

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

POLICING AS TRAUMA

There is a growing body of literature that considers the effects of policing on the mental and physical health of people of color. The following articles examine the traumatic impact of policing on people of color. The articles and studies are selected to expand our knowledge of the trauma associated with the disproportionate, unnecessary, and aggressive policing in communities of color, and to educate defenders, researchers, and policymakers who seek to dismantle or reform the systems that exacerbate physical and mental health inequities. For purposes of this bibliography, trauma is any deeply distressing or disturbing experience that can be caused by a physical injury or a psychological stressor. The article summaries are drawn from the articles cited.

These articles are cited in reverse chronological order. Please find the most recent articles at the beginning of each section.

I. Impact of Policing on Adolescent Health and Identity

Geoffrey Carney-Knisely et al., *Police Killings of Unarmed Black Persons and Suicides Among Black Youth in the US: A National Time-Series Analysis*, 94 *Annals Epidemiology* 91 (2024).

Dylan B. Jackson et al., *Cumulative Police Exposures, Police Violence Stress, and Depressive Symptoms: A Focus on Black LGBTQ Youth in Baltimore City, Maryland*, 101 *J. Urb. Health* 544 (2024).

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I. IMPACT OF POLICING ON ADOLESCENT HEALTH & IDENTITY

Geoffrey Carney-Knisely et al., *Police Killings of Unarmed Black Persons and Suicides Among Black Youth in the US: A National Time-Series Analysis*, 94 Annals Epidemiology 91 (2024).

Purpose

- To determine whether there is an increase in Black youth suicides following police killings of unarmed Black people.

Methodology

- This study analyzed youth suicides and police killings of Black people from 2013 to 2019. Researchers used data from the CDC and Mapping Police Violence.
- A total of 39,696 suicides occurred among Black and White youth (age < 25 years, male and female) during the study period. Black youth accounted for 12.7%.
- The researchers looked at the monthly counts of police killings of Black people during the study period, as well as a subset of highly public murders, to examine whether youth suicides were more likely to occur in the period following these murders.
- They examined the rate of suicide 0-3 months following police killings of Black people to estimate a correlation. They chose this time period based on prior research showing the development of PTSD, anxiety, and depressive symptoms. The researchers accounted for any factors that would show a false correlation.

Results

- Throughout the three-year study period, approximately 5% of all Black youth suicides across the country can be attributed to exposure to reports of police killings of unarmed Black people. The majority of suicides were among Black male youth.
 - The increase in suicides is almost double for highly publicized incidents of anti-Black violence and murders compared to those incidents that were less publicized.
 - This study strengthens evidence that police killings of unarmed Black Americans exert a population-level adverse effect on the mental health of Black people, which increases suicide risk factors for Black Americans.
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Dylan B. Jackson et al., *Cumulative Police Exposures, Police Violence Stress, and Depressive Symptoms: A Focus on Black Q Youth in Baltimore City, Maryland*, 101 J. Urb. Health 544 (2024).

Purpose

- To investigate the association between cumulative police exposures, stress caused by police violence, and depressive symptoms among Black youth, and how the associations are impacted by LGBTQ identity.

Methodology

- Researchers analyzed data from 345 Black youth ages 12-21 in Baltimore, MD, from a cross-sectional survey called the Survey of Police-Adolescent Contact Experiences (SPACE). Youth were recruited from the community to participate in the study with the assistance of 12 youth-serving organizations in Baltimore. Data was collected from August 2022 to July 2023.
- Answers to the survey were analyzed to examine associations between cumulative police exposures, stress caused by police violence, and depressive symptoms.
- Depressive symptoms were measured using a widely used Center for Epidemiologic Studies 10-item scale. The scale asks how often (rarely/never to most/all of the time) the individual has felt a certain way in the past week. Example statements include: “I was bothered by things that usually don’t bother me” and “I had trouble keeping my mind on what I was doing.” Researchers used these answers to give each youth a “depressive symptoms score.”
- Cumulative police exposures were assessed by asking the youth six questions about how they have been exposed to police or police stops, directly or vicariously. Researchers used these answers to give each youth a “cumulative police exposure score.”
- Stress caused by police violence, called a “police violence stress score,” was captured by asking the individuals how (1) concerned, (2) worried, and (3) stressed they were about police brutality or unfair treatment of members in their community by law enforcement. Response options included “not at all (0)” to “extremely (4)”.
- Youth were categorized as heterosexual, lesbian, gay, bisexual, or queer from a question in the demographics section of the survey asking, “What best describes your sexual orientation?”

