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Strike More, Spend Less?: The Correlation between Opinions on Race Specific Government Spending and Feelings towards Police Use of Force

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The Correlation between Opinions on Race Specific Government
Spending and Feelings towards Police Use of Force***

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ABSTRACT

With the foundation of past research on the relationship between indicators of racial prejudice, police use of force and attitudes towards it, I use the General Social Survey (2016) to examine the relationship between feelings on government spending on the Black community and approval of police officers striking an adult male citizen under different circumstances. Using feelings towards government spending on the Black community as an independent variable enables me to interpret the coded and implicit anti-Black sentiments within police practices and approval towards them further. After analyzing a sample of 704 respondents, I found that those who believe that the government is spending too much on the Black community are more likely to approve of a police officer striking an adult male citizen under various circumstances. However, the results of the bivariate correlation and multivariate regression consistently demonstrate that the race of the respondent had the largest effect on respondent's approval of police officers striking citizens, with white respondents being more likely to approve of officers striking citizens under more conditions. These results are consistent with critical race theory, group threat theory and past research; it is pivotal in understanding how color-blind racism effects the extent to which police are held accountable for their actions.

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The recent high profile deaths of Black males at the hands of police officers has transformed the debate on the acceptable use of force into an even larger issue. The increase in attention the police force has garnered has resulted in research on police brutality and the racially motivated practices of police departments (Rengifo and Pater 2017; Smith and Holmes 2014), like the “stop and frisk” policy. Many cases such as the deaths of Mike Brown, Eric Garner, Philando Castile and Alton Sterling were particularly polemical because of the seemingly benign circumstances in which these deaths occurred. The deaths of these men coupled with the acquittal of or lack of formal charges against the police officers responsible has led many to believe that police officers are able to use force without consequence, particularly when dealing with citizens of color. The excessive use of force by the police officers in these cases, and others, has furthered the historic tension between the Black community and law enforcement and has created a greater need for sociological discussions on race and power in the United States. However, there are many who continue to believe that the dissonance between the police and communities of color is unfounded and that the U.S. is now a post-racial society.

Historically, law enforcement has targeted the Black-American community since the slave trade. When it is deemed acceptable for the police department, as a government funded organization, to use force on citizens under any circumstance, institutional abuses of power become normalized. Furthermore, when most of these abuses of power are directed at specific racial groups without ramifications, institutional racism becomes normalized. One of the powerful qualities of racism is that it can exist without being mentioned overtly. In this research, I try to address this issue by working with the opinions of respondents on how the black

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community is assisted by the government, assuming that beliefs that the government is overspending on the black community will suggest negative feelings towards Black people.

In order to change the way that people think about the relationship between the Black community and the police, it is necessary to explore how notions about the extent to which the government assists the Black community affects people's view of how police should treat citizens. Because the police department frequently targets the Black community, understanding one's views on the Black community will reveal a lot about one's beliefs on how law enforcement should treat citizens, namely, those of color. It is also important to understand the situations in which the use of force is justified. This research is not only attempting to highlight the relationship between excessive uses of force on the Black community but also understand why the criminal justice system does not hold police officers accountable for their, often lethal, actions. Through this research, I hope to understand how opinions on government spending may reveal seemingly color-blind racial biases that can distort how one interprets the relationship between police officers and citizens.

This research is founded in critical race theory (CRT), conflict theory, or more specifically group threat theory, and functionalism. Critical race theory offers an analytical perspective on U.S. institutions with a particular focus on race, law and power. CRT asserts that institutions and practices in the U.S. are deeply influenced by race and maintaining white supremacy. Conflict theory suggests that there are multiple groups in society competing for resources and power. Group threat furthers this by asserting that when dominant group members feel that subordinate groups threaten their power, the dominant group begins to demonstrate negative feelings towards the subordinate group. In this research, I assert that overt and covert acts of racism, such as oppressive police practices and lack of government support for the Black

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community, are used as methods and supported by dominant group members for the purposes of maintaining the dominant status of White people. Functionalism states that all aspects of society have a purpose that contribute to the successful functioning of it. If the function of the police in society is to protect and serve citizens, then the increasing instances of police misconduct puts the real function of the police department into question. Furthermore, if racial prejudice leads one to justify police misconduct, then not only is law enforcement dysfunctional but it is also supporting the maintenance of white supremacy.

Therefore, this research will address how views on the condition of the Black community effects opinions on when a police officer can strike a suspect. I hypothesize that those who believe the government is spending too much on assisting the Black community will be more likely to believe that a police officer hitting a citizen is justifiable under more conditions.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Critical Race Theory

Critical race theory (CRT) illuminates this research in that it presents a framework of interpreting society in the U.S. through a lens which proposes that “if racism is embedded in our thought processes and social structures... then the ‘ordinary business’ of society –the routines, practices, and institutions that we rely on to do the world’s work –will keep minorities in subordinate positions” (Delgado and Stefancic 2012: 27). This race critical view of society would thus suggest that the functioning of institutions like the police department is founded in practices that perpetuate racism and the oppression of people of color. CRT states that racism is so deeply ingrained in U.S. society that,

[W]hites help and bouy each other up... [yet] [w]hites do not see themselves as having race, but as being, simply, people. They do

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not believe that they think and reason from a white viewpoint, but from a universally valid one –‘the truth’ –what everyone knows. By the same token, many whites will strenuously deny that they [benefit] from white privilege... (Delgado and Stefancic 2012:88-90)

