heterogenous Effects of El Paso Shooting (Part 2)**

Het. Effect	SE	p-value	Outcome	Moderator	Sample
-0.10	0.05	0.05	Require Citizenship	Woman	5 days
-0.10	0.05	0.05	Require Citizenship	Age	5 days
-0.10	0.05	0.05	Require Citizenship	College	5 days
-0.04	0.05	0.40	Require Citizenship	Conservative	5 days
-0.04	0.05	0.39	Require Citizenship	Liberal	5 days
-0.04	0.05	0.40	Require Citizenship	Democrat	5 days
-0.04	0.05	0.39	Require Citizenship	Republican	5 days
-0.04	0.05	0.32	Require Citizenship	Political Interest	5 days
-0.04	0.04	0.38	Require Citizenship	Fox News	5 days
-0.04	0.05	0.40	Require Citizenship	Texas	5 days
-0.07	0.02	0.00	No Pathway	Woman	5 days
-0.07	0.02	0.00	No Pathway	Age	5 days
-0.07	0.02	0.00	No Pathway	College	5 days
-0.01	0.02	0.57	No Pathway	Conservative	5 days
-0.01	0.02	0.57	No Pathway	Liberal	5 days
-0.01	0.02	0.57	No Pathway	Democrat	5 days
-0.01	0.02	0.58	No Pathway	Republican	5 days
-0.01	0.02	0.61	No Pathway	Political Interest	5 days
-0.01	0.02	0.61	No Pathway	Fox News	5 days
-0.01	0.02	0.57	No Pathway	Texas	5 days
-0.01	0.02	0.41	No DREAM	Woman	5 days
-0.01	0.02	0.41	No DREAM	Age	5 days
-0.01	0.02	0.42	No DREAM	College	5 days
0.00	0.02	0.94	No DREAM	Conservative	5 days
0.00	0.02	0.95	No DREAM	Liberal	5 days
0.00	0.02	0.94	No DREAM	Democrat	5 days
0.00	0.02	0.94	No DREAM	Republican	5 days
0.00	0.02	0.87	No DREAM	Political Interest	5 days
0.00	0.02	0.90	No DREAM	Fox News	5 days
0.00	0.02	0.94	No DREAM	Texas	5 days
-0.08	0.02	0.00	Deportations	Woman	5 days
-0.08	0.02	0.00	Deportations	Age	5 days
-0.08	0.02	0.00	Deportations	College	5 days
0.03	0.02	0.19	Deportations	Conservative	5 days
0.03	0.02	0.20	Deportations	Liberal	5 days
0.03	0.02	0.19	Deportations	Democrat	5 days
0.03	0.02	0.19	Deportations	Republican	5 days
0.03	0.02	0.18	Deportations	Political Interest	5 days
0.03	0.02	0.18	Deportations	Fox News	5 days
0.03	0.02	0.20	Deportations	Texas	5 days

**Table 12: Assessing Heterogenous Effects of El Paso Shooting (Part 3)**

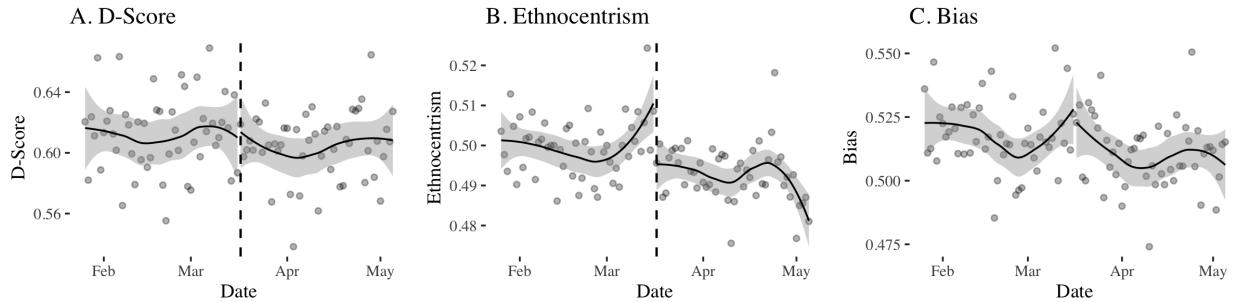
Het. Effect	SE	p-value	Outcome	Moderator	Sample
-0.06	0.02	0.00	Unfavorability (Latinos)	Woman	6 days
-0.06	0.02	0.00	Unfavorability (Latinos)	Age	6 days
-0.06	0.02	0.00	Unfavorability (Latinos)	College	6 days
-0.00	0.01	0.99	Unfavorability (Latinos)	Conservative	6 days
-0.00	0.01	1.00	Unfavorability (Latinos)	Liberal	6 days
0.00	0.01	1.00	Unfavorability (Latinos)	Democrat	6 days
0.00	0.01	0.98	Unfavorability (Latinos)	Republican	6 days
0.01	0.01	0.67	Unfavorability (Latinos)	Political Interest	6 days
0.00	0.01	0.97	Unfavorability (Latinos)	Fox News	6 days
-0.00	0.01	0.99	Unfavorability (Latinos)	Texas	6 days
-0.14	0.02	0.00	Unfavorability (Undocumented)	Woman	6 days
-0.14	0.02	0.00	Unfavorability (Undocumented)	Age	6 days
-0.14	0.02	0.00	Unfavorability (Undocumented)	College	6 days
-0.02	0.02	0.15	Unfavorability (Undocumented)	Conservative	6 days
-0.02	0.02	0.16	Unfavorability (Undocumented)	Liberal	6 days
-0.02	0.02	0.15	Unfavorability (Undocumented)	Democrat	6 days
-0.02	0.02	0.14	Unfavorability (Undocumented)	Republican	6 days
-0.02	0.02	0.22	Unfavorability (Undocumented)	Political Interest	6 days
-0.02	0.02	0.15	Unfavorability (Undocumented)	Fox News	6 days
-0.02	0.02	0.15	Unfavorability (Undocumented)	Texas	6 days
-0.00	0.03	0.92	Separation	Woman	6 days
-0.00	0.03	0.95	Separation	Age	6 days
0.00	0.03	0.98	Separation	College	6 days
0.01	0.03	0.70	Separation	Conservative	6 days
0.01	0.03	0.72	Separation	Liberal	6 days
0.01	0.03	0.70	Separation	Democrat	6 days
0.01	0.03	0.73	Separation	Republican	6 days
0.01	0.03	0.84	Separation	Political Interest	6 days
0.01	0.03	0.69	Separation	Fox News	6 days
0.01	0.03	0.65	Separation	Texas	6 days
-0.05	0.04	0.28	Merit	Woman	6 days
-0.05	0.04	0.29	Merit	Age	6 days
-0.05	0.04	0.29	Merit	College	6 days
0.02	0.04	0.66	Merit	Conservative	6 days
0.02	0.04	0.64	Merit	Liberal	6 days
0.02	0.04	0.65	Merit	Democrat	6 days
0.02	0.04	0.67	Merit	Republican	6 days
0.01	0.04	0.80	Merit	Political Interest	6 days
0.01	0.04	0.78	Merit	Fox News	6 days
0.02	0.04	0.65	Merit	Texas	6 days