Results

- Youth who had higher cumulative police exposures were more likely to report stress caused by police.
- Cumulative police exposure was higher among bisexual and queer youth relative to lesbian or gay youth, although LGBTQ youth generally did not have a higher exposure than heterosexual youth.
- LGBTQ youth had higher police violence stress scores than heterosexual youth. Bisexual and queer youth reported the highest stress caused by police violence.
- LGBTQ youth who experienced more cumulative police exposures were more likely to have higher depressive symptoms scores than heterosexual youth with similar police exposure scores.

- Girls and older youth with higher cumulative police exposures were more likely to also have higher depressive symptoms scores. Girls with greater police violence stress scores were more likely to have greater depressive symptoms scores.
- Black LGBTQ youth reported higher police violence stress scores and depressive symptoms scores compared to heterosexual Black youth.
- Cumulative police exposure and police violence stress compounded to worsen depressive symptoms among LGBTQ youth.

Dylan B. Jackson et al., *Officer Gunpoint During Police Stops: Repercussions for Youth Mental Health and Perceived Safety*, J. Rsch. on Adolescence 1 (2024).

Purpose

- To investigate the intersection of “officer gunpoint” (defined as officers drawing firearms and pointing them at youth, their peers, or other community members), mental health, and perceived safety among Black youth.

Methodology

- Researchers analyzed data from 345 Black youth ages 12-21 in Baltimore, MD, from the Survey of Police-Adolescent Contact Experiences (SPACE). Data was collected from August 2022 to July 2023 and included youth recruited with the assistance of 12 youth-serving organizations in Baltimore.
- Researchers defined “officer gunpoint exposure” as an officer drawing firearms and pointing them at youth, their peers, or other community members. Researchers did not gather data on the exact number of incidents youth experienced, but they did distinguish between youth who had experienced officer gunpoint exposure in one context from those who had experienced it in multiple contexts. Researchers assigned a value of 1 to youth who reported officer gunpoint exposure in any one of the three contexts. Researchers assigned a value of 2 if the youth reported officer gunpoint exposure in multiple stop contexts (e.g., at them directly and one they witnessed). Researchers assigned a value of 0 if the youth reported no experiences of officer gunpoint exposure in any context.
- Four dependent variables were included in the study: emotional distress during stops (questions asking youth about their feelings—safe, scared, angry, sad—during police stops); police violence stress (questions asking youth about their feelings of fear or worry of police mistreatment); police avoidance (questions that assess young people’s efforts to avoid attention from police by changing their dress, where they walk, how they speak, etc.); and perceived safety (questions about how safe/secure the youth feels at home, school, and neighborhood).

Results

- 33.16% of youth reporting in-person police stops were exposed to officer gunpoint during stops.
- Youth who had ever experienced officer gunpoint reported a significantly higher rate of emotional distress during stops. Any exposure to officer gunpoint was associated with a 105% higher rate of emotional distress during stops. Officer gunpoint in multiple stop contexts (i.e. at them directly and one they witnessed) was associated with a rate of

emotional distress that was 188% greater than when stops had no officer gunpoint exposure.

- Youth who reported officer gunpoint exposure were more likely to report police avoidance, police violence stress, and lower perceived safety.

Dylan B. Jackson et al., *Sleep Problems Among Black Youth Exposed to Police Violence on Digital Media*, 270 J. Pediatrics 114036 (2024).

Purpose

- To examine how exposure to police violence through digital media shapes the sleep health of Black youth.

Methodology

- Researchers analyzed data from 345 Black youth ages 12-21 in Baltimore, MD, from the Survey of Police-Adolescent Contact Experiences (SPACE). Data was collected from August 2022 to July 2023 and included youth recruited with the assistance of 12 youth-serving organizations in Baltimore.
- Researchers measured “sleep deprivation,” assigning youth to one of two categories:
 - moderate sleep deprivation (defined as 6 hours of sleep most nights) and
 - severe sleep deprivation (defined as less than or equal to 5 hours of sleep most nights).
- They also measured “sleep disturbance” by asking, “How many nights out of 7 in a typical week do you have problems falling asleep and staying asleep?”
- Researchers also asked questions about young people’s exposure to police violence in the media:
 - 1) “In a typical week, on how many days do you look at news stories involving police misconduct towards racial minorities on social media?” Researchers categorized answers into two categories: daily or fewer.
 - 2) “Through digital media (such as online, texts, or social media), I have seen videos of police encounters where officers acted violently toward people in the community” Youth were asked to respond “yes” or “no.”
 - If a young person answered “yes,” researchers asked whether the person died in any of the videos.
- Researchers also asked questions to assess whether exposure to police violence videos caused emotional distress (asking whether, after exposure, youth felt sad, angry, fearful, etc.), direct police violence anticipatory stress (asking whether youth worry about police brutality happening to them), and vicarious police violence anticipatory stress (asking whether youth worry about police brutality happening to the people close to them).

