Blues in Colors: Police Violence, Racial Representation, and White Attitude Change

Chaoyue Wang*
Peking University

July 10, 2022

Abstract

Political behavior has been structured along group identities, and a racial division emerges regarding attitudes toward law enforcement and actions on police brutality. Compared to people of color, white Americans are more supportive of police agencies and more hesitant about reforming policing behavior even in the wake of multiple recent unjustified police-involved homicides. While existing studies attribute such difference to white's unique experiences with law enforcement, excessive white representation in police workforces has received little attention. Linking a nationally representative sample to their local context of racialized police and police violence, this study finds that more representation of black and Hispanic officers greatly enhances the process where white residents reacts to police violence by holding more critical view toward law enforcement. Interestingly, white representation in police has only weak effect of such. Findings here highlights group thinking as a contributing factor to today's racial divide on policing, and implicates how promoting racial diversity in police workforce can facilitate the outset of meaningful conversations on police violence.

*Chaoyue Wang is a senior student of political science at Peking University, Beijing, China; Email: chyrwang@gmail.com.
I wish to acknowledge the help of Professor Wenhui Yang and Professor Yuchen Liu of the School of Government at Peking University, who provided me with constructive advice at the start of this study.

1 Introduction

On May 25 of 2020, George Floyd, an unarmed 46-year-old African American man, was choked to death in Minneapolis, Minnesota while a white local police officer kneeled on his neck for over nine minutes. This blatant instance of political brutality, along with multiple police-involved homicides under intense public scrutiny, brings about a national debate as to what the role of law enforcement should be and how policing behavior should be regulated. Similar to many other debates in American politics, a racial divide emerges in the public's response to police violence (Alexander and West 2012; Desilver, Lipka, and Fahmy 2020). Compared to people of color, especially black and Hispanic Americans, whites are in general more supportive of police officers and less likely to view an unprovoked police shooting as abuse of police power. In terms of reactions to heavily covered incidents of police brutality, white people also is less approving of the Black Lives Matter movement and less likely to appropriate police funding to other public services.

Anecdotal insights have attributed this racial difference on policing attitudes to white people's different living experiences with law enforcement (Alexander and West 2012; Alvarado 2020). White neighborhoods are usually less surveilled by policing forces than their black or Latino counterparts, and white people are also less likely to be stopped or doubted than African and Hispanic Americans when displaying the same amount of misconduct. Such racial discrimination against people of color makes whites have in general fewer and more pleasant contact with police, therefore rendering this population more favorable of the performance of police officers.

In some experimental efforts to disentangle this racial divide, however, it is found that even in the face of identical information on a hypothetical situation of police-involved homicide, white subjects still would draw a conclusion that is more supportive of police behavior than black subjects (Jefferson, Neuner, and Pasek 2021). Furthermore, this racial difference to the same information is strongest among subjects that identify strongly with their racial group, implying the existence of group dynamics underneath this divide (Jefferson et al. 2021). But specifically, what dimension of one's racial identity contributes to the fact that whites are anyway more supportive of police officers at the presence of police violence? What part of group thinking motivates white individuals to avoid addressing police officer's objective responsibility?

This study approaches the puzzle of racial divide on policing attitudes through a representation perspective. Police officer has been a profession where white people are excessively represented both historically and contemporarily as to their share of local population (Alexander and West 2012; Desmond and

Emirbayer 2010). This lasting over-representation of whites in police can forge a stereotypic notion that sees police as "whiter" than the general population (Haney-López 2015). With this white imagery of police workforce in mind, incidents of police violence may trigger white American's protective feelings toward their racial in-group and thereby render them less willing to update their beliefs on the reality of police misconduct. If this is the case, we would expect weaker reception to political violence information among white respondents that are served a police workforce that is "whiter" than the population, and similarly, stronger reception if their local police officers are better represented for African and Hispanic Americans.