**Table 13: Assessing Heterogenous Effects of El Paso Shooting (Part 4)**

Het. Effect	SE	p-value	Outcome	Moderator	Sample
-0.08	0.05	0.11	Require Citizenship	Woman	6 days
-0.08	0.05	0.10	Require Citizenship	Age	6 days
-0.08	0.05	0.10	Require Citizenship	College	6 days
-0.05	0.04	0.20	Require Citizenship	Conservative	6 days
-0.05	0.04	0.20	Require Citizenship	Liberal	6 days
-0.05	0.04	0.20	Require Citizenship	Democrat	6 days
-0.06	0.04	0.19	Require Citizenship	Republican	6 days
-0.06	0.04	0.16	Require Citizenship	Political Interest	6 days
-0.06	0.04	0.17	Require Citizenship	Fox News	6 days
-0.05	0.04	0.20	Require Citizenship	Texas	6 days
-0.07	0.02	0.00	No Pathway	Woman	6 days
-0.07	0.02	0.00	No Pathway	Age	6 days
-0.07	0.02	0.00	No Pathway	College	6 days
-0.00	0.02	0.89	No Pathway	Conservative	6 days
-0.00	0.02	0.90	No Pathway	Liberal	6 days
-0.00	0.02	0.90	No Pathway	Democrat	6 days
-0.00	0.02	0.92	No Pathway	Republican	6 days
-0.00	0.02	0.90	No Pathway	Political Interest	6 days
-0.00	0.02	0.88	No Pathway	Fox News	6 days
-0.00	0.02	0.90	No Pathway	Texas	6 days
-0.02	0.02	0.35	No DREAM	Woman	6 days
-0.02	0.02	0.36	No DREAM	Age	6 days
-0.02	0.02	0.36	No DREAM	College	6 days
0.01	0.02	0.57	No DREAM	Conservative	6 days
0.01	0.02	0.58	No DREAM	Liberal	6 days
0.01	0.02	0.57	No DREAM	Democrat	6 days
0.01	0.02	0.55	No DREAM	Republican	6 days
0.01	0.02	0.52	No DREAM	Political Interest	6 days
0.01	0.02	0.59	No DREAM	Fox News	6 days
0.01	0.02	0.58	No DREAM	Texas	6 days
-0.08	0.02	0.00	Deportations	Woman	6 days
-0.08	0.02	0.00	Deportations	Age	6 days
-0.07	0.02	0.00	Deportations	College	6 days
0.01	0.02	0.59	Deportations	Conservative	6 days
0.01	0.02	0.59	Deportations	Liberal	6 days
0.01	0.02	0.59	Deportations	Democrat	6 days
0.01	0.02	0.59	Deportations	Republican	6 days
0.01	0.02	0.59	Deportations	Political Interest	6 days
0.01	0.02	0.61	Deportations	Fox News	6 days
0.01	0.02	0.59	Deportations	Texas	6 days