Results

- Nearly 1/3 of youth had trouble falling asleep or staying asleep most nights. 38% reported either moderate or severe sleep deprivation.
- 36% of youth reported daily consumption of police violence news. 24% reported viewing nonfatal police violence videos only. 44% reported having viewed fatal police violence videos.

- Viewing fatal police violence videos was associated with significant increases in the odds of youth sleep disturbances. 30% of the association was attributable to emotional distress after viewing the videos.

Shoshana Oppenheim et al., *Police Violence Exposure and Traumatic Stress Among Youth: A Systematic Review*, Trauma, Violence and Abuse 1 (2024).

Purpose

- To examine the link between police violence and youth traumatic stress and to investigate the different experiences of youth at the intersection of age, ethnicity, race, and gender identity.

Methodology

- Researchers conducted a systematic review of 13 quantitative, 13 qualitative, and 1 mixed method study to examine exposure to police violence as an adverse childhood experience impacting traumatic stress in youth. Studies were all original, peer-reviewed research conducted in the U.S. and included participants ages 12 to 25.
- When defining police violence, researchers included verbal interactions containing harassment, threats of violence, and use of racial slurs, along with intrusive behaviors, such as frisking, and physical actions, such as use of force.
- The review explored three forms of police violence exposure: (1) direct—in which youth are personally subjected to police violence, (2) vicarious—in which youth witness violence in person, via social networks, or through media, and (3) anticipated—in which youth fear or expect personal or vicarious encounters with police. All three exposures are linked to mental health problems such as anxiety and depression, and symptoms such as anger and aggression.

Results

- 26 out of 27 examined studies found evidence of a relationship between police violence exposure and traumatic stress in youth. 12 of 13 quantitative studies found a significant relationship.
- Black and Latino youth are more likely than White youth to experience traumatic stress following police violence exposure.
- Use of racial slurs, harsh language, and threatening physical force is linked to higher levels of traumatic stress during direct exposure to police violence.
- Among youth who had direct exposure, youth who experienced exclusionary discipline in school predicted a greater likelihood they would experience police violence, which in turn predicted a greater likelihood they would experience traumatic stress.
- Youth reported feeling unsafe in their neighborhoods due to police presence, which added to a general theme of hypervigilance across several studies.
- Transgender and gender-diverse Black youth are at high risk for traumatic stress related to police violence. Transgender youth reported being particularly sensitive to how their gender expression puts them at greater risk for police violence.

Samah Osman et al., *“Dual Pandemics”: Intersecting Influences of Anti-Black Racism and the COVID-19 Pandemic on the Mental Health of Black Youth*, Can. J. Nursing Rsch. 1 (2024).

Purpose

- To understand the intersecting impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic, anti-Black racism in the form of police violence, and the subsequent Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement on the mental health of Black youth.

Methodology

- In addition to six research assistants with varying academic and social backgrounds who facilitated the project, 14 Black youth were hired to form a Black youth advisory committee. The study was approached through a youth lens in which youth were seen as experts and contributing partners to the study, helping with planning, data collection, and analysis reflecting youth’s perspectives and lived experiences.
- Researchers conducted approximately 60-minute semi-structured interviews with 48 Black youth in Canada ages 16 to 30 via Zoom. Interview questions discussed participants’ experiences and perceptions of anti-Black racism and police brutality, the BLM movement, and COVID-19 on mental health. The study drew on an intersectionality theory, exploring multiple forms of social oppression at systemic, interpersonal, and individual levels. Researchers used thematic analysis (a method for identifying, analyzing, and reporting patterns) to highlight and define recurring themes in the interview data.