Therefore, White people in the U.S. benefit from and uphold white supremacy and racism, while also failing to acknowledge the mere fact that they have a race and that they receive certain privileges because of it. Furthermore, White people benefit from racism but are unable to recognize that it exists and that they hold implicit racist views that attempt to rationalize the maintenance of white supremacy. This validates my research method in that it upholds my assumption that to understand how racism works in the U.S. one must recognize that racism in modern U.S. society is colorblind because “contemporary racial inequality [is] the [outcome] of nonracial dynamics... [W]hites rationalize minorities’ contemporary status as the products of market dynamics, naturally occurring phenomena, and blacks’ imputed cultural limitations” (Bonilla-Silva 2014: 2). Recognizing this, my research seeks to affirm the notion that racism is no longer overt, but coded with racial sentiments that White people do not perceive as racist. This research attempts to explore this complex dynamic by trying to understand how one’s opinions on how much money the government should spend on the Black community affects opinions on police officers hitting citizens.

Group Threat Theory

Research on police misconduct furthers the notion that the function of societal institutions is based on racial differences but is rationalized with conflict theory. It has proposed that law enforcement seeks to attend to the interests of dominant groups, specifically upper class, White men. Thus, suggesting that attitudes towards the police are strongly affected by the intersection of one’s dominant identities and that those with higher social statuses are more likely to have

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more positive emotions towards police violence because that violence is meant to protect their dominant group interests (Arthur and Case 1994). Weitzer and Tuch (2004) further the claims Arthur and Case made and base their research on conflict theory's group-position thesis/group threat theory. They suggest that White people align themselves with the police and are less critical of police misconduct because of the perceived threat of people of color. Thus, racial resentment also influences opinions on police use of force. Despite notions that white racial resentment has lessened over time, there is evidence that it has remained consistent and significant since 1986 (Carter and Corra, 2016). Additionally, group threat theory rationalizes the relationship between support of government spending on the Black community and approval of police use of force; because not only will the dominant group attempt to further their own interests, they will express negative feelings towards and attempt to inhibit the interests of oppressed groups. When CRT is applied to group threat theory it suggests White people implicitly support practices (i.e. less government spending on communities of Color, support of police department and racist practices) that oppress people of color through the guise of color-blind ideologies in order to maintain white supremacy. When exploring the power dynamics between White and Black people and the police, it is necessary to understand whose interests are being protected or diminished. Based on CRT and group threat theory, I therefore hypothesize that those who believe the government is spending too much on the Black community will be more likely to approve of police officers striking adult male citizens under various circumstances, because both belief systems support white supremacy without directly acknowledging its existence.

LITERATURE REVIEW

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This research seeks to understand how opinions on government spending on the Black community affects approval of police officers striking citizens. To date, most research generally approaches this subject with a focus either on the effect of racialized government programs, such as welfare and affirmative action, on perceptions of crime and the police or on the effect of race on perceptions of police use of force. Research (Barkan and Cohn 2005; Matsueda and Drakulich 2009) has supported the notion that those who do not support racialized government spending tend to have more lenient views towards police use of force and favor harsher punishment. Furthermore, these results are related to the respondent's race and show that White respondents favor police use of force and have stronger punitive views. Additionally, various literature (Arthur and Case 1994; Halim and Stiles 2001; Johnson and Kuhns 2009; Thompson and Lee 2004) has found that White respondents who hold prejudiced views are more likely to support police use of force. Thus, I structure my research on the foundation of the combination of these viewpoints within past literature,

Spending, Police Misconduct and Perceptions of Crime

A lot of research has been completed on how race affects opinions on police misconduct and government spending, but research on the two topics together continues to grow. Matsueda and Drakulich (2009) have come closest to exploring these two topics together. Their analysis of data from the American National Election Studies revealed that their White respondents are less likely to perceive racial bias from the police and that this lack of perception is associated with symbolic racism, which they measure based on a lack of support for affirmative action, equal opportunity policy, and government action to promote these policies. And conversely, White respondents also demonstrate more support for the death penalty and increasing spending to reduce crime. Additionally, it has been found that White people who believed that African-

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Americans are prone to violence, favor spending more money to fight crime (Barkan and Cohn 2005; Matsueda and Drakulich 2009) and less money on welfare (Wilson and Nielsen 2011).

Other research (Thompson and Lee 2004) connecting opinions on government spending and police use of force has focused more on the effect of social attitudes on feelings towards police use of force. Social attitude describes political views, amount of confidence in social institutions (banks, Congress, education, medicine and the press) and attitudes on whether the government should assist the poor and improve the condition of Blacks. Political views and confidence in institutions had no significant effects on attitudes towards police use of force. However, as support for government spending on the poor and the Black community decreases, approval of police use of force increases.

The effect of crime on opinions about police misconduct has also been explored. Those who live in areas of high-crime are more likely to be critical of police misconduct, possibly because residents have a more antagonistic relationship with the police (Weitzer and Tuch 2004). However, violence directed towards police has also resulted in higher periods of police using racial bias to target people of color. This suggests that inter-racial interactions between police and citizens is not only affected by systemic racism but local events and tensions (Legewie 2016).