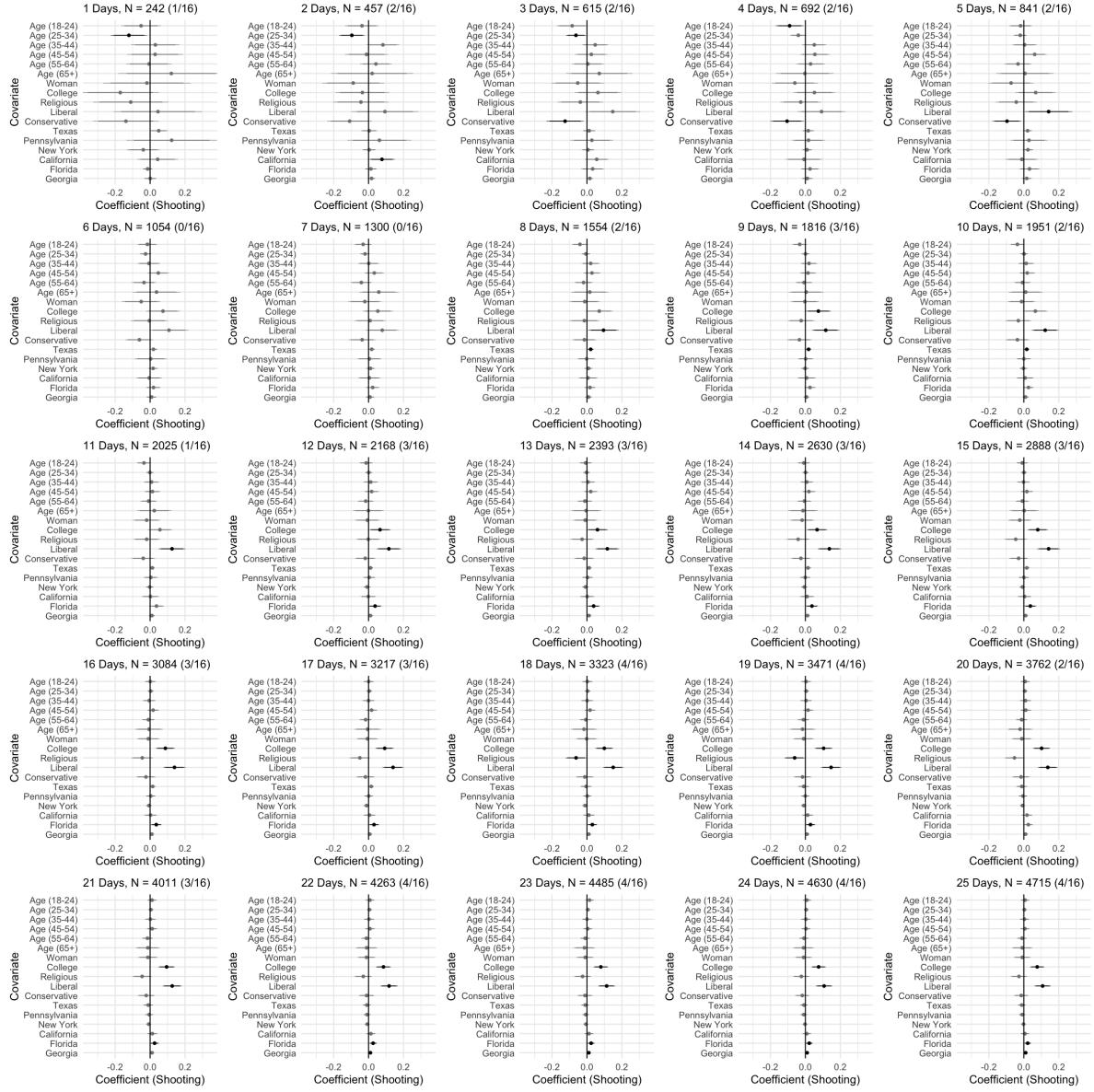
## D Study 3: Atlanta Spa Shooting

### D.1 Descriptive Statistics

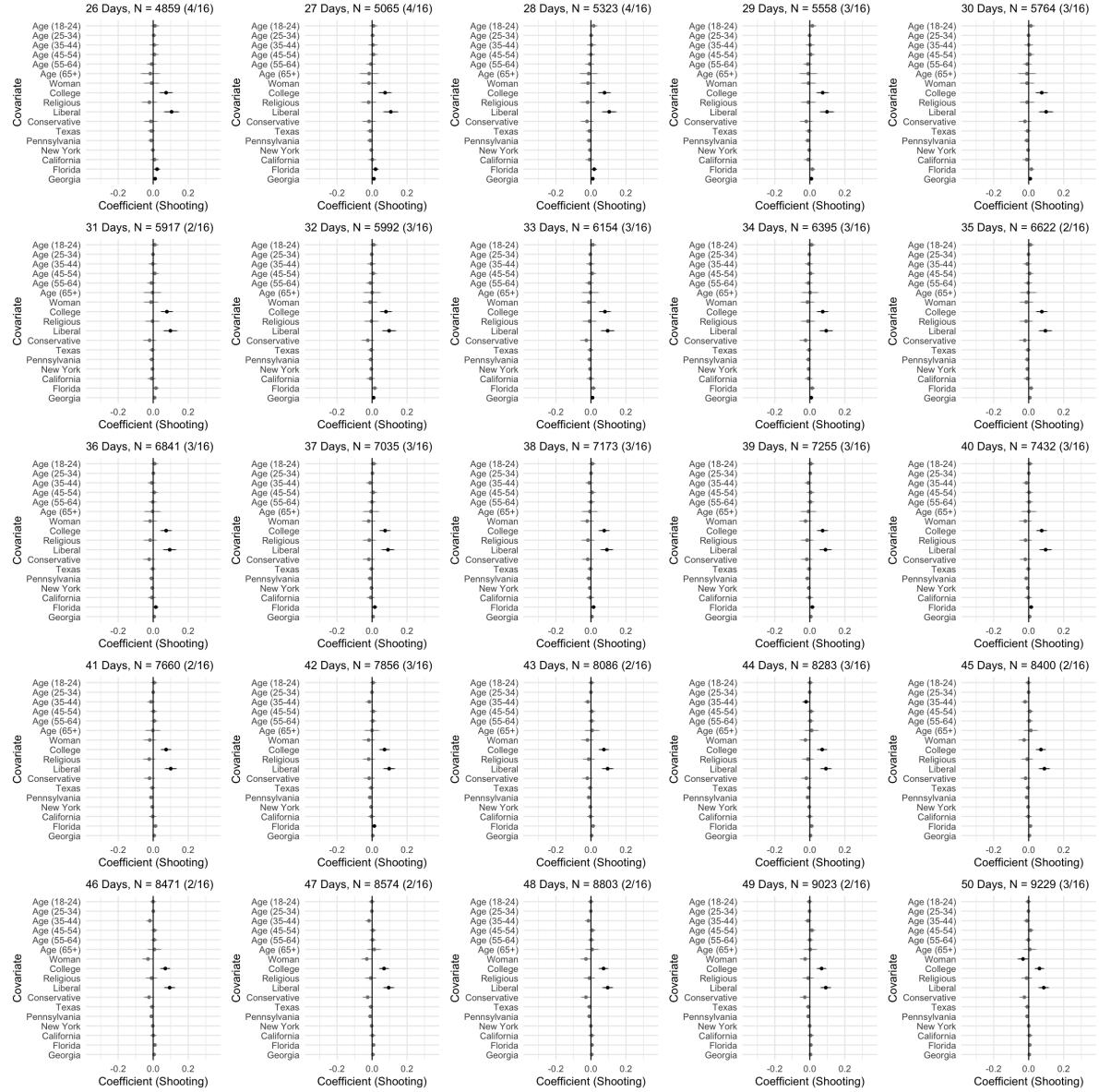


**Figure 18: Outcomes Over Time.** The x-axis is the date, the y-axis is the outcome value for the *D-score*, *ethnocentrism*, and *bias*. The dashed vertical line denotes the moment the Atlanta Spa Shooting occurred. The solid line characterizes a loess line fit on each side of the moment the shooting occurred. Data from 50 days before and after the shooting are displayed.

## D.2 Covariate Balance Across Bandwidths

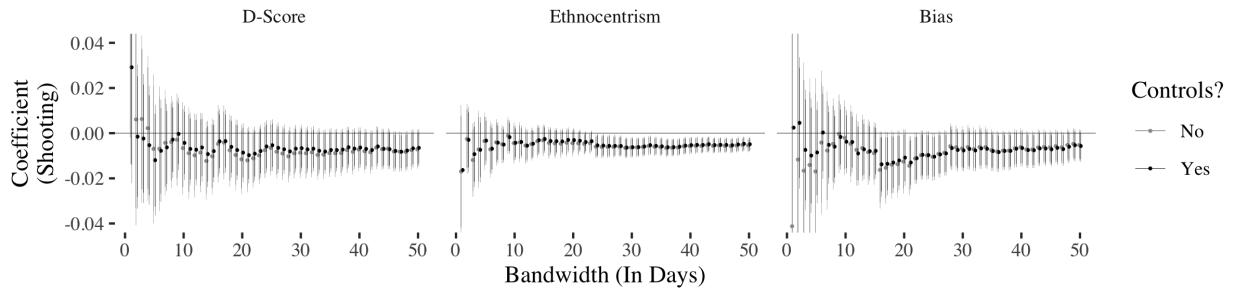


**Figure 19: Assessing Covariate Balance Between Respondents Surveyed Before and After the Atlanta Spa Shooting (1-25 day bandwidth samples).** X-axis is the *shooting* coefficient from separate regression models across balance covariates (y-axis). Titles denote bandwidth sample, sample size, and level of imbalance (# covariates imbalanced / # of covariates). Grey coefficients are statistically insignificant, black otherwise. All covariates rescaled between 0-1, 95% CIs displayed from HC2 robust SEs.



**Figure 20: Assessing Covariate Balance Between Respondents Surveyed Before and After the Atlanta Spa Shooting (26-50 day bandwidth samples).** X-axis is the *shooting* coefficient from separate regression models across balance covariates (y-axis). Titles denote bandwidth sample, sample size, and level of imbalance (# covariates imbalanced / # of covariates). Grey coefficients are statistically insignificant, black otherwise. All covariates rescaled between 0-1, 95% CIs displayed from HC2 robust SEs.

### D.3 Alternative Bandwidths



**Figure 21: Effect of Atlanta Spa Shooting on Anti-Asian Attitudes.** X-axis is the bandwidth sample (in days). Y-axis is the *shooting* coefficient. Title denotes outcome. Black coefficients adjust for covariates, grey otherwise. All covariates rescaled between 0-1, 95% CIs displayed from HC2 robust SEs.