Results

- The “dual pandemics” of COVID-19 alongside highly publicized incidents of racism negatively impacted participants’ mental health. Four themes emerged: (1) ongoing exposure to acts of anti-Black racism, (2) the compounding effect of racism on mental health, (3) high-stress levels and fear, and (4) anger and emotional fatigue from lack of shared, long-term solutions.
- The intersection of the anti-Black racism and COVID-19 pandemics made youth more vulnerable to poor mental health outcomes. Participants experienced trauma as well as heightened stress and anxiety.
- Due to increased racial profiling and criminalization during the pandemic, Black youth were hesitant to be seen outdoors during the pandemic (limiting their opportunity to engage in health-promoting behaviors, such as exercising) and experienced greater anxiety and isolation.
- Youth spoke about the effect of continual exposure to police violence via video, images, and commentary in media and online spaces. Coupled with the sharp increase in social media use amongst youth during the pandemic, Black youth were more likely to be exposed to racism and acts of violence against other individuals with a shared identity.
- Youth also spoke about navigating the public response to BLM. Black youth felt frustrated and disillusioned by non-Black racial groups’ minimal engagement in BLM, which came off as performative. Findings suggest that such misdirected, short-lived, or tokenistic responses, however well-intentioned, can serve to exacerbate the mental load that Black individuals carry as they balance both experiences of inequality and their expectations for meaningful change.

Michael Gearhart et al., *Police Behaviors and Procedural Justice: Testing Predictors of Police-Initiated Post-Traumatic Stress Symptoms*, 144 Children and Youth Services Review 106740 (2023).

Purpose

- To study post-traumatic stress symptoms within the context of police-youth relationships.
- To assess the relationship between procedural justice behaviors and police-initiated post-traumatic stress symptomatology (PI-PTSS).

Methodology

- This study utilized data from an ethnically and racially diverse cohort of children from 20 cities across the United States. The study analyzed data from 814 youth who were stopped by police at least once. The majority (58.2%) of youth are Black, followed by Hispanic/Other (28%).
- Researchers measured PI-PTSS by asking youth whether they experienced the following post-traumatic stress symptoms following a police stop: 1) remembering experiences [with the police] that bring back feelings of being stopped, 2) other life events causing youth to think about experiences with the police, 3) thinking about having been stopped even when unintended, 4) pictures of the incident sometimes being recalled, 5) trying not to remember and think about this incident, 6) experiencing emotional numbing about the incident, 7) trying to forget the time they were stopped, 8) trying not to talk about the time they were stopped, and 9) reminders of the time they were stopped causing physical reactions.
- Researchers assessed police use of procedural justice behaviors by asking youth: (1) did officers clearly explain why they stopped you, (2) did officers treat you with dignity and courtesy, (3) how often did the police respect your rights.
- Researchers asked youth if police had ever used a racial slur, frisked them, searched them, used harsh language, threatened physical force, used physical force, or handcuffed them during in a police stop. Researchers call these “police stop characteristics.”
- Researchers also asked youth to report the age they were first stopped by police and the number of times they had been stopped (once, twice, or three or more times).

Results

- Most youth reported at least one post-traumatic stress symptom. Researchers note that post-traumatic stress has a significant, negative impact on the mental and physical health of individuals, and that these effects are stronger if individuals are exposed to trauma more frequently.
- All of the police stop characteristics (frisks, searches, threatening force, etc.) were associated with elevated levels of PI-PTSS. However, researchers found that when procedural justice behaviors were not included in the analysis, only verbal characteristics (using racial slurs or harsh language and threatening force) lead to statistically significant PI-PTSS. The verbal characteristics led to greater PI-PTSS than frisks, searches, or handcuffs. These findings suggest that police use of threatening language is a particularly important stressor for youth.

- Youth living in households just below or just above the poverty line were more likely to experience PI-PTSS.
- Youth who were first stopped between the ages of 15 and 18 reported more PI-PTSS compared to youth who were first stopped between the ages of 13 and 14.
- Procedural justice behaviors were associated with lower levels of PI-PTSS. Researchers warn that procedural justice alone may not be enough to fully protect youth from PI-PTSS, especially for youth living in poverty.

Antoinette Kavanaugh et al., *Taking the Next Step in Miranda Evaluations: Considering Racial Trauma and the Impact of Prior Police Contact*, 47 Law and Human Behavior 249–259 (2023).