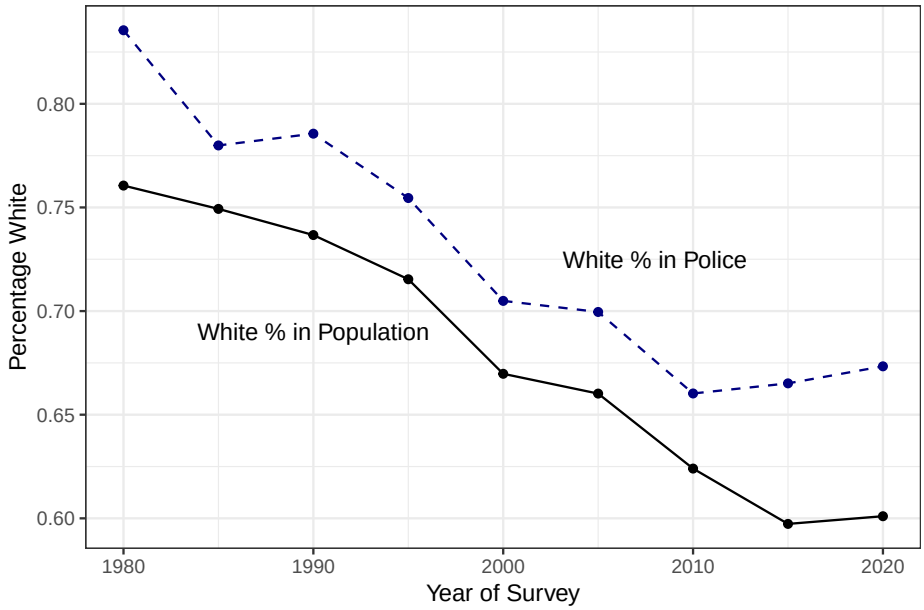
To test whether racial representation of local police moderates how white Americans respond to police violence, this study draws three data sources that respectively capture individual policing attitudes, racial representation in local police, and local context of police violence. The results find that even though white are not less willing to accept the persuasion of police violence when whites are better represented in local police, they do respond more critically to police violence if local police workforce is more Hispanic or black than the local population. In a word, racial imagination of police officers plays an important role in how white people perceive police and understand police violence.

2 Police, Race, and Representation

Police in the United States is a profession with a history tightly relating to race and racial oppression. In the aftermath of Civil War, police agencies in the American South were used to maintain traditional racial orders by preventing recently freed African Americans from white living spaces (Desmond and Emirbayer 2010; Alexander and West 2012). Lack of equal protections for people behind bar, as was implied by the Fourteenth Amendment, also incentivized Southern police forces to relentlessly discriminate African Americans so that they could be used as free labor in prison. The function of police as tools for perpetuating racial injustice in the South persists through the age of Jim Crow, where police employment was extremely exclusive for African Americans. In the wake of the Civil Rights Movement, southern states had deployed a great amount of police officers to suppress protests and other forms of civil disobedience, sometimes in extremely violence manners (Desmond and Emirbayer 2010). This troubled history of American police renders this institution consistently attached to a racial implication (Haney-López 2015; Desmond and Emirbayer 2010).

Beside its past as a violent agency in service of white privilege, police workforce today is still whiter

Figure 1: Trend of White Representation in Police Workforce



Note: Based on data of Current Population Survey from 1980 to 2020 , using individual occupation code to identify a respondent's status as a police officer. Blue dashed line plots the trend of white share in police workforce. Black solid line plots the trend of white percentage in the total U.S. population.

than the population. Using yearly statistics of Current Population Survey, Figure 1 plots the trend of white presence in the general population and in the police workforce. As is very clear, in the more than half a century following the Civil Rights Movement, white people are still excessively represented in police employment as compared to their share of the general population. And this representation gap even expanded in the last two decades.

More white representation in police means less of such representation for people of color, thereby forging an imagery of police officers that they are "whiter" than the general population. Stereotypic views of social groups though a racial lens, which bring out categorization process and in- and out-group thinking, have been found powerful in studies of social and political psychology (Huddy 2001; Green, Palmquist, and Schickler 2002; Mason, Wronski, and Kane 2021; Kane, Mason, and Wronski 2021). Therefore, this study would expect better representation of whites in local police would trigger protective feelings of police among whites as their racial in-group, and thereby render them less receptive to the persuasion of political violence. Symmetrically, more representation of people of color would activate out-group estrangement among whites, and hence makes them respond to political violence more critically.

3 Empirical Framework

3.1 Policing Attitudes

To examine how racial representation in police moderates the impact of police violence on white people's police attitudes, a data source needs to meet two requirements to measure the dependent variable of our interest. First, a diverse range of items are included that pertains to a respondent's attitudes toward police. Second, the place of the respondent's residence must be available so that we can merge their police attitudes to the local context of police representation and police violence.

The 2020 Cooperative Congressional Election Study (CCES) fulfills both conditions mentioned above. Unlike American National Election Study and General Social Survey where a respondent's geographic information below state level is highly restricted for public use, CCES of every year discloses a respondent's place of residence as detailed as down to zip code. Since the vast majority of police departments in the United States are funded and organized on a municipality basis, the precision of residence reported in CCES allows us to respondents with police context that is most immediate to their living experiences. On the other hand, in the wake of George Floyd's murder in the June of 2020, the 2020 CCES also added a host of questions on the respondent's perception of police agency into its online questionnaire.