## D.4 Temporal Placebo

**Table 14: Temporal Placebo Tests**

	D-Score (1)	Ethnocentrism (2)	Bias (3)	D-Score (4)	Ethnocentrism (5)	Bias (6)
Placebo	0.02 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.01)
Woman	-0.02 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.01 (0.01)
College	-0.00 (0.02)	0.00 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.00)	0.02 (0.01)
Religious	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.01 (0.01)
Age (25-34)	0.00 (0.02)	0.00 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.00 (0.02)	0.00 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Age (35-44)	0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Age (45-54)	0.03 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.01)	0.01 (0.02)	0.04* (0.02)	-0.00 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Age (55-64)	0.07*** (0.02)	0.01 (0.01)	0.04* (0.02)	0.06** (0.02)	0.01 (0.01)	0.03* (0.02)
Age (65+)	0.10*** (0.02)	-0.00 (0.01)	0.03 (0.02)	0.11*** (0.02)	-0.00 (0.01)	0.02 (0.02)
Liberal	-0.01 (0.02)	0.00 (0.01)	0.03 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)
Conservative	0.03 (0.02)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.02 (0.02)	0.01 (0.00)	0.01 (0.01)
Texas	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.02)
Pennsylvania	0.01 (0.03)	0.02* (0.01)	-0.03 (0.02)	0.01 (0.03)	0.02* (0.01)	-0.02 (0.02)
New York	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.04 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.03* (0.02)
California	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.05*** (0.01)	-0.06** (0.02)	-0.04 (0.02)	-0.04*** (0.01)	-0.05** (0.02)
Florida	0.02 (0.05)	0.00 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.03)	0.01 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.03 (0.03)
Pre-Shooting Placebo	6 days	6 days	6 days	7 days	7 days	7 days
R <sup>2</sup>	0.10	0.10	0.07	0.10	0.08	0.05
Num. obs.	915	910	897	1119	1113	1096

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ ; \*\* $p < 0.01$ ; \* $p < 0.05$

## D.5 Assessing Sorting

**Table 15: Assessing Sorting After the Atlanta Spa Shooting**

	# of Respondents	
	(1)	(2)
(Intercept)	69.50*** (11.30)	73.57*** (10.38)
Shooting	36.67 (23.53)	38.57 (21.16)
Bandwidth	6 day	7 day
R <sup>2</sup>	0.20	0.22
Num. obs.	12	14

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ ; \*\* $p < 0.01$ ; \* $p < 0.05$ . HC2 Robust SEs in parentheses

**Table 16: Re-Analyzing Results Adjusting For Sorting**

	D-Score (1)	Ethnocentrism (2)	Bias (3)	D-Score (4)	Ethnocentrism (5)	Bias (6)
Shooting	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)
# Respondents	0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
Woman	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	0.04** (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.00 (0.00)	0.03** (0.01)
College	0.00 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.03** (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.02* (0.01)
Religious	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.00)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.01 (0.01)
Age (25-34)	0.00 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Age (35-44)	0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.02)
Age (45-54)	0.04* (0.02)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.04** (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.02)
Age (55-64)	0.06** (0.02)	0.00 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.06** (0.02)	0.00 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Age (65+)	0.07** (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.05 (0.03)	0.07*** (0.02)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.04 (0.02)
Liberal	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.01)	0.04 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	0.04* (0.02)
Conservative	0.00 (0.02)	0.00 (0.01)	0.04* (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)	0.00 (0.01)	0.03 (0.02)
Texas	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.02)
Pennsylvania	0.04 (0.04)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.10 (0.07)	0.03 (0.04)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.11 (0.07)
New York	0.01 (0.04)	0.00 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.03)	0.02 (0.04)	0.00 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.02)
California	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.03 (0.02)
Florida	0.03 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.01)	0.07 (0.05)	-0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)
Georgia	0.05* (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.04 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.01)
Bandwidth	6 day	6 day	6 day	7 day	7 day	7 day
R <sup>2</sup>	0.08	0.04	0.17	0.08	0.03	0.14
Num. obs.	1050	1049	1032	1296	1290	1272

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ ; \*\* $p < 0.01$ ; \* $p < 0.05$

## D.6 Assessing Heterogeneity

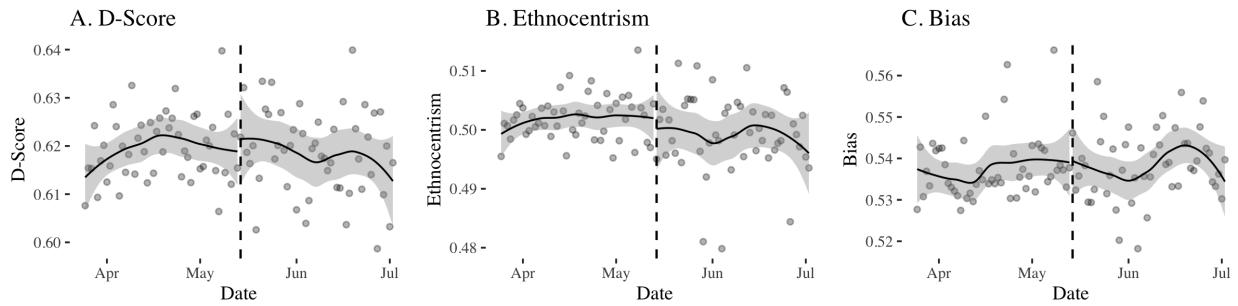
**Table 17: Assessing Heterogenous Effects of Atlanta Spa Shooting**