Race, Difference and Perceptions of Police Misconduct

Notions on difference also affect one's opinions on law enforcement. Those who hold prejudiced views of Black people or believe that Black people, poor people and criminals are different from their own group are more likely to justify police violence towards those groups (Arthur and Case 1994; Johnson and Kuhns 2009). However, despite the evidence that White people's views on police use of force and crime are affected by race, there is also evidence that White people tend

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to have strong, positive feelings towards punishment in general (Elicker 2008; Johnson 2001). Moreover, these positive feelings tend to be based in racial prejudice (Cohn, Barkan, and Halteman 1991; Unnever, Cullen and Jones 2008). Furthermore, research has even shown that police officers are more likely to use force when it appears that the citizen has a lower social status than they or “[was] not perceived as important,” namely those who are Black or Latinx or under the age of 30 (Alpert, Dunham and MacDonald 2004: 483). Thus, racial attitudes not only affect acceptance of police uses of force but also affect when police feel they should use force; which explains why communities of color (particularly Black and Latinx communities) tend to have greater rates of police misconduct and excessive use of force than White communities (Smith and Holmes 2014).

Researchers also operationalized conflict theory to find that people of color are not only more likely to disapprove of police use of force (Thompson and Lee 2004; Halim and Stiles 2001) but are also more likely to believe that the criminal justice system is unfair (Hagan and Albonetti 1982). Therefore, people of color tend to lack confidence in the ability of the police to treat people impartially (Weitzer and Tuch 1999). Furthermore, Black respondents are more likely to disapprove of force if they perceive racially biased action from the police officer and/or the citizen in question is also Black (Johnson and Kuhns 2009).

Without considering police misconduct, other research suggests that although that there has been a decline in overt practices of racial prejudice, White people continue to oppose social policies that tend to benefit communities of color (Quillian 1996). White people are more likely to hold unfavorable opinions about racialized social policies, such as welfare, because it does not support their group interests. Research has found that racial resentment is the main reason for lack of policy support. Meaning that White people believe these social policies are unnecessary

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because if people of color had the right morals or work ethic, they would not need these policies (Tuch and Hughes 2011). Thus, drawing from research and theory on both topics it appears that perceived differences between groups motivates positive feelings towards spending to fight crime and punish criminals and negative opinions about spending on social policies that are meant to promote equality. Moreover, those who favor less spending on social policies have more lenient opinions on police use of force.

METHODS

This research utilized secondary analysis in order to understand the effect opinions about government spending on the Black community has on feelings towards police use of force. I used survey data taken from the *General Social Survey (GSS)* collected by the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago.

Data Source, Population and Sample

The data used in this research was taken from the 2016 GSS (Smith, Marsden, Hout and Kim 2016). The data was collected through a multistage sampling of households. The survey was conducted on non-institutionalized individual over the age of 18 within the United States through face to face or telephone interviews. From their original sample size of 6,200 respondents, the response rate for the 2016 GSS was 61.3 percent. The GSS is divided into three ballots to ensure that random people are asked a variety of modules. The variables needed for this research were on ballots A and C, thus once all the missing data was deleted the sample size I worked with consisted of 704 respondents.

Measurements

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The independent variable measured in this research is opinions on government assistance to the Black community. In order to measure this, I work with a question on the GSS in which respondents were asked “are we [the United States] spending too much, too little, or about the right amount on assistance to blacks?” and were allowed to respond with either “too little”, “about right”, “too much”. Responses were coded one to three, respectively, thus the higher the score, the more respondents believe the government is spending too much on the Black community.

The dependent variable is opinions on when it is justifiable for a police officer to use force. To operationalize this, I worked with a series of questions on the GSS asking respondents when it is justifiable for a police officer to strike a citizen. Respondents were initially asked “Are there any situations you can imagine in which you would approve of a policeman striking an adult male citizen?” Regardless of their answer, respondents were asked several follow-up questions: “Had [the citizen] said vulgar things to the policeman?”, “Was [the citizen] being questioned as a suspect in a murder case?”, “Was [the citizen] attacking the policeman with his fists?”, and “Was [the citizen] attempting to escape from custody?” All questions had given responses of “yes”, “no”, “don’t know”, “no answer” or not applicable. I used all five questions to create an additive index to measure overall opinions on police uses of force. The variables were all recoded into dummy variables so that a “no” was zero and “yes” was one. The score reveals the exact number of situations in which the respondent approves of policemen striking an adult male citizen. Thus, the higher the score a respondent receives, the more situations the respondent believes a police officer can strike an adult male citizen.

After a review of past literature, it is clear that social identities affect one’s relationship with law enforcement. Thus, to isolate the effects of social identity the following variables were

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used as controls: age, race, total family income, sex, political views and years of education. Race was recoded so those who responded Black and other were zero and White respondents were one. Sex was also recoded so that female was zero and male was one. Income was initially coded by the GSS as an ordinal variable and was recoded into an interval variable by coding the median of the original intervals as the value for income. Political views is coded from one to seven, with possible responses ranging from extremely liberal to extremely conservative, thus the higher the score the more conservative views a respondent has. Years of education completed was coded so that the lowest possible response was zero, while the highest possible response was 20.

FINDINGS

I first assess the means and standard deviations of all of the dependent, independent and control variables. As seen in Table 1, the average number of instances respondents approved of a police officer striking an adult male was about three. Furthermore, the standard deviation for respondents was one. Figure 1 shows that most respondents, 49 percent, approved of a police officer striking an adult male under three different circumstances. Only 4 percent of respondents approved under all five given instances.

[Insert Table 1 about here]

[Insert Figure 1 about here]

The average opinion on government spending on the Black community for respondents was close to two, suggesting that most respondents thought the government is spending about the right amount on the Black community. Although, as seen in Figure 2, 42 percent of respondents believe the government is spending too little and 41 percent believe the government is spending about the right amount. While, about 16 percent of respondents felt the government was spending too much on the Black community.

