



# Patterns of Support in Minneapolis' Police Charter Amendment

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2023-03-24



# 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 (Roscigno 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

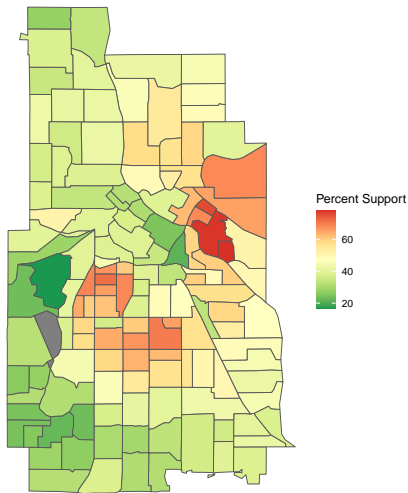


## Results

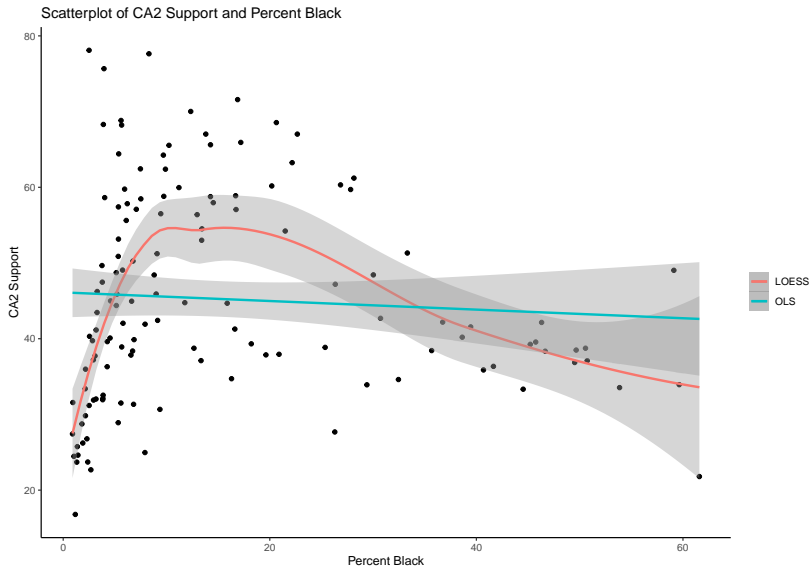


# Spatial Patterns of Support

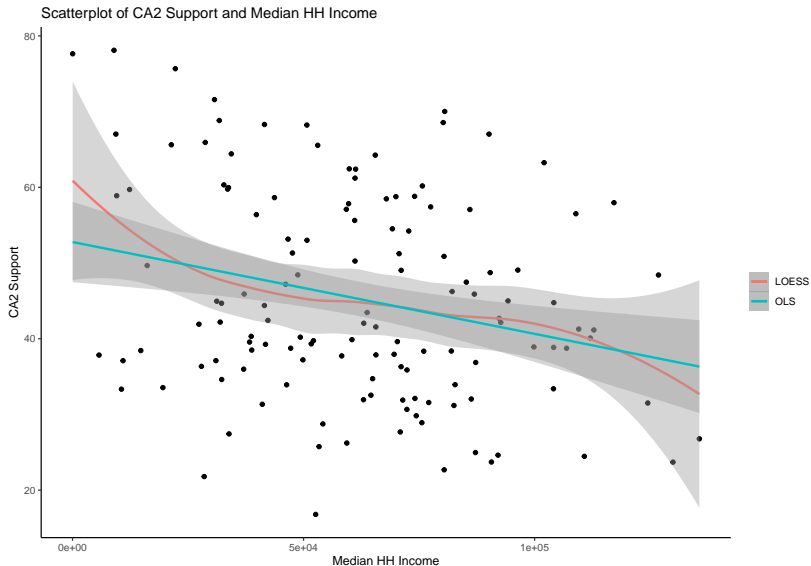
Figure 1: Support for MPLS Charter Amendment #2, 2021  
MN Secretary of State