Het. Effect	SE	p-value	Outcome	Moderator	Sample
0.02	0.03	0.52	D-Score	Woman	6 days
0.01	0.01	0.20	D-Score	Age	6 days
0.03	0.03	0.20	D-Score	College	6 days
-0.01	0.03	0.77	D-Score	Liberal	6 days
0.02	0.03	0.48	D-Score	Conservative	6 days
-0.05	0.05	0.33	D-Score	Georgia	6 days
-0.01	0.01	0.46	Ethnocentrism	Woman	6 days
-0.00	0.00	0.72	Ethnocentrism	Age	6 days
-0.00	0.01	0.76	Ethnocentrism	College	6 days
0.02	0.01	0.15	Ethnocentrism	Liberal	6 days
-0.04	0.02	0.06	Ethnocentrism	Conservative	6 days
-0.02	0.03	0.44	Ethnocentrism	Georgia	6 days
-0.02	0.02	0.38	Bias	Woman	6 days
-0.01	0.01	0.07	Bias	Age	6 days
0.00	0.02	0.97	Bias	College	6 days
-0.00	0.02	1.00	Bias	Liberal	6 days
-0.00	0.03	0.98	Bias	Conservative	6 days
0.01	0.03	0.75	Bias	Georgia	6 days
0.02	0.02	0.34	D-Score	Woman	7 days
0.01	0.01	0.16	D-Score	Age	7 days
0.03	0.02	0.19	D-Score	College	7 days
-0.00	0.02	0.85	D-Score	Liberal	7 days
0.02	0.02	0.50	D-Score	Conservative	7 days
-0.06	0.05	0.26	D-Score	Georgia	7 days
-0.01	0.01	0.37	Ethnocentrism	Woman	7 days
-0.00	0.00	0.67	Ethnocentrism	Age	7 days
-0.01	0.01	0.31	Ethnocentrism	College	7 days
0.01	0.01	0.60	Ethnocentrism	Liberal	7 days
-0.03	0.01	0.06	Ethnocentrism	Conservative	7 days
-0.02	0.02	0.40	Ethnocentrism	Georgia	7 days
-0.02	0.02	0.31	Bias	Woman	7 days
-0.01	0.01	0.05	Bias	Age	7 days
-0.01	0.02	0.73	Bias	College	7 days
-0.00	0.02	0.93	Bias	Liberal	7 days
-0.00	0.02	1.00	Bias	Conservative	7 days
0.02	0.03	0.40	Bias	Georgia	7 days

All covariates rescaled between 0-1. HC2 Robust SEs presented.