The CCES asks respondents whether the presence of police makes them feel safe, whether they support increasing police funding by sacrificing the financing of other public programs, whether they support decrease police funding to support other public services, and whether they support imposing a wide range of restrictions on policing behavior, like banning choke holds and requiring body cameras during law enforcement. While the first two items try to measure positive perceptions of police's role in the locality, the latter two capture more critical views as to how police should be maintained and regulated. The author then created a synthesized indicator of police attitudes by calculating the difference between the mean of responses on first two items and that on the latter two items. Ranging from -1 to 1, A higher value of the variable indicates more positive views about police and a lower one more negative.

3.2 Racial Representation in Police

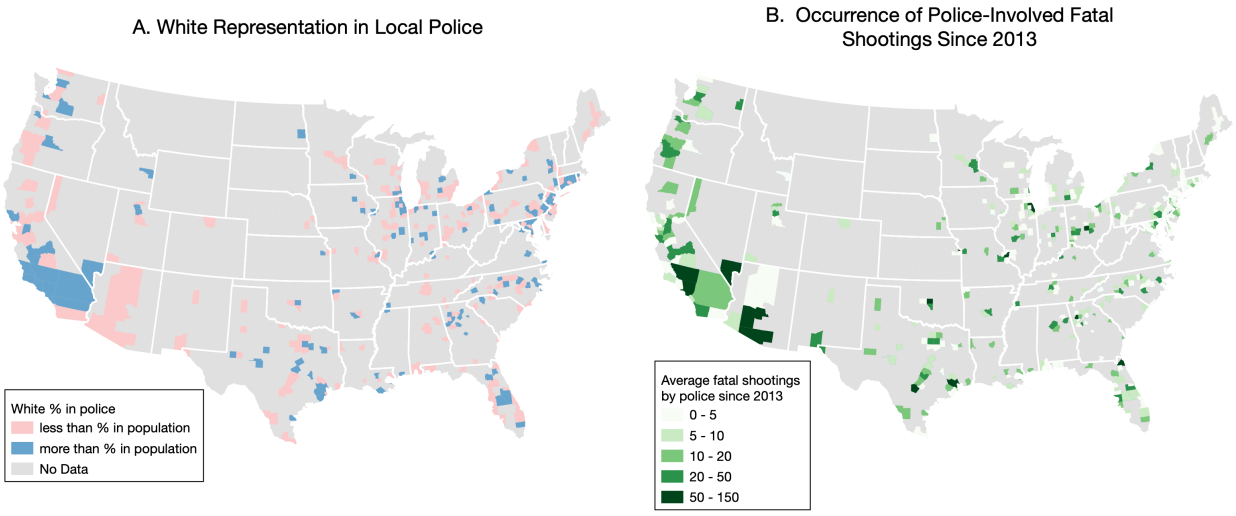
By the time when this study was conducted, there is no data source that captures the universe of racial compositions of police agencies in the United States. To measure representation of different racial groups in local police agencies, this study needs demographic characteristics of police officers of a police agency

at one hand, and racial structure of the locality it serves on the other. For the first requirement, the author chooses the 2016 Law Enforcement Management and Administrative Statistics (LEMAS) that was collected by the Bureau of Justice Statistics under the U.S. Department of Justice. Started in 1987, LEMAS periodically collects data from more than 3000 state and local law enforcement agencies, including all those that employ over 100 sworn officers and a nationally representative sample of smaller police agencies. Among all the agency-level information obtained by LEMAS are the demographic structure of their employees, the place they serve, and their address down to zip code. Since most municipalities in the United States are served by one police agency, it is reasonable to infer the racial imagery confronting residents of a city by looking at the racial compositions of its local police employment. The author extracts from the LEMAS data the total number of sworn officers in a police agency and the respective numbers of white, Hispanic, and Black officers, and then calculates the share of each racial group in the agency' employment.

Since the share of a racial group in police employment is a reflection of its percentage in local population in general, it would compound the effect of demographic structure into our estimation if we simply use the former as the indicator for racial representation. A more precise approach would be to measure racial representation in police by measuring the extent to which the presence of a racial group exceeds or is below its presence in the locality. This study hence measures racial representations in police by differencing the share of a racial group in police workforce from its percentage in the total population of a locality. On a positive-negative spectrum, a large value of this difference means that in the related locality, a racial group is better represented in a police agency. For example, if African Americans count for 20 percent of total population of a city but only 10 percent of the city's police officers are black, then black representation in police of the city would be -0.1, meaning a deficit of representation for African Americans in police workforce.

Panel A in Figure 2 shows geographic locations of counties selected and not selected into the 2016 LEMAS. Counties in which at least one local police agency is surveyed in the 2016 LEMAS sees a diverse distribution across the county, covering major areas despite less concentrated in the far West where population density is relatively low. This limits the scope of generalization of this study to mainly populated areas. Counties filled with blue means that on a county-level average, whites are excessively represented in local police departments and insufficiently so if filled with red. As can be readily seen, counties selected into 2016 LEMAS do not present a pattern of white representation in police as overwhelming as we would expect from Figure 1.