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[Insert Figure 2 about here]

[Insert Figure 3 about here]

[Insert Figure 4 about here]

Additionally, the measures of central tendency of the control variables reveal that 57 percent of the sample is male and 74 percent of the sample is White, as can also be seen in Figures 3 and 4. The average amount of years of education a respondent completed was about 14. Furthermore, the standard deviation is two and the distribution in Figure 6 indicates that most respondents have either a high school diploma or some college education.

[Insert Figure 5 about here]

[Insert Figure 6 about here]

The average age of the same was close to 50, but the standard deviation was about 16. The average family income was \$64,703 but the standard deviation was \$47,388. Thus, there is a large representation of incomes in within the sample. Figure 8 demonstrates the distribution of liberal, moderate and conservative political views in the sample. The average respondent has moderate political views. However, as seen in Figure 8 about 32 percent of respondents were liberal, about 34 percent were moderate and another 34 percent were conservative.

[Insert Figure 7 about here]

[Insert Figure 8 about here]

Table 2 describes the results of correlations between all variables and many significant relationships are revealed. The relationship between respondent approval of a police officer striking an adult male citizen under more circumstances and believing that the government is spending too much on the Black community is significant at the .001 level and suggests a weak positive relationship between the two variables ($r = .179$). The relationships between the approval of police officer striking an adult male citizen and income, maleness, whiteness, and education are also significant at the .01 level and reveal weak, positive relationships. While the

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relationship between approval of police striking male citizens and political conservativeness is significant at the .05 level and reveals a very weak and positive relationship ($r = .078$). Table 2 also indicates that the relationships between believing the government is spending too much on the Black community and income, whiteness, education, age and political conservativeness are significant at the .01 level and are weak, positive relationships.

[Insert Table 2 about here]

To further assess the relationship between believing the government is spending too much on the Black community and approval of law enforcement striking an adult male citizen, multivariate regression was also conducted. The regression produced a statistically significant equation at the .01 level ($F(7,696) = 11.020$). Furthermore, 10 percent of the variation in the independent variables is explained by respondent approval of striking a police officer under different circumstances ($R^2 = .100$). As seen in Table 3, the model produced significant regression coefficients for opinions on spending on the Black community ($b = .204$; $p < .01$) and the control variables, sex ($b = .221$; $p < .01$), race ($b = .459$; $p < .01$) and education ($b = .048$; $p < .01$). For every one unit increase in opinions on government spending on the Black community, approval of police officers striking an adult male citizen increases by .204. Additionally, approval of striking a citizen increases by .459 for White respondents. Thus, those who believe the government is spending too much on the Black community, or are male, white or have a higher education will score higher on the use of force index and are more likely to approve of a police officer striking an adult male citizen under more circumstances.

[Insert Table 3 about here]

Table 3 also indicates that whiteness ($\beta = .187$; $p < .01$) is the strongest predictor for approval of an officer striking a citizen, followed by believing the government is spending too

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much on the Black community ($\beta = .125; p < .01$). The effect that race and opinions on government spending have on the model is consistent when compared to the results of the bivariate correlation ($r = .242; p < .01$ and $r = .179; p < .01$, respectively). Whiteness also had the strongest relationship with approval of police officers striking citizens in the bivariate correlation, once again followed by believing the government is spending too much on the Black community. Thus, suggesting that race is an intervening variable in the relationship between the independent and dependent variables. Alternatively, although income and political views had significant relationships with approval of police striking a citizen in the correlation, their regression coefficients were not significant. This change in significance may suggest that opinions on government spending on the Black community acts as a mediating variable between politically conservative views, income and approval of police use of force.

The results of the univariate, bivariate and regression analysis consistently support my hypothesis that those who believe the government is spending too much on the Black community will be more likely to approve of police officers striking an adult male citizen under more circumstances. However, the effect that race has across analyses suggest that it is a stronger predictor for approval of police action than opinions on government spending.

DISCUSSION

The hypothesis that those who believe that the government is spending too much on the Black community are more likely to approve of police officers striking an adult male citizen, is supported by the results. The bivariate and regression analysis provide results that are also consistent with the findings of past research (Thompson and Lee 2004). The regression and bivariate correlation produced significant relationships between opinions about government

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spending on the Black community and approval of police striking citizens. Furthermore, race had the strongest effect on the independent and dependent variables. Therefore, White respondents are not only more likely to approve of a police officer striking a citizen under more situations, but are also more likely to believe that the government is spending too much on the Black community. The effect of race on the independent and dependent variables suggest that it is appropriate to interpret them both as indicators of color blind ideologies.

According to CRT, believing that the government is spending too much on the Black community suggests that those respondents believe that we are in a post-racial society, so there is no need to support the Black community. Thus the finding that those who believe the government is spending too much on the Black community are more likely to approve of police use of force suggest that White respondents would not explicitly associate the citizen in question with Blackness or acknowledge the tension between law enforcement and Black people. Despite the evidence that race clearly effects their response. This is exemplified by the consistent effect of race in the analysis. These findings are comply with CRT's interpretation of how color blind racism manifests in the U.S.; it is persistent and deep-rooted, but rarely openly acknowledged. These results also support the theoretical assertion that white people support policies that maintain the oppression of people of color. It is my hope that these findings further vindicate the assertion that racism is still present in the U.S. Although, instances of overt racism still persist, it has also taken on the insidious form of thinly veiled racialized language that perpetuates white supremacy and the oppression of people of color.