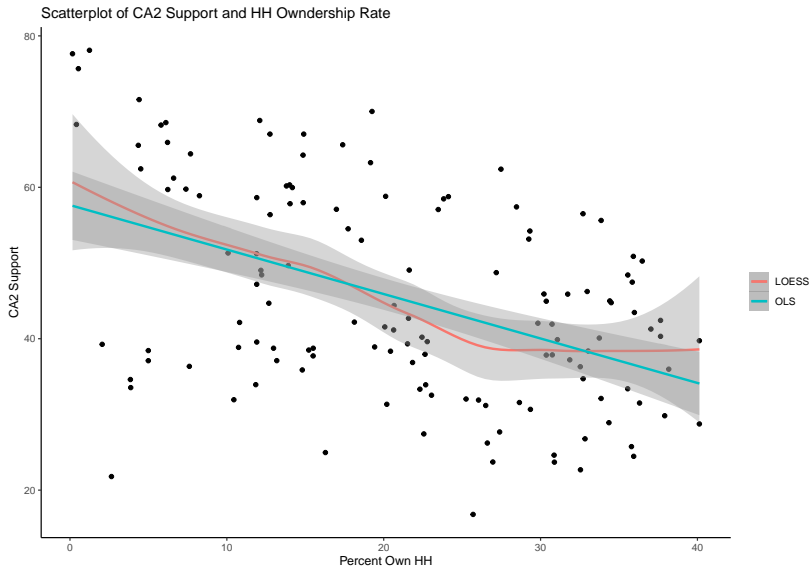
# Bivariate Relationships: Race



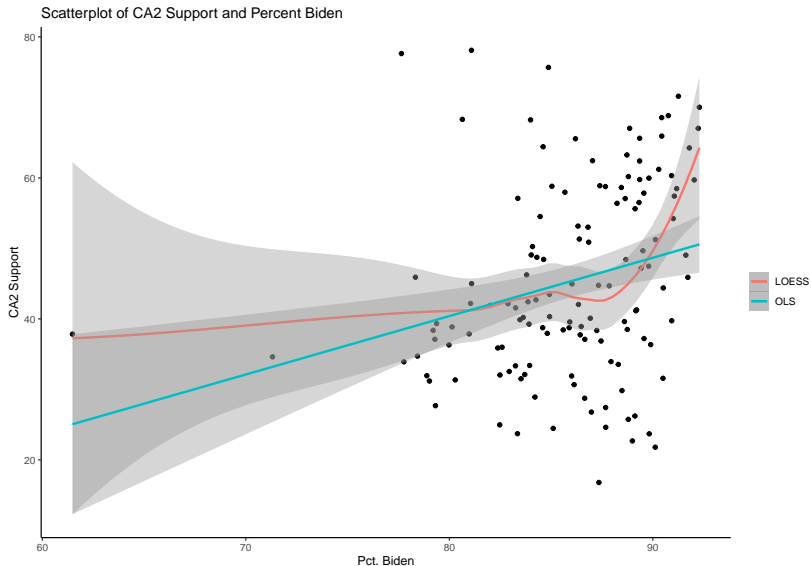
# Bivariate Relationships: Class



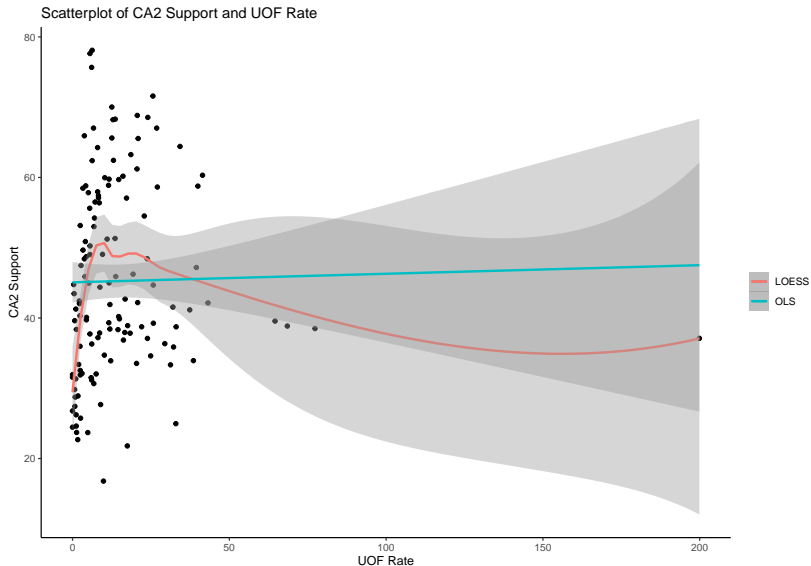
# Bivariate Relationships: Residential Stability



# Bivariate Relationships: Political Ideology

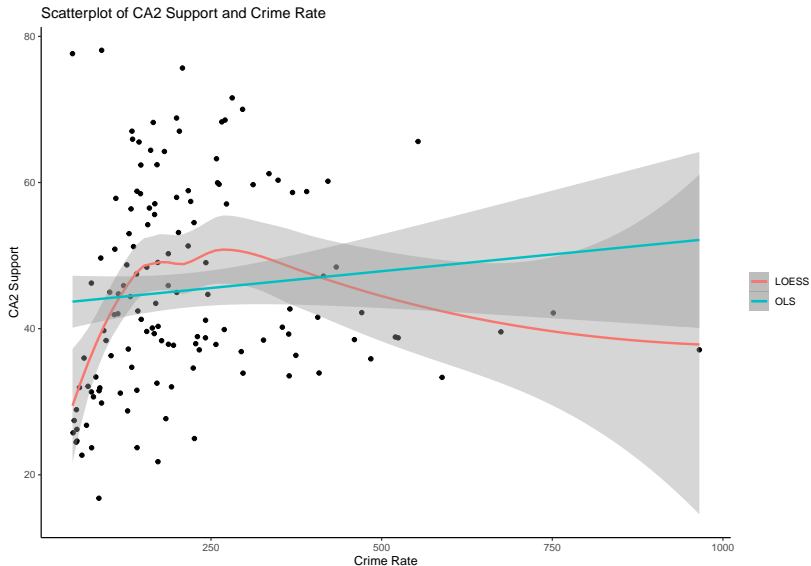


# Bivariate Relationships: Uses of Force





# 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                      |
| $\sigma^2$                | 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 instrumental 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!

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