- Defenders should read this article to better understand how they can utilize forensic experts in their advocacy for Black youth.
- Focusing on the issue of racial trauma and prior police contacts, this article provides guidance on how forensic clinicians can collect data that meaningfully reflects the lived experiences of the people being evaluated while providing courts with valuable information to answer the legal questions at hand.
- Using *Miranda* evaluations as an illustration, this article describes how the critical, yet often overlooked, concepts of racial trauma and vicarious and direct prior police contacts should routinely be considered as part of forensic evaluations. Racial trauma is characterized by repeated exposure to real or perceived threats related to racial discrimination. It develops, in part, because of traumatic encounters that include threats of harm or injury, humiliation and shaming, or witnessing and hearing about harm to people of color. Forensic psychologists often work in settings in which people of color have experienced racial discrimination and racial trauma. Forensic evaluators must recognize that racial trauma can provide critical information in the context of *Miranda* waiver evaluations.
- Cognitive impairments may develop because of racial trauma. These can include difficulty concentrating, processing and retaining information, and communicating with others. This can call into question an individual's ability to fully understand and appreciate their *Miranda* rights (presented either verbally or in written format), as well as their ability to concentrate on and reason through the potential consequences of enacting a waiver.
- Youth of color may be impaired in their ability to assert their rights during custodial interrogation as a result of experiences with racial trauma. They can become silent and acquiesce to authorities—such as parents or police officers—and may engage in self-regulatory behaviors (e.g., hypervigilance or nonverbal behavioral cues, including tapping, fidgeting, and lack of eye contact) aimed at reducing anxiety. The use of self-regulatory behaviors leads to cognitive fatigue and subsequently compromises an individual's ability to resist the pressure to waive their rights. For more information, read the studies cited by the authors of this article: Cynthia Najdowski, Bette Bottoms and Phillip Atiba Goff, *Stereotype Threat and Racial Differences in Citizens' Experiences of Police Encounters*, 39:5 J. Law & Hum. Beha. 463-477 (2015) and Cynthia Najdowski, *Stereotype Threat in Criminal Interrogations: Why Innocent Black Suspects are at Risk for Confessing False*, 17 J. Psycho., Pub. Policy, and Law, 562–591(2011).

- Evaluators should expand each portion of their interview (psychosocial history and information related to *Miranda*) to explore whether and how racial trauma and vicarious and direct prior police contact impacted the individual's psychological well-being and influenced the decision-making process that resulted in the waiver.
- When collecting a psychosocial history, evaluators should ask about the individual's racial identity and experiences of racism and oppression, including questions that assess racial trauma. Moreover, the evaluator should do more than ask the individual how many times they have heard their *Miranda* rights or how many times they have been arrested. Instead, the evaluator should spend time exploring the number and type of the previous contacts and their impact, as well as the individual's perspective.
- Evaluators should also inquire as to what the individual has been exposed to via media sources (e.g., witnessing police brutality on the news) and should spend time exploring how these experiences impacted the individual. This should result in a better understanding of how these experiences shaped the individual's knowledge of the legal system and what the police actually do as opposed to what, from a purely legal perspective, they are or are not supposed to do.

Michael J. McFarland et al., *Racial Slurs by Police and Posttraumatic Stress Symptoms: Intrusive Policing and Perceived Injustice*, 100 J. Urban Health 904 (2023).

Purpose

- To examine the link between police use of racial slurs and negative health outcomes, highlighting how policing that does not result in physical force or arrest can still cause harm.

Methodology

- Researchers analyzed data from the Future of Families and Child Wellbeing Study, which followed a cohort of children and their families born in 20 large American cities between 1998 and 2000 over the first 15 years of the children's lives.
- Of the 785 youth in the current sample, 70% were male, 65% Black, 24% Hispanic, 8% multiracial and 3% another race.
- All youth in the cohort have had experience with police interactions.
- Researchers asked youth a series of questions relating to their experiences with police stops in order to create a measure of their post-traumatic stress symptoms.
 - Children were asked whether they agreed or disagreed with the following statements: (1) remembering the experience brings back feelings about having been stopped; (2) other life events cause you to think about this experience with police; (3) you think about having been stopped even when you do not mean to; (4) pictures of this incident sometimes pop into your mind; (5) reminders of the time you were stopped cause you to have physical reactions such as sweating, trouble breathing, nausea or pounding heart; (6) you try not to remember and think about this incident; (7) your feelings about this incident are kind of numb; (8) you try to remove the time you were stopped from your memory; (9) you try not to talk about the time you were stopped.