CONCLUSION

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Using a sample of 704 respondents from the 2016 GSS, I was able to determine the effect opinions about government spending on the Black community has on approval of police officers striking an adult male citizen, while controlling for race, education, sex, total family income, political views and age. The bivariate correlations demonstrate that opinions on government spending has a significant, weak relationship with approval of police use of force ($r = .179$; $p < .001$). The regression analysis is also consistent with the bivariate findings that there is a relationship between the independent and dependent variable ($b = .204$; $p < .01$). The results also indicate that race has the strongest effect on not only approval of police use of force but also on opinions on government spending to assist the Black community.

These results also present general support for CRT and group threat theory. Because both theories suggest that White people support policies that maintain white supremacy and the oppression of people of color. CRT would assert that failing to support government spending to assist the Black community and approving of police use of force on adult males are appropriate measures of color-blind racism because they assume that instances of racism and inequality are caused because of the cultural grievances of Black people as opposed to historical oppression. Approval of police use of force is not as overt of an indicator as support of government spending on the Black community. Although, because of the historical tension between the Black community and the police, complied with the common stereotypical depiction of people of color in the media as criminals, the racial overtones of supporting police use of force are paradoxically explicit. The persistent effect that race had despite it being a control further supports CRT's assertion that race and racism is deeply embedded in our worldviews.

The implications of this study and its support of CRT and group threat theory provide further evidence for the ubiquity of white supremacy within U.S. society and its institutions.

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Thus, dismantling white supremacy does not only involve ending hateful speech and actions but also changing the way various institutions work to uphold white supremacy and acknowledging the implicit ways in which people continue to hold racist views.

Limitations and Future Research

Although the findings produced significant results, one of the major limitations of this study was the sample size. If the sample size had been larger than 1,000 it is possible the significance of the relationships between the independent and dependent variables would have been greater. It is also possible that controlling for crime or feeling of safety in one's neighborhood could have further illuminated the results. As seen in past research, one's relationship with crime affects one's relationship with the police. Controlling for more explicit views on the Black community, such as, viewing the Black community as different from one's own or having negative stereotypes about Black community could also improve this research. Controlling for more overtly negative opinions on the Black community would have further elucidated the effect of racial prejudice on the independent and dependent variables. Because crime or other opinions on the Black community could not be controlled in this research without compromising the sample size, a possibility for future research would be one in which these controls are added.

This research was also limited by the phrasing of the GSS question that was used to operationalize the independent variable. Opinions on government spending on the Black community was operationalized by the question, "Are we spending too much, too little or about the right amount on assistance to blacks?" The manner in which this question refers to the Black community suggests negative sentiments towards Black people. The usage of "blacks" to refer to Black community offers no reference to the humanity of Black people and continues the othering of Black people, thus leading respondents towards more racist responses.

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In the future, this research could also take a more qualitative approach. Using non-leading, in depth interview questions will allow for a better understanding of the nuances and thought processes behind color-blind racism and implicit racism. If this research were to maintain its quantitative approach, future data analysis could be conducted on a sample that is divided by race.

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STRIKE MORE, SPEND LESS?

Table 1. The means, medians and standard deviations of all dependent, independent and control variables.

	Mean	Median	SD
Striking Citizen Index	2.54	3.00	1.075
Spending on Black Comm.	1.74	2.00	0.726
Age	49.81	50.00	16.444
Male	0.57	1.00	0.495
Education	13.84	14.00	2.801
Family Income	64,703.48	55,000.00	47,388.298
White	0.74	1.00	0.439
Political Views	4.01	4.00	1.505

N = 704

STRIKE MORE, SPEND LESS?

Table 2. Correlations (r) between approval of a police officer striking an adult male citizens and all other variables (listwise deletions, two-tailed test, $n = 704$)

Variable	Too Much Spending on Black Comm.	Income	Male	White	Education	Age	Conservative
Striking Citizen Index	.179**	.124**	.120**	.242**	.123**	.038	.078*
Too Much Spending on Black Comm.		.098**	.051	.223**	-.108**	.143**	.315**
Income			.170**	.215**	.385**	.004	.019
Male				.092*	-.065	-.009	.029
White					.112**	.188**	.090*
Education						-.023	-.119**
Age							.138**

** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$

STRIKE MORE, SPEND LESS?

Table 3. Regression of approval of police officer hitting an adult male citizen on all variables.

Variable	<i>b</i>	β
Spending on Black Comm.	.204**	.138
Family Income	1.03E-07	.005
Male	.221**	.102
White	.459**	.187
Education	.048**	.125
Age	-.001	-.017
Conservative	.023	.032
Constant	1.090	

$R^2 = .100$; $F(7,696) = 11.020$; $p < .01$

** $p < .01$

STRIKE MORE, SPEND LESS?

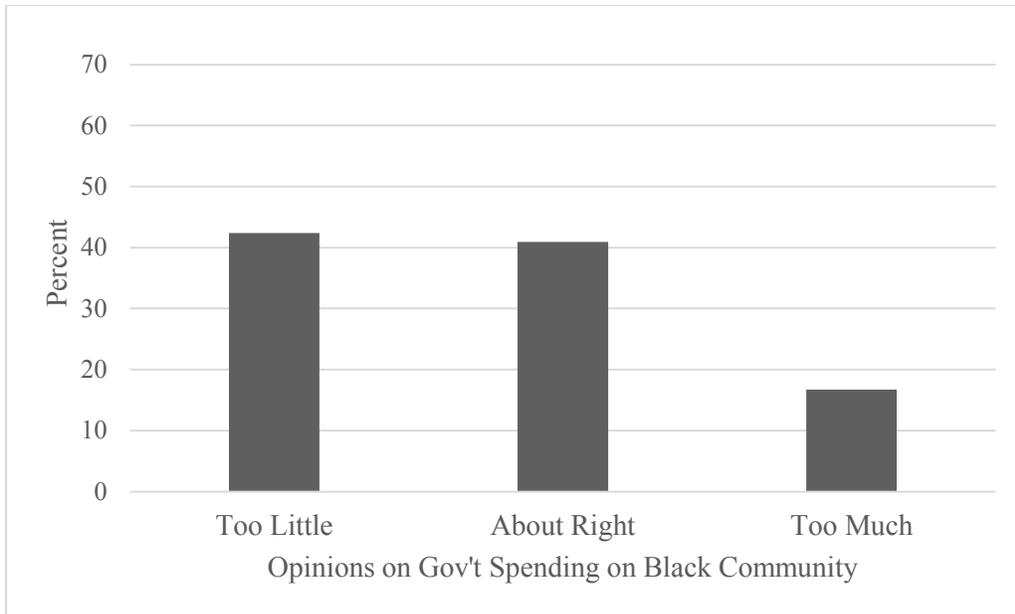


Figure 1. Opinions on whether or not the U.S. government is spending too little, just right or too much on the Black community

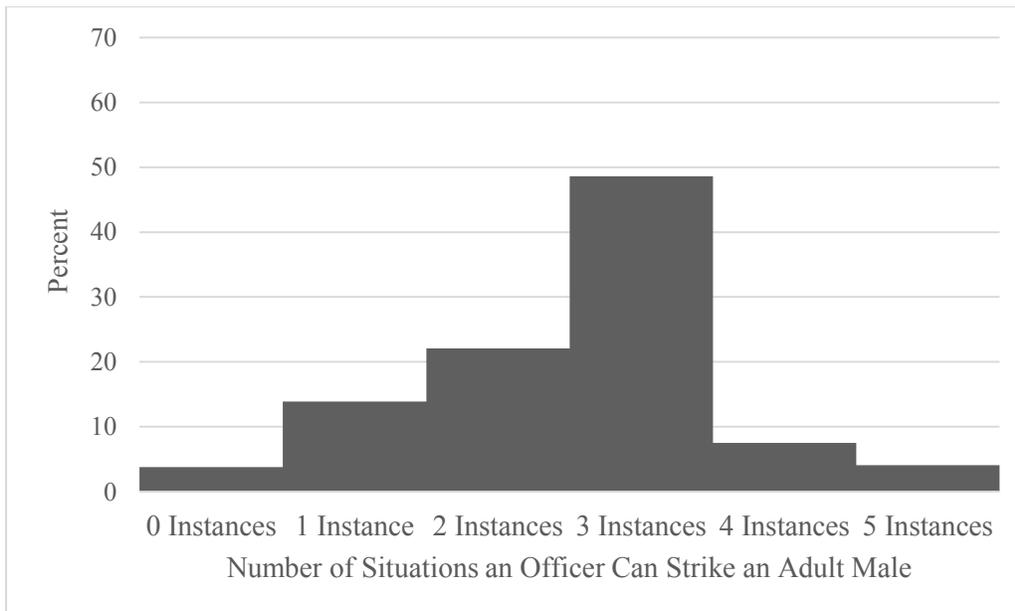


Figure 2. Number of instances in which respondents approved of a police officer striking an adult male citizen

STRIKE MORE, SPEND LESS?

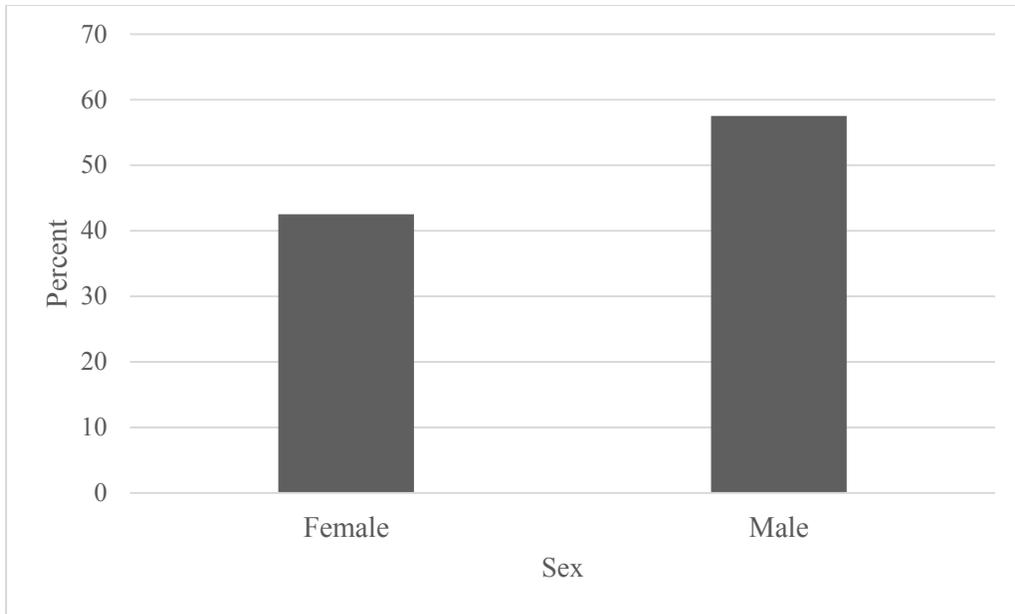


Figure 3. Percentage of male and female respondents

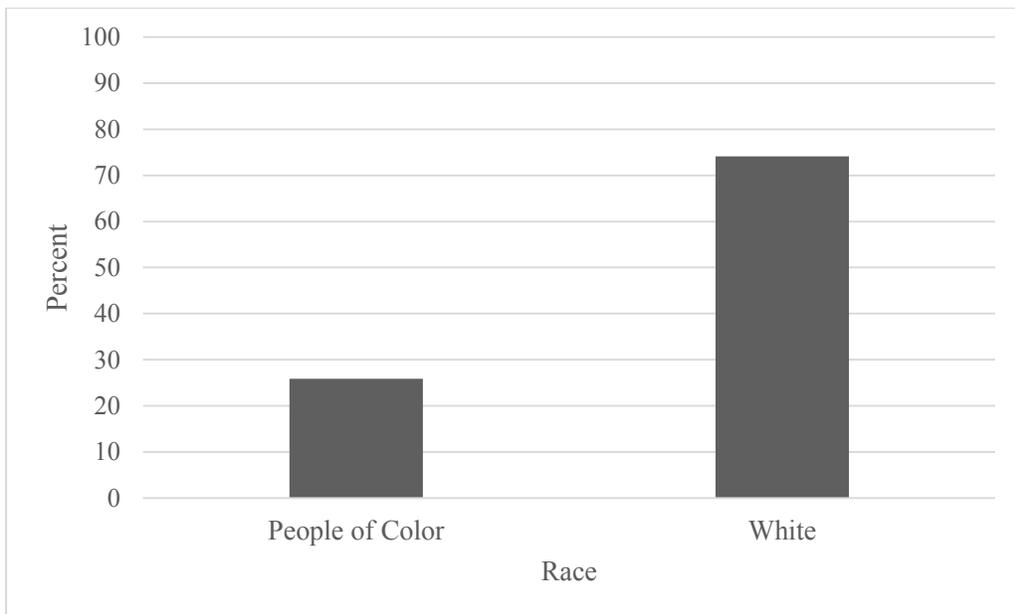


Figure 4. Percentage of Black/non-white and white respondents.

STRIKE MORE, SPEND LESS?

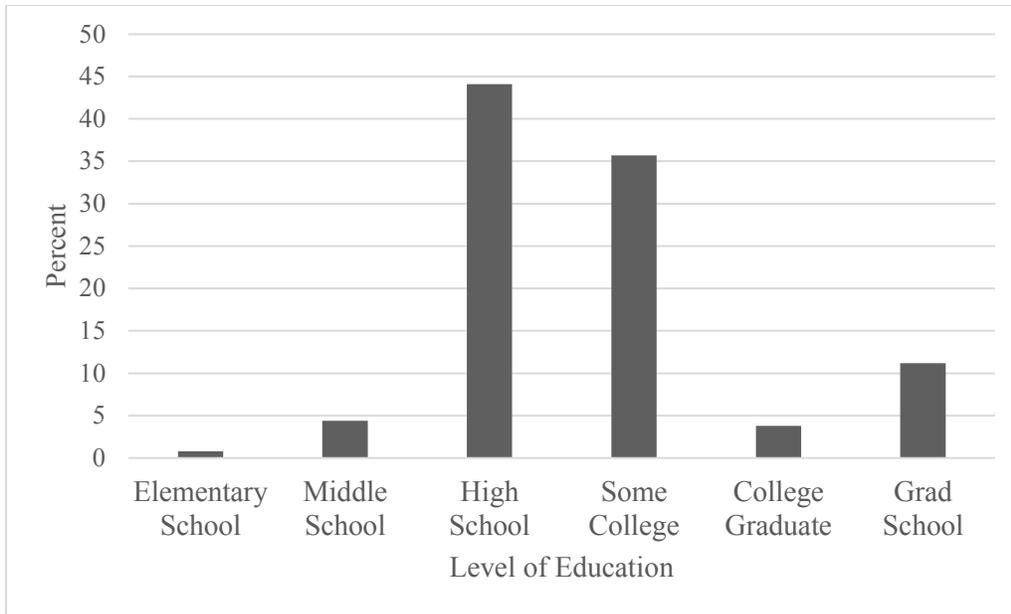


Figure 5. Amount of education respondents received in years.

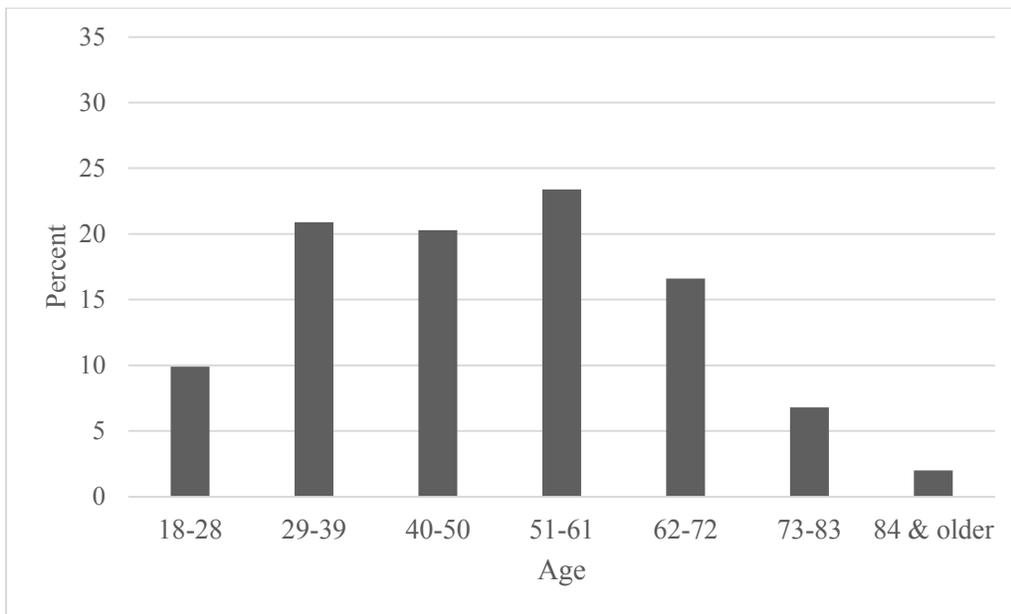


Figure 6. Age of respondents

STRIKE MORE, SPEND LESS?

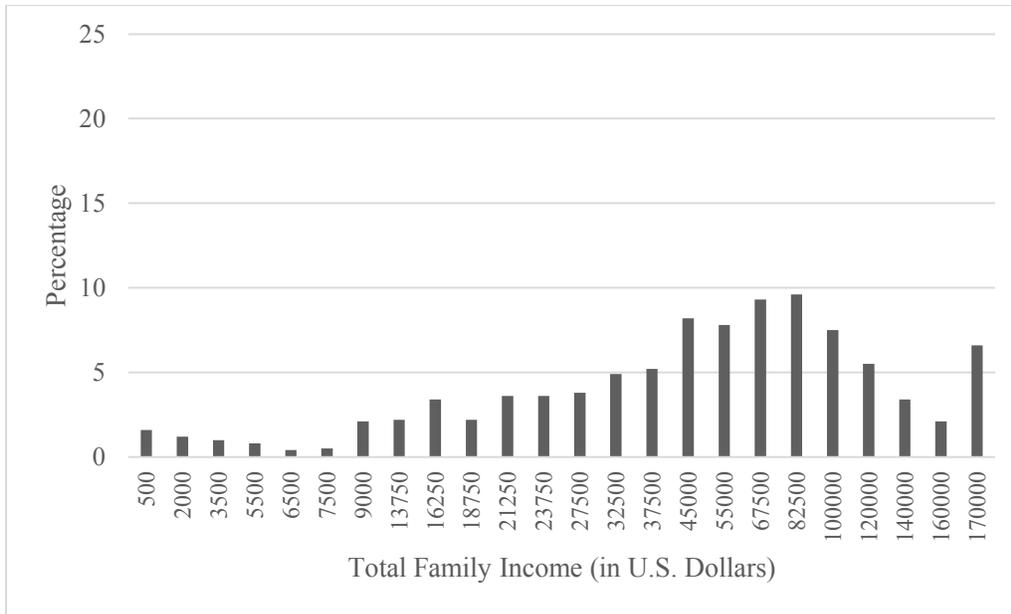


Figure 7. Total family income of respondents

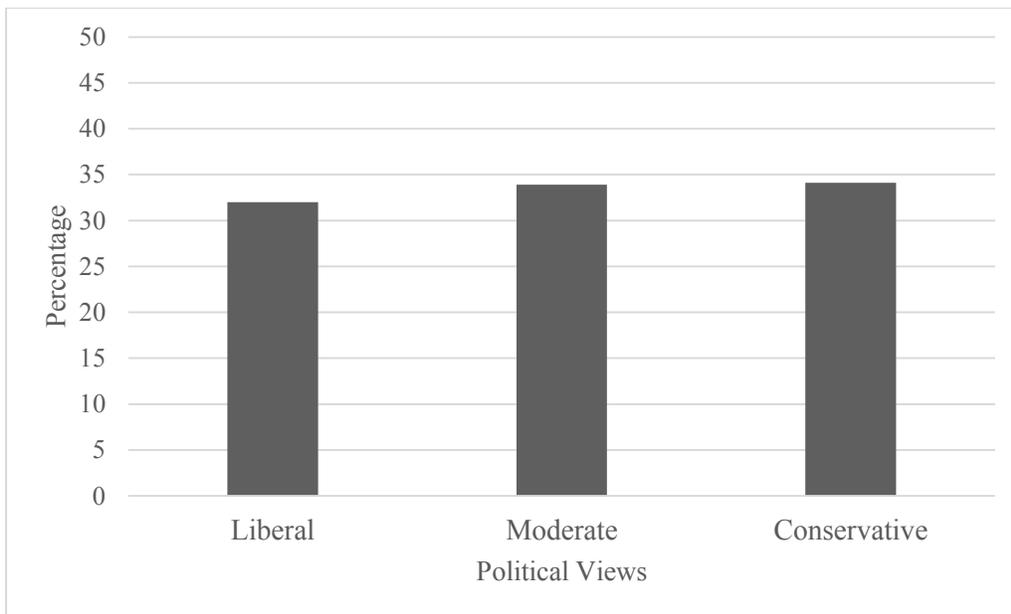


Figure 8. Political views of respondents