Figure 2: County-Level Average of White Representation in Police and Police Violence



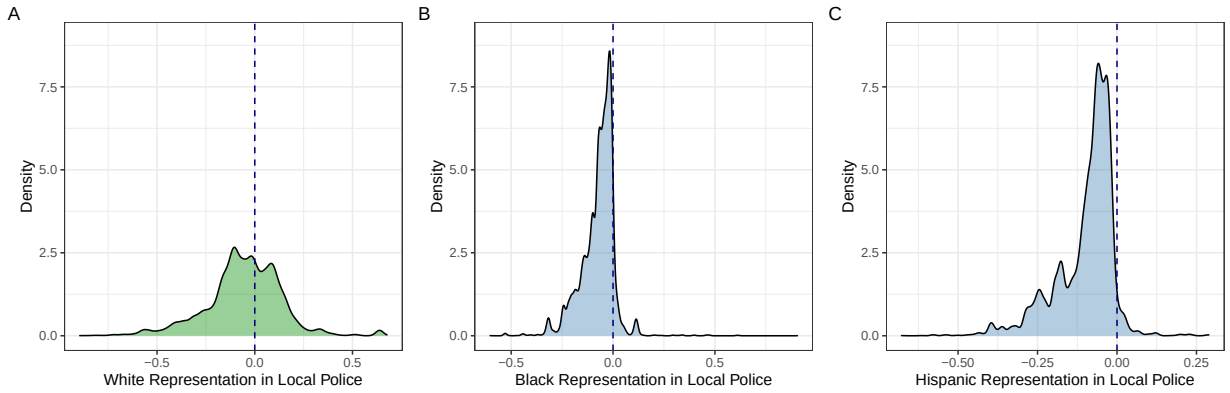
Note: Plot A shows counties where at least one local police department was selected in 2016 LEMAS survey while counties not included are colored gray. Selected counties in Plot A are filled blue if whites are excessively represented in local police departments and red if insufficiently so. Plot B presents county-level occurrence of police-involved fatal shootings since 2013 that are documented in Mapping Police Violence project. A greener fill color means a higher frequency of such incidents.

But when plotted on individual level and in comparison to other racial groups, a different pattern emerges. Figure 3 shows the density distribution of racial representations that white CCES respondents experience in their locality. Consistent with the landscape revealed in Figure 2, almost half of white respondents lives in a municipality where whites are better represented in police than in general population. Black and Hispanic police officers, however, are insufficiently represented in the police workforce cities where the vast majority of white respondents in 2020 CCES live in. Taken together, three panels in Figure 3 indicate a pattern of representation deficiency for people of color in local police employment, falling in line with the anecdotal perception that police is largely a "whiter" profession.

3.3 Local Context of Police Violence

There have been no successful efforts by governmental agencies at either local or federal level to systematically document police-involved homicides. So existing literature addressing police violence has usually turned to datasets voluntarily collected by advocacy groups, the most used of which is that of Mapping Police Violence project (Nicholson-Crotty, Nicholson-Crotty, and Fernandez 2017). Drawing data points from other reliables sources of police-involved shootings and conducting its own data gathering through

Figure 3: Distribution of Racial Representation in Local Police



Note: Three plots respectively show the distributions of white, Hispanic, and Black representations in local police that confront white respondents in 2020 Cooperative Congressional Election Study. Racial representation in police equals the difference of the share of a racial group in local police employment from its share in local population, with a higher value meaning the group being better represented in police.

a diverse combination of different platforms (including social media, local newspaper accounts, and police reports), the Mapping Police Violence project has by far the most detailed and accurate record of fatal shootings by police since 2013.

Mapping Police Violence project reports where every police-involved fatal shootings took place at zip code level along with what police agency is responsible for the shooting. Using zip code and police agency information, this study links every shooting to the municipality where it happened, calculates city-level means of police violence, and then matches these means to respondents in 2020 CCES based on their reported place of residence. The author intentionally aggregates police violence statistics over years to reduce noises specific to a certain year and thereby capture a long-term trend of police violence in the locality. One-year statistics of 2019 , which presumedly are most pertinent to a respondent's perception of local police violence, are used as alternative indicator of police violence in robustness checks. Panel B in Figure 2 plots the intensity of police violence among counties where racial representation data are available in 2016 LEMAS. As is presented in the figure, there is great variation of police violence in our sample, ranging from almost no reported police violence from over 50 lives killed by law enforcement since 2013.

4 Results

4.1 White Attitude Change

Table 1 shows results of our estimation on how local police violence can persuade white residents into more critical views toward police, and how racial representation of local workforce can moderate this persuasion effect. Specifications used in each column differ in terms of representation of what group is considered and what control variables are included. Across the six models, the effect of police violence is statistically significant ($p < 0.001$) and quite stable as to its point estimate. This means for every police-involved fatal shooting that took place in a locality since 2013, a white respondent living in that place experiences a slight but significant decline in their feelings toward police. The occurrence of police violence does change white attitudes, and when cumulated to a certain amount, 100 shootings for example , the impact of police violence can powerfully result in a $0.3 - 0.5$ in overall police attitudes, accounting for over 15% of the whole range of our police attitude indicator.

This persuasion effect is strongly moderated by the racial imagery of local police. That is, how white residents respond to police violence are strongly influenced by what local police officers look like racially. As we can see in the rows concerning the interaction terms between police violence and racial representation, police violence can push white respondents' police attitudes further to the negative end if Hispanic and African Americans are excessively represented in local police workforce. The interaction term for white representation, however, is not significant, indicating that white respondents are not specifically sensitive to white presence in police employment.

The moderating effect of racial representation on white attitude change is more straightforward when reported in a two-dimensional way. Figure 4 plots the impact of police violence on white police attitudes as a function of each racial representation. Range highlighted by light red fill means that police violence is ineffective if racial representation in police of a place is within this range. It is apparent that overall slopes of police violence on white police attitude are significantly negative, showing a persuasion effect. As Hispanic and Black representation increase in local police, this persuasion is augmented. In other words, white respondents are more susceptible to attitude change in the face of police violence if the racial imagery of local police is more Hispanic or African American.

Similarly, the persuasion effect is weaker as white representation in local police improves, rendering white residents less likely to change minds at the presence of police violence. The effect of police violence

Table 1: Impact of Police Violence on White Police Attitudes by Racial Representation in Police

	Outcome Variable: Attitude Toward Police					
	Black		Hispanic		White	
Police Violence	-0.003***	-0.003***	-0.005***	-0.003***	-0.003***	-0.002***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Black Representation in Police	-0.057	-0.022				
	(0.092)	(0.096)				
Police Violence × Black Rep.	-0.013***	-0.010**				
	(0.003)	(0.003)				
Hispanic Representation in Police			0.178	-0.031		
			(0.099)	(0.103)		
Police Violence × Hispanic Rep.			-0.012***	-0.006***		
			(0.002)	(0.002)		
White Representation in Police					-0.092**	-0.058
					(0.030)	(0.032)
Police Violence × White Rep.					0.001	0.000
					(0.001)	(0.001)
Constant	-0.212***	-0.137***	-0.199***	-0.151***	-0.235***	-0.163***
	(0.009)	(0.014)	(0.010)	(0.014)	(0.010)	(0.015)
Crime Controls		✓		✓		✓
State FE		✓		✓		✓
Observations	25,898	25,767	25,898	25,767	25,898	25,767
R-squared	0.008	0.024	0.009	0.024	0.007	0.024

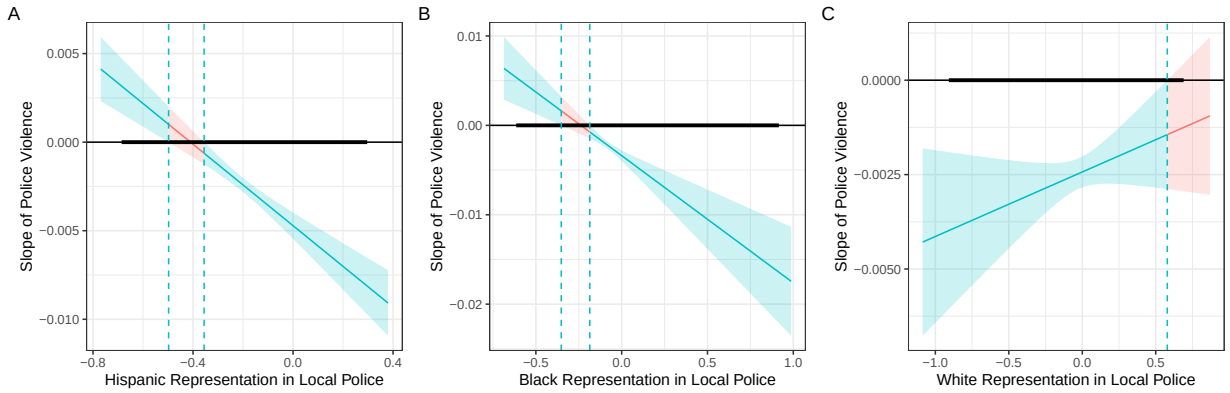
Note: Regression estimates of police violence, racial representation, and their interaction on white respondents' police attitudes. Controls include Local percentages of Hispanic and black population. Local crime controls and state fixed effects are added to show robustness of the estimation. For each racial representation , if the estimated coefficient follows the direction of police violence and is significant, then the increase of this racial group in local police enhances the effect of police violence on white attitudes, and undermines otherwise. Statistical significance is indicated by $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{***}p < 0.001$.

actually turns null when whites are too excessively represented in police workforce, but the overall swing of this effect along the variation of white representation is not as distinctive as in the case of Black and Hispanic representation.

4.2 Closing of Racial Divide

Then I turn to a different way of framing the moderating effect of racial representation on how white respondents change their police attitudes in response to police violence. While the section above looks into only white respondents, this part discusses how racial representation may influence the closing of

Figure 4: Impact of Police Violence on White Attitudes Moderated by Racial Representation



Note: Based on results in Table 1, the three plots above respectively show the moderating effect that white, Hispanic, and Black representations in local police have on how police violence can persuade white respondents' attitudes. Highlighted red area indicates the range of racial representation that renders police violence ineffective in persuading white residents into more critical perceptions of police. Thick black bar on the zero reference line shows the range of observation of racial representation. For each plot, the more sensitively the estimated slopes of police violence responds to the variation of racial representation, the stronger the moderating effect of this racial representation is.

racial gap on police attitudes when white respondents are compared to respondents of color. Analyses in Table 2 has a large sample by including Hispanic and black respondents in 2020 CCES. The specifications are concerned about how whites originally have different feeling toward police than Hispanic and African Americans, and how this racial gap of police attitudes can be closed by police violence. These specifications vary in terms of whether the sample lives in a place where representation of a racial group in police is either above or below sample average. For each specification, we looks at the times by which the White term can be divided by the interaction term. A larger value of the times means it took more police violence to repair the racial divide. For the ease of interpretation, original value of police violence is divided by 100 so its coefficient reports the effect of every 100 police-involved fatal shootings.

As we can see in Table 2, white people are more supportive of police than Hispanic and African Americans when police violence is not considered. The racial divide corresponds to real life where white people are more hesitant to take up structural police reform in the wake of multiple police-involved homicides including the murder of George Floyd. As police violence increases in a place, however, this racial divide narrows down, and will vanish when police violence reaches a certain level. This finding is intuitive given the fact that white neighborhoods and whites are far less surveilled and profiled by law enforcement, immuring them from the kind of bitter contact with police that is regular in living experiences of black and

Table 2: Closing Effect of Police Violence on Racial Gap, Moderated by Racial Representation

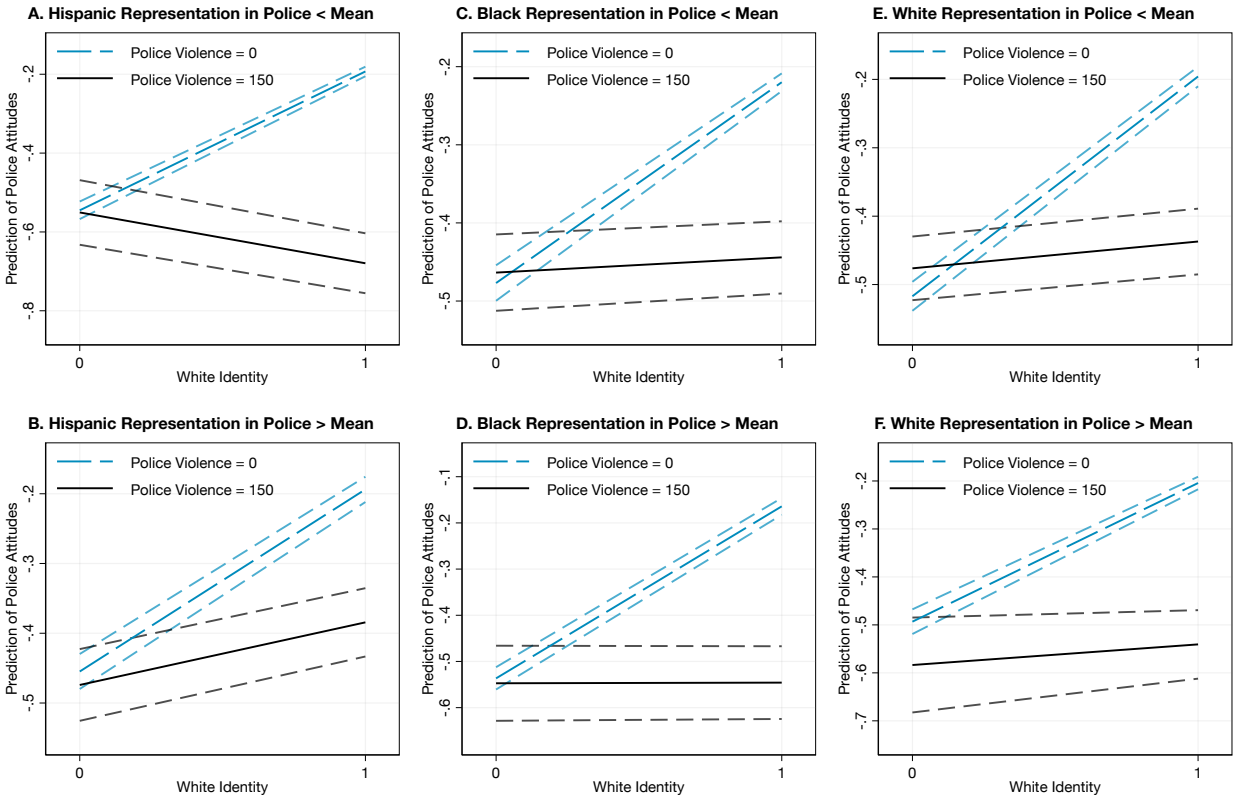
	Hispanic Rep.		Black Rep.		White Rep.	
	> Mean	< Mean	> Mean	< Mean	> Mean	< Mean
White	0.350***	0.262***	0.320***	0.289***	0.258***	0.369***
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Police Violence	-0.007	-0.012	0.026	-0.061	0.010	-0.010
	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.05)	(0.02)	(0.04)
Police Violence × White	-0.317***	-0.115***	-0.186***	-0.163**	-0.159***	-0.242***
	(0.05)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.06)	(0.03)	(0.05)
Constant	-0.532***	-0.425***	-0.498***	-0.458***	-0.433***	-0.528***
	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.02)
Observations	21,917	12,027	16,801	17,143	20,910	13,034
R-squared	0.034	0.027	0.034	0.027	0.023	0.044

Note: Regression estimates of white identity, police violence, and their interaction on white respondents' police attitudes. Local percentages of Hispanic and black population, local crime rate and state fixed effects are added as controls. Columns differs in their sample selections, where representation of a racial group in local police is either below or above the sample mean. The larger the times by which the "White" estimate is divided by the interaction term, the more police violence it takes to close the racial gap on police attitudes. Statistical significance is indicated by $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{***}p < 0.001$.

Hispanic people. The presence of police violence can make up for this racial difference to police brutality by providing relevant information to white Americans. In other words, police violence can help close racial divide on police attitudes by healing the information gap between whites and people of color.

Similar to what is observed in the former section, this closing effect of police violence on racial divide is also moderated by racial imagery of local police. Based on results in Table 2, the moderation is more clearly shown in Figure 5. All plots presents the racial difference in police attitudes when police violence of a locality is at 0 and 150. At a given level of police violence, a larger swing by white identity means a larger gap on police attitudes on perceptions of police. As we can see, for police violence to increase from 0 to 150, racial gap on police attitudes closes more swiftly if Hispanic or black representation in local police is above sample mean. In comparison, this gap would narrow down less quickly if white people are better represented in local police. In a word, even though police violence can mend the racial divide on police attitudes, it is more effective for white respondents if police workforce is more Hispanic and black, and less effective if it has higher white representation.

Figure 5: Persuasion of White Police Attitudes by Racial Representation



Note: All plots presents the racial difference in police attitudes when police violence of a locality is at 0 and 150. At a given level of police violence, a larger swing by white identity means a larger gap on police attitudes on perceptions of police. The angle between two lines roughly indicates how much police violence it takes for the racial gap on police attitudes to close. For each racial representation, two plots were created by whether representation of a racial group in local police is above or below the sample mean.

4.3 Robustness Check

The author checks the robustness of estimations above in three ways. First, the police violence statistics from the Mapping Police Violence project are replaced with a similar dataset collected by Washington Post. The Washington Post source records police-involved fatal shootings that happened only after 2015 and deploys a less diverse toolkit of data collection as compared to the Mapping Police Violence project, therefore having a smaller count of total police-involved homicides. Largely perceived as reliable due to the fame of Washington Post for its journalistic professionalism, this source is also one that the Mapping Police Violence project refers to.

Second, the author narrows down the window during which police violence statistics are considered. To reduce year-specific noises and capture long-term pattern, across-year means since 2013 are used to

measure local police violence. Here the author use only police violence records from 2019, the year right before 2020 CCES, to capture police violence. Since these incidents are most immediate to local resident's memories, inclusion of them as measurement should not change our results.

Finally, the author changes the measure of racial representation in police by differencing a racial group's share in police from its percentage not in the whole city but in the respondent's zip code. Most recent work on geographic context and political behavior has found that zip code most definitively shapes people's perceptions of the racial structure of their local communities (Wong, Bowers, Williams, and Simmons 2012; Velez and Wong 2017). Therefore, we expect our results would hold when we measure racial imagery of police by looking at the tension between a racial group's share of police on the one hand and their immediate social contexts on the other.

All the three alterations discussed above do not change the direction or the significance of results we observed in Table 1 and Table 5. The stability of our estimations across data selections and variable constructions indicates that the moderating effect of racial representation on how police violence persuade white police attitudes is not just a coincidence founded on a precarious combination of data sources or variables.

5 Conclusion

Looking into how racial imagery of local police moderates the way white respondents respond to police violence, this study offers an identity-oriented insight for disentangling the racial divide in policing attitudes. The occurrence of police violence persuades white residents of a locality to take up more critical views toward law enforcement, but this persuasion effect is far stronger if the local police confronting them is less white, that is, if the local police is better represented for black and Hispanic Americans and thereby breaks the anecdotal myth that police is largely a white profession. Further more, the frequency of police violence can help narrow down the division between whites and people of color on policing attitudes. This closing effect on racial gap is also conditioned by racial representation of local police, and will be stronger with a police department that has more representation for black and Hispanic Americans. In conclusion, white Americans' persistence on policing attitudes is at least partly due to their over-representation in police employment, which forges a white imagery of this profession.

Since most data sources that capture detailed feelings and experiences with police forces fail to disclose

residence information of their respondents, the author is rather constrained to investigate in depth those mechanisms and processes linking racial representation to one's perception of local police. Even though the explanation based on racial imagery and social identity is largely self-containing, more specific questions remain including what factors influence one's process of receiving such representation, and what considerations may outweigh the moderation of racial representation when one is understanding police violence. Besides, because the number of Black and hispanic respondents is too small to generate enough statistical power after geographic matching in 2020 CCES, this study does not discuss how people of color may also approach police violence through a lens of racial representation. People of color are in general better informed about the reality of police brutality, but will they, like in the case of whites, respond more critically if local police is whiter? Or less critically if it is less so? Empirical examination of these questions is necessary if allowed in the future with more detailed and comprehensive data.

This study also has practical implications for the debate of addressing police brutality in real life. Since people's reception of police violence information is so strongly conditioned by whether they see local police as representative of themselves, it would help if we first repair the representation gap in police employment so that people can approach the issue of police violence through a more pragmatic and less racialized perspective. Behind the veil of ignorance where police is not perceived as more of a territory of one race than another (Rawls 1999) , people with different racial identities can then have a meaningful, honest, and less emotionally charged conversation in full freedom from tribal blindness.

References

Alexander, Michelle and Cornel West (2012). *The new Jim Crow: mass incarceration in the age of colorblindness* (Revised edition ed.). New York: New Press.

Alvarado, Steven Elías (2020, January). The Complexities of Race and Place: Childhood Neighborhood Disadvantage and Adult Incarceration for Whites, Blacks, and Latinos. *Socius: Sociological Research for a Dynamic World 6*, 1165–1183.

Desilver, Drew , Michael Lipka, and Dalia Fahmy (2020). 10 things we know about race and policing in the U.S.

Desmond, Matthew and Mustafa Emirbayer (2010). *Racial domination, racial progress: the sociology of race in America* (1st ed ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill Higher Education.

Green, Donald P. , Bradley Palmquist, and Eric Schickler (2002). *Partisan hearts and minds: political parties and the social identities of voters*. Yale ISPS series. New Haven, CT; London: Yale University Press.

Haney-López, Ian (2015). *Dog whistle politics: how coded racial appeals have reinvented racism and wrecked the middle class*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.

Huddy, Leonie (2001, March). From Social to Political Identity: A Critical Examination of Social Identity Theory. *Political Psychology 22*(1), 127–156.

Jefferson, Hakeem , Fabian G. Neuner, and Josh Pasek (2021, December). Seeing Blue in Black and White: Race and Perceptions of Officer-Involved Shootings. *Perspectives on Politics 19*(4), 1165–1183.

Kane, John V. , Lilliana Mason, and Julie Wronski (2021, October). Who's at the Party? Group Sentiments, Knowledge, and Partisan Identity. *The Journal of Politics 83*(4), 1783–1799.

Mason, Lilliana , Julie Wronski, and John V. Kane (2021, June). Activating Animus: The Uniquely Social Roots of Trump Support. *American Political Science Review*, 1–9.

Nicholson-Crotty, Sean , Jill Nicholson-Crotty, and Sergio Fernandez (2017, March). Will More Black Cops Matter? Officer Race and Police-Involved Homicides of Black Citizens. *Public Administration Review 77*(2), 206–216.

Rawls, John (1999). *A theory of justice* (Rev. ed ed.). Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Velez, Yamil Ricardo and Grace Wong (2017, July). Assessing Contextual Measurement Strategies. *The Journal of Politics 79*(3), 1084–1089.

Wong, Cara , Jake Bowers, Tarah Williams, and Katherine Drake Simmons (2012, October). Bringing the Person Back In: Boundaries, Perceptions, and the Measurement of Racial Context. *The Journal of Politics 74*(4), 1153–1170.