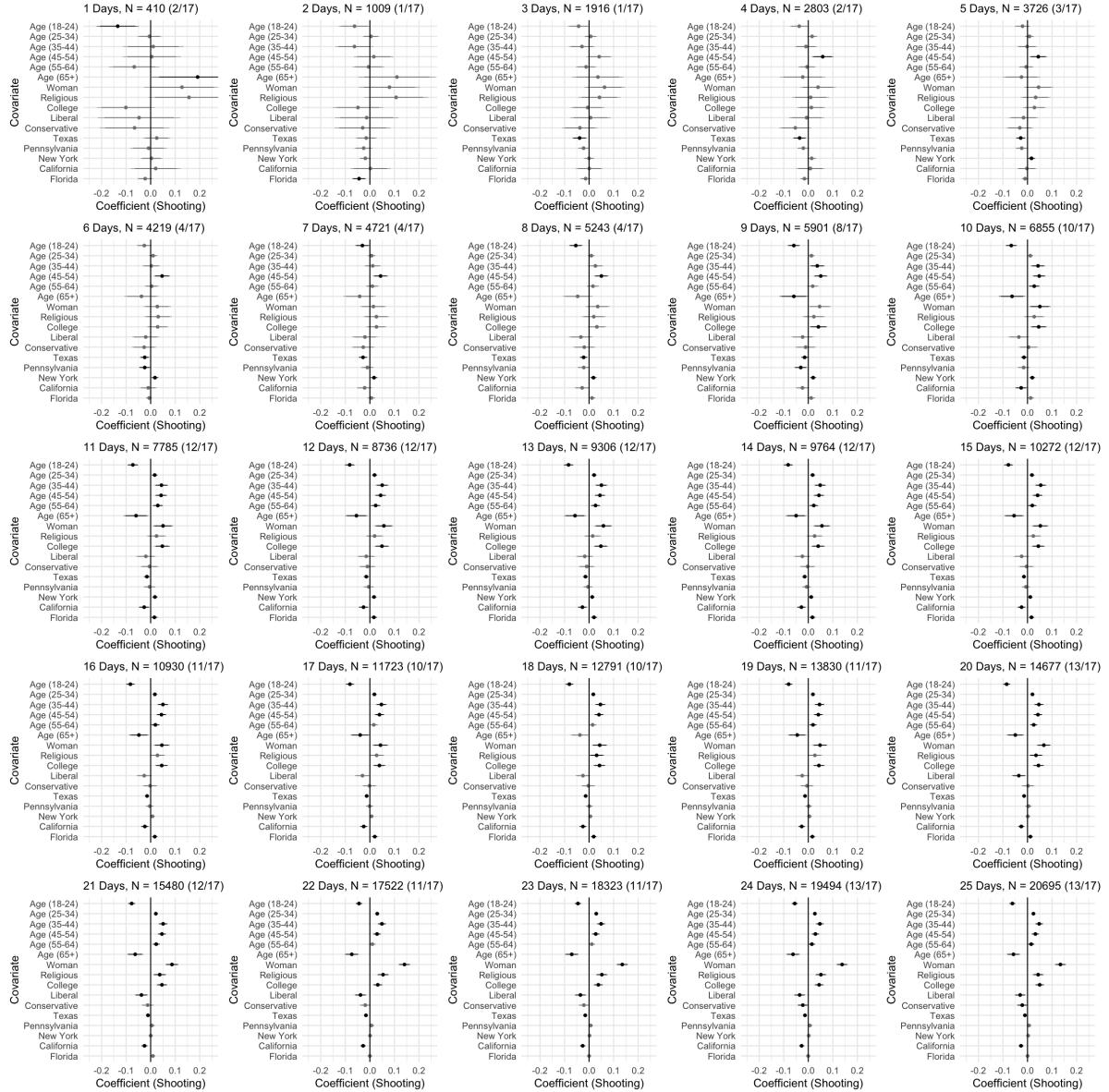
## E Study 4: Buffalo Shooting

### E.1 Descriptive Statistics

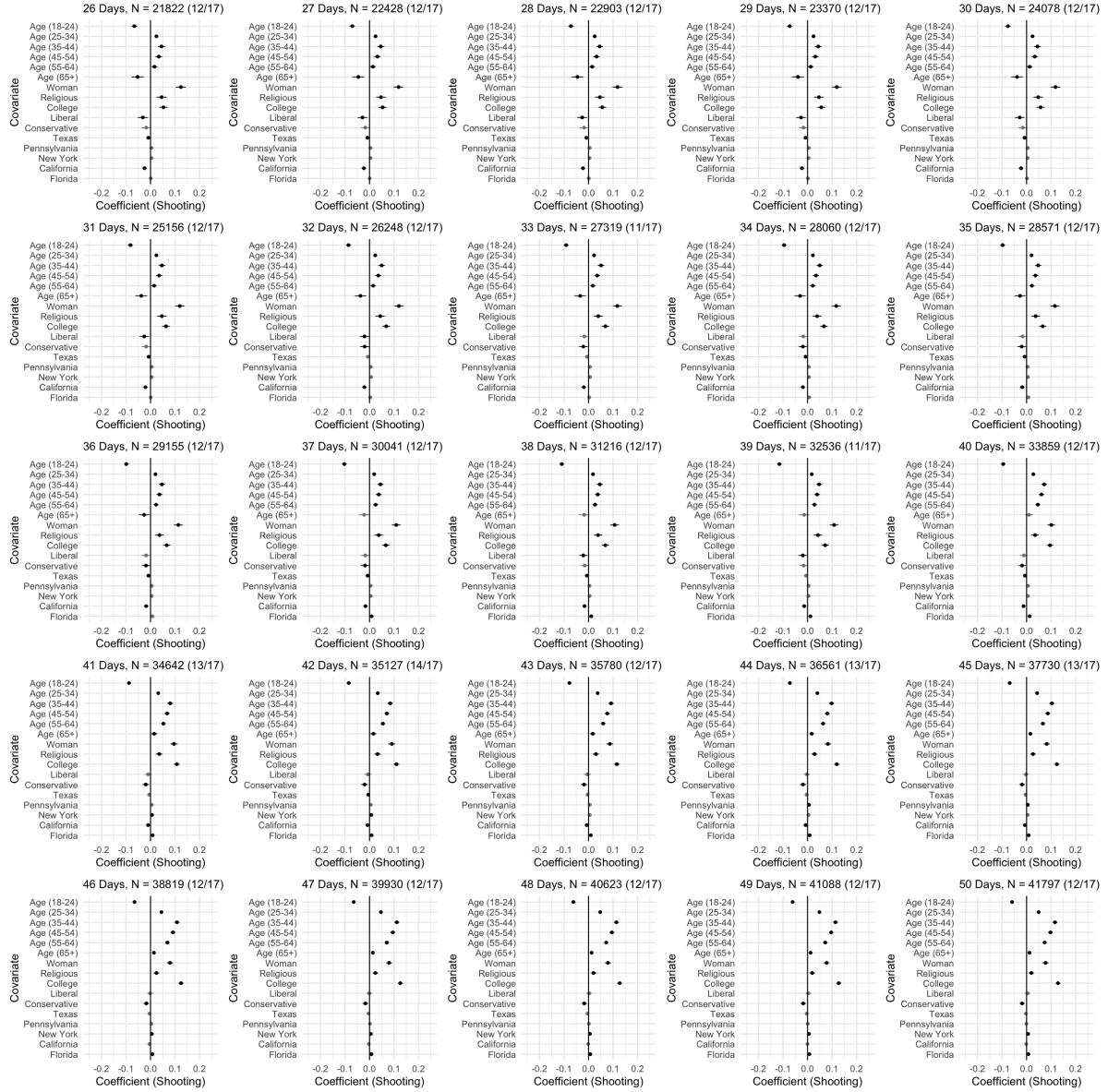


**Figure 22: Outcomes Over Time.** The x-axis is the date, the y-axis is the outcome value for the *D-score*, *ethnocentrism*, and *bias*. The dashed vertical line denotes the moment the Buffalo Shooting occurred. The solid line characterizes a loess line fit on each side of the moment the shooting occurred. Data from 50 days before and after the shooting are displayed.

## E.2 Covariate Balance

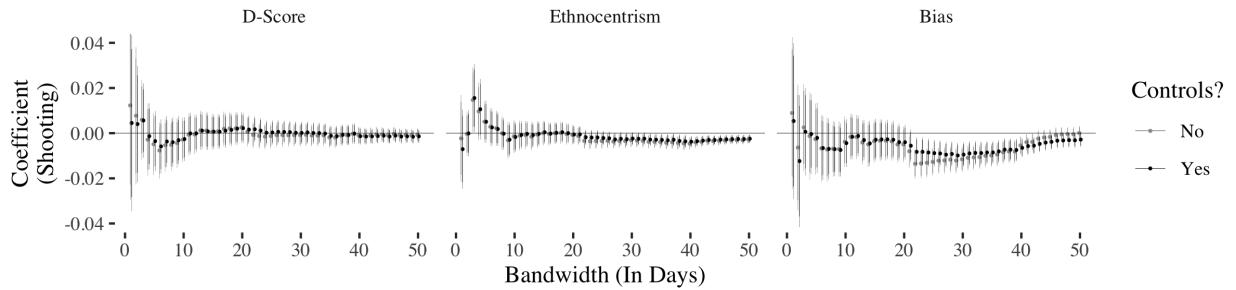


**Figure 23: Assessing Covariate Balance Between Respondents Surveyed Before and After the Buffalo Shooting (1-25 day bandwidth samples).** X-axis is the *shooting* coefficient from separate regression models across balance covariates (y-axis). Titles denote bandwidth sample, sample size, and level of imbalance (# covariates imbalanced / # of covariates). Grey coefficients are statistically insignificant, black otherwise. All covariates rescaled between 0-1, 95% CIs displayed from HC2 robust SEs.



**Figure 24: Assessing Covariate Balance Between Respondents Surveyed Before and After the Buffalo Shooting (26-50 day bandwidth samples).** X-axis is the *shooting* coefficient from separate regression models across balance covariates (y-axis). Titles denote bandwidth sample, sample size, and level of imbalance (# covariates imbalanced / # of covariates). Grey coefficients are statistically insignificant, black otherwise. All covariates rescaled between 0-1, 95% CIs displayed from HC2 robust SEs.

### E.3 Alternative Bandwidths



**Figure 25: Effect of Buffalo Shooting on Anti-Black Attitudes.** X-axis is the bandwidth sample (in days). Y-axis is the *shooting* coefficient. Title denotes outcome. Black coefficients adjust for covariates, grey otherwise. All covariates rescaled between 0-1, 95% CIs displayed from HC2 robust SEs.

## E.4 Temporal Placebo

**Table 18: Temporal Placebo Tests**

	D-Score (1)	Ethnocentrism (2)	Bias (3)
Placebo	0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)
Woman	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
College	0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)
Religious	0.00 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)
Age (25-34)	-0.02* (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)
Age (35-44)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Age (45-54)	-0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)
Age (55-64)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Age (65+)	0.03* (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.02 (0.02)
Liberal	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)
Conservative	0.03*** (0.01)	0.02** (0.01)	0.05*** (0.01)
Texas	0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.02)
Pennsylvania	-0.00 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.03* (0.01)
New York	0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	0.01 (0.02)
California	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.02)
Florida	0.03 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.03* (0.01)
Pre-Shooting Placebo	5 days	5 days	5 days
R <sup>2</sup>	0.05	0.04	0.04
Num. obs.	3763	3694	3628

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ ; \*\* $p < 0.01$ ; \* $p < 0.05$

## E.5 Assessing Sorting

**Table 19: Assessing Sorting After the Buffalo Shooting**

# of Respondents	
(Intercept)	398.00*** (25.19)
Shooting	-50.80 (88.55)
Bandwidth	5 day
R <sup>2</sup>	0.04
Num. obs.	10

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ ; \*\* $p < 0.01$ ; \* $p < 0.05$ . HC2 Robust SEs in parentheses

**Table 20: Re-Analyzing Results Adjusting For Sorting**

	D-Score (1)	Ethnocentrism (2)	Bias (3)
# Respondents	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
Woman	-0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.00)	-0.01 (0.01)
College	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.01)
Religious	0.01 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)
Age (25-34)	-0.02* (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Age (35-44)	-0.00 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)
Age (45-54)	0.00 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.02* (0.01)
Age (55-64)	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Age (65+)	0.03* (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.03 (0.02)
Liberal	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)
Conservative	0.01 (0.01)	0.02* (0.01)	0.04*** (0.01)
Texas	0.01 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.01 (0.02)
Pennsylvania	0.01 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.01 (0.01)
New York	0.01 (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)	0.03 (0.02)
California	-0.04** (0.01)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)
Florida	0.00 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.03* (0.01)
Bandwidth	5 day	5 day	5 day
R <sup>2</sup>	0.04	0.04	0.04
Num. obs.	3721	3666	3610

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ ; \*\* $p < 0.01$ ; \* $p < 0.05$

## E.6 Assessing Heterogeneity

**Table 21: Assessing Heterogenous Effects of Charleston Shooting**

Het. Effect	SE	p-value	Outcome	Moderator	Sample
0.02	0.01	0.08	D-Score	Woman	5 days
-0.00	0.00	0.13	D-Score	Age	5 days
-0.04	0.01	0.00	D-Score	College	5 days
-0.00	0.01	0.63	D-Score	Liberal	5 days
-0.01	0.01	0.59	D-Score	Conservative	5 days
-0.02	0.02	0.48	D-Score	New York	5 days
-0.00	0.01	1.00	Ethnocentrism	Woman	5 days
0.00	0.00	0.19	Ethnocentrism	Age	5 days
-0.01	0.01	0.13	Ethnocentrism	College	5 days
-0.01	0.01	0.43	Ethnocentrism	Liberal	5 days
0.00	0.01	0.62	Ethnocentrism	Conservative	5 days
0.00	0.02	0.87	Ethnocentrism	New York	5 days
0.00	0.01	0.70	Bias	Woman	5 days
0.00	0.00	0.62	Bias	Age	5 days
0.01	0.01	0.51	Bias	College	5 days
0.00	0.01	0.68	Bias	Liberal	5 days
-0.01	0.01	0.60	Bias	Conservative	5 days
0.00	0.03	0.93	Bias	New York	5 days