



Patterns of Support in Minneapolis' Police Charter Amendment

Ryan Larson and Ryan LeCount

Criminal Justice & Forensic Science
Social Justice & Social Change
Hamline University

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Introduction



Minneapolis Charter Amendment 2

- > amendment to Minneapolis city charter
 - > replacement of MPD with Department of Public Safety
 - > remove minimum police funding requirements and exclusive mayoral control
 - > DPS commissioner controlled by mayor and city council
 - > Failed: ~56% no
- > Minneapolis is not the only municipality that had a police related ballot measures
 - > Denver, Austin, Cleveland, Detroit, etc.
- > we ask what drove support for CA2
 - > political divides?
 - > demographics (e.g., race)?
 - > policing?
 - > crime?



Motivation: policing

- > interpersonal contact between government officials a fundamental part of democratic political socialization (Soss 1999)
- > legal estrangement (Bell 2017)
 - > procedural injustice
 - > legal cynicism: deep-seated belief in incompetence, illegitimacy, and unresponsiveness of CJS (Kirk and Papachristos 2011)
 - > grounded in negative encounters with LE and cultural processes (Carr et al. 2007; Brunson 2007)
 - > vicarious marginalization
 - > police violence leads to lower 911 calls, particularly in Black communities (Desmond et al. 2016)
 - > structural exclusion
 - > simultaneous over- and under-policing in disadvantage MPLS neighborhoods (Phelps, Powell, and Robertson 2020)
 - > race predicts higher agreements with both in PHDCN data (Boehme et al. 2020)



Motivation: more than just policy

- > political ideology
 - > concern for biased policing linked to democratic voting (Drakulich et al. 2019)
 - > Trump votes linked to police supporters with high levels of racial resentment
 - > GSS: conservative affiliation = more support (Rosignio and Preto-Hodge 2021)
- > demographics
 - > Black residents more negative attitudes about police, net of experiences (Wheelock et al. 2019)
 - > race differences heightened amongst low SES individuals (Panditharatne et al. 2021)
 - > residential stability linked to higher trust in police (Lee et al. 2019)
- > practical concerns
 - > perceptions of safety and past victimization predict attitudes toward police (Wheelock et al. 2019)



Current Study

- > conceptualize CA2 as not merely a policy issue
 - > proxy for legal estrangement
 - > experiences with police
 - > political symbol and expression
 - > racial identities
 - > concern with crime
- > examine the voting patterns of CA2 along the lines of
 - > demographics - race, median HH income, residential stability
 - > indicators of policing
 - > crime
 - > political ideology



Data and Methods



Data: Voting-District Level

- > Minnesota Secretary of State Voting Results
 - > scraped CA2 results
 - > scraped 2020 presidential election results
- > Decennial Census 2020 P.L. 94-171 Redistricting Data
 - > racial demographics
- > American Community Survey 2020 5-Year Data
 - > tract data converted to VD data using population-weighted interpolation
 - > intersection between VD and CT, spatial join w/ blocks as points
 - > VD measure estimated as a weighted sum of the block points of overlap by population size
 - > used to gather economic and other demographic information
- > Minneapolis Police Department Data - spatially located
 - > uses of force, stops, officer-involved shootings



Analytical Strategy

- > spatial visualization of CA2 support
 - > choropleth map of support by voting precinct
- > scatterplots and bivariate correlation
 - > focal measures of interest and support
- > preliminary multivariate autoregressive model
 - > $y = \rho_{lag} Wy + X\beta + \epsilon$
 - > controls for spatial autocorrelation of CA2 support across “queen contiguous” precincts
 - > spatialreg package in R

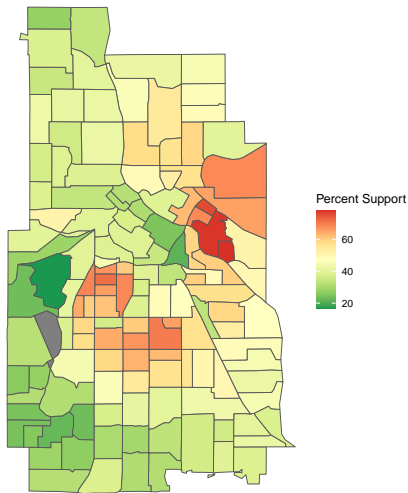


Results

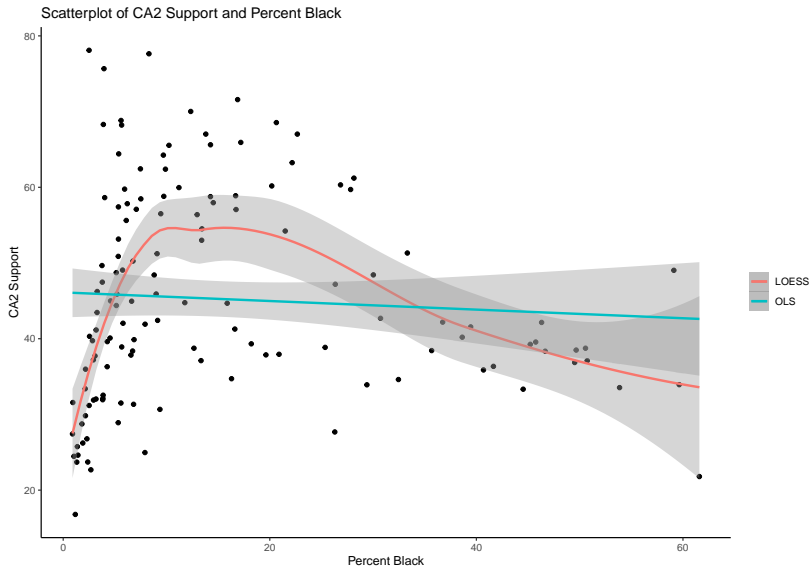


Spatial Patterns of Support

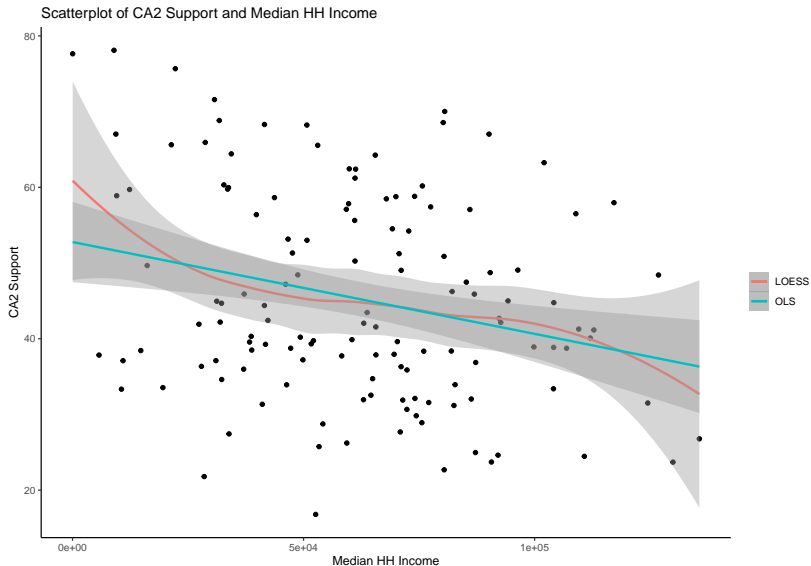
Figure 1: Support for MPLS Charter Amendment #2, 2021
MN Secretary of State



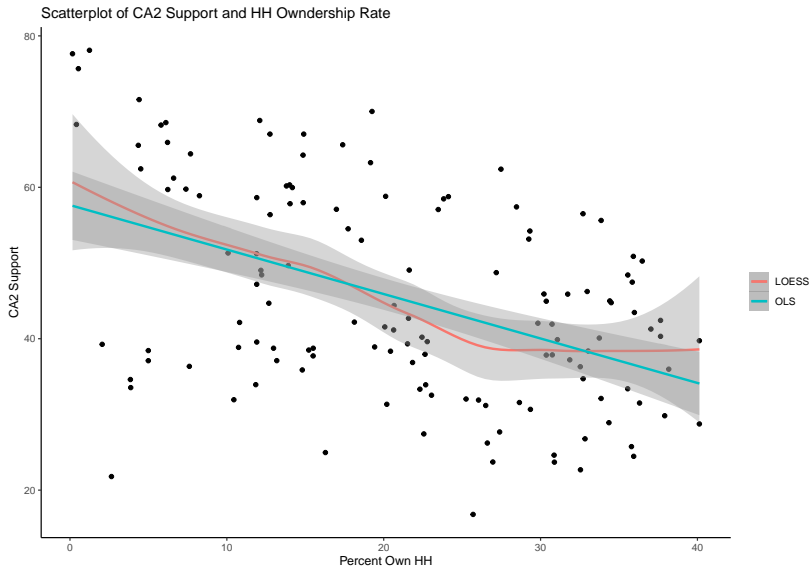
Bivariate Relationships: Race



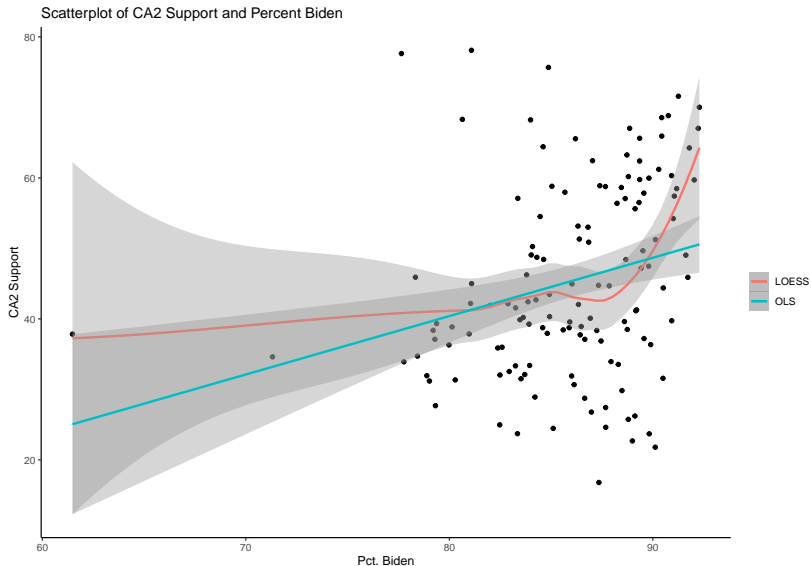
Bivariate Relationships: Class



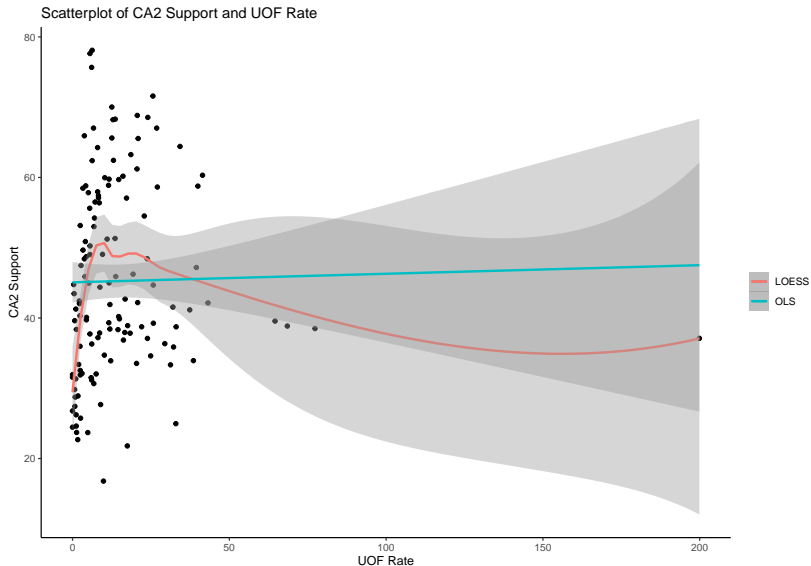
Bivariate Relationships: Residential Stability



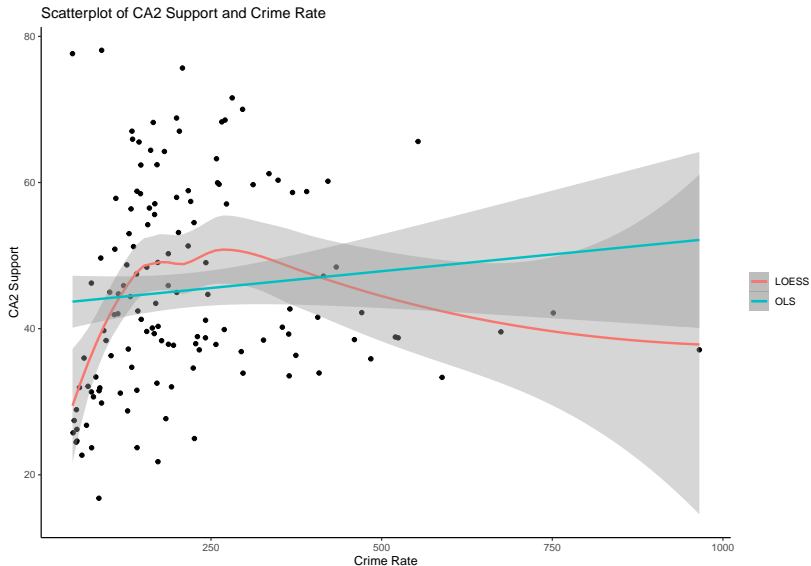
Bivariate Relationships: Political Ideology



Bivariate Relationships: Uses of Force



Bivariate Relationships: Crime



Preliminary Multivariate Model

Table 1: Spatial AR(1) Model of MPLS CA2 Support

| | Percent Support |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Percent Black | 0.430** (0.151) |
| Percent Black Sq. | -0.012*** (0.003) |
| Percent Biden | -21.093* (9.049) |
| Median HH Income (log) | -2.107 (1.163) |
| UOF Rate | -0.041 (0.044) |
| Crime Rate | 0.008 (0.007) |
| Own HH Rate | -0.281*** (0.078) |
| Med. HH Inc. X Pct. Biden | 0.245* (0.112) |
| Constant | 198.044* (94.158) |
| SAR(1) | .705*** (.061) |
| Observations | 134 |
| Log Likelihood | -446.789 |
| σ^2 | 40.721 |
| Akaike Inf. Crit. | 915.579 |
| Wald Test | 134.426*** (df = 1) |
| LR Test | 76.064*** (df = 1) |
| Note: | *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001 |



Conclusions

- > nonlinear patterns in black support
 - > taper in support not just due to concerns with crime, police UOF
 - > perhaps driven by broader legal estrangement
- > politicized issue
 - > however, more advantaged individuals saw through a more ideological lens
 - > the privilege to see this as ideological, as opposed to other considerations
- > practical concerns of crime and police violence did not explain support
 - > perhaps speaks to the structural exclusion aspect of legal estrangement
- > In sum, CA2 was more than just an instrument response to conditions of crime/police
 - > but rather appears to be driven by ideology, cultural frames, and identities of group interest
- > future research
 - > delve deeper into demographic relationships: interactions
 - > race specific indicators of police violence
 - > relative voter turnout as indicator of legal estrangement



Thank you!

- > Contact
 - > Ryan Larson, Hamline University
 - > rlarson21@hamline.edu
 - > [@ryanplarson](https://twitter.com/ryanplarson)