- Additionally, the children were asked about the behavior of the police during the stops, including whether police had used a racial slur, threatened to use physical force, or used other harsh language.

Results

- 9% of all minority youth heard a racial slur used by a police officer during the stop.
- 27% of youth were handcuffed; 13% experienced police use of force; 15% of youth were threatened with physical force; and 23% of youth experienced officers using harsh language.
- Youth who heard racial slurs during their police stops experienced higher levels of post-traumatic stress symptoms than those stopped by police who were not subjected to racial slurs.
- Researchers found that racial slurs, not the use of harsh language generally, contributed to post traumatic stress symptoms. This indicates there is a fundamental difference between the way racial slurs are experienced and other types of harsh language.
- The effects of racial slurs on post-traumatic stress symptoms were only comparable to the use of threatening force.
- Racial slurs typically occurred along with other intrusive police behaviors, which puts youth at heightened risk to experience post-traumatic stress.

Kevin Peterson et al., *Police Stops to Reduce Crime: A Systematic Review and Meta-Analysis*, 19 (1) Campbell Systematic Reviews e1302 (March 2023).

Purpose

- To provide a systematic review/meta-analysis on the effects of police stops on crime and individual mental and physical health.

Methodology

- Researchers chose 40 separate studies, 33 of which were conducted in the USA and seven were conducted in Europe.
- All studies included a treatment group that encountered a police stop and a separate comparison group that did not encounter a stop.
- The metanalysis measured crime and disorder, incidents of violence, officer misbehavior, fear of crime, attitudes toward police, and mental and physical health issues.

Results

- Although pedestrian stop interventions were associated with a 13% reduction in crime for the areas where police stops occurred, they were also associated with a broad range of negative impacts on individuals.
- Individuals stopped by police were 46% more likely to later experience a mental health issue and 36% more likely to later experience physical health issues. Youth experienced larger negative mental health impacts compared to adults. Young people were 74% more likely to experience a mental health issue after being stopped by police compared to those who were not stopped by police.

- Individuals subjected to pedestrian stops, particularly stops perceived as false or unfair, are more likely to harbor resentment and negative future attitudes toward the police.
- Individuals stopped by police reported a 15% higher frequency of later engaging in crime/delinquency, indicating police stops can increase crime (in contrast to the first finding above regarding a reduction of overall crime for the area where the stop occurred).

Juan Del Toro et al., *Consequences of Fearing Police: Associations with Youths' Mental Health and Felt Obligation to Obey Both the Law and School Rules*, J. Crim. Justice (2022).

Purpose

- To explain why young people's fear of the police might be associated with their psychological distress and the obligation they feel to obey both the law and school rules.

Methodology

- This study sampled a large group of predominately Latinx early adolescents from low-income families to test three hypotheses:
 1. Young people's fear of police would be negatively associated with the felt obligation to obey both the law and school rules.
 2. More fear of police would be associated with worse mental health symptoms. Young people's fear of police undermines their mental health.
 3. Young people's mental health symptoms would partially explain the associations between their fear of police and their felt obligation to obey the police and school rules.
- Students in the 5th and 6th grades from two schools in the American southwest participated in the study in November 2020.
- These students filled out an anonymous survey. The questions pertained to certain character traits (i.e., if the children view themselves as happy people, nervous, peaceful, etc.) and their general feelings of law enforcement, authority, and if they feel obligated to follow rules.

Results

- Worse mental health symptoms were associated with lessened feelings of obligation to obey the law and school rules.
- Fear of the police was associated with worse mental health symptoms and worse mental health symptoms were associated with feeling less obligated to obey the law.
- The impact of police-involved trauma experienced outside of the school environment may directly affect youth attitudes and behaviors in schools.
- In other words, strain resulting from negative interactions with the police has the potential to enter the school setting in the form of poor mental health symptoms.

Juan Del Toro & Adam D. Fine, *Adolescents' Views of Defunding the Police, Abolishing the Police, and "The Talk,"* 50 J. Community Psychol. 7 (2022).

Purpose

- To assess adolescents' views on abolishing/defunding the police, and to determine how and when these views are formed.

Methodology

- In July 2020, a study was conducted to examine how youth define defunding versus abolishing the police, how much parents talk to youth about the police (i.e., “the talk”), and whether relations emerged between defunding/abolishing the police and “the talk”).
- The sample used in the study included 822 adolescents ages 13-17 (49.69% female; 63.22% White, 16.93% Black, 11.01% Latinx).

Results

- Youth supported defunding more than abolishing.
- Support for abolishing was higher for youth who frequently received “the talk.”
 - Interestingly, adolescents who had been the victim of a crime were more supportive of abolition.
- Differences by race and gender were uncovered in how frequently youth received “the talk.” Black youth receive “the talk” far more often than white youth; among youth of color, there were no gender differences in who received “the talk.”

Juan Del Toro, Dylan B. Jackson, and Ming-Te Wang, *The Policing Paradox: Police Stops Predict Youth's School Disengagement Via Elevated Psychological Distress*, Developmental Psychology 1 (2022)

Purpose

- To examine whether police stops may lead youth to greater school disengagement the next day.

Methodology

- Data come from 387 adolescents (40% male, 32% Black, 50% White, and 18% other ethnic-racial-minority; 69% qualified for free lunch) from eight public middle and high schools in the Mid-Atlantic region of the United States. Most students attended predominantly Black schools. In the counties where the schools are located, Black youth were referred to court at higher rates than Black youth nationally. The rate of police officers in the schools had doubled from 2015 to 2019.
- In the fall and spring semesters of the 2019-2020 academic year, researchers invited all students from the eight schools to participate in two waves of daily diaries. Students were given information about the study and had the option to choose whether or not to participate. Parents also consented.
- The two waves added up to 35 days (i.e. Wave 1: October 28, 2019 to November 17, 2019; Wave 2: March 2, 2020 to March 15, 2020). In each day, students completed online daily diaries between 5pm and 12am and received two to four daily reminders via email or text to complete these.

- Each day, adolescents were asked a single question to identify whether the police had stopped them. To characterize the nature of the police stops, they were asked a set of questions from the Police Intrusion Scale (e.g. “Did the police frisk or pat you down?”). Researchers summarized and scored these results with a higher score equaling greater police intrusion.
- Adolescents were asked four questions about their behavioral disengagement from school that day, including: “I skipped school or cut class,” “I stayed focus in school today” (rated 1 = not at all to 5 = very much).
- Adolescents were also asked to self-report their anxiety, depressive symptoms, and anger (i.e. “How often did you feel anxious today?” “How often did you feel depressed or sad today?” “How often did you feel angry today?”).

Results

- Adolescents who were stopped by the police reported enhanced next-day psychological distress, which in turn predicted increased school disengagement.
- Overall adolescents who were stopped by police reported more school disengagement than youth who were not stopped by police. In addition, youth who were stopped by police reported more next-day school disengagement relative to their own average (meaning they were less engaged with school than was typical for them specifically).
- Youth’s school disengagement did not predict next-day police stops.
- Both Black and other ethnic-racial minority youth reported more police intrusion than did their White peers.
- The effect of police stops on next-day psychological distress was stronger for other ethnic-racial minority youth than for their Black and White peers, who did not differ between each other. Nonetheless, the effect of police stops on psychological distress and school disengagement was negative for all ethnic-racial groups.

Rebecca Fix et al., *Examining the Nuance in Adolescents’ Police Encounters: Positive, Negative, or Both?*, J. Community Psychol. (2022).

Purpose

- To detail features of both positive and negative youth-police encounters and also examine the factors that underpin young people’s positive and negative perceptions of police.

Methodology

- Participants included 445 youth (11-21 years old) (56.6% boys, 43% girls, 48.5% white, 22.3% Black, 13.4% Latinx, 12.9% other) who were in a classroom where the Strategies for Youth Juvenile Justice Curriculum was being implemented.
- Participants completed surveys immediately before participating in the program.
- The survey asked youth to write about prior good and bad experiences with police.

Results

- Half of the youth in the study could not recall any positive encounter with police and 60% reported having a negative experience (negative perceptions of police officers have

been observed since the 1970s, and the findings in this study appear to reflect the ongoing trend).

- Most negative experiences with police occurred during the legal context (arrests, searches, warnings, verbal and physical abuse, removal of family and friends, etc.).
- Of the police encounters youth labeled as positive, the majority were described by white participants.
- When the youth did describe positive experiences, most cited experiences outside of the law enforcement context, such as seeing police in the community (talking with them, playing basketball with them, or taking a CPR class instructed by officers, etc.).
- The positive experiences cited within the legal context tended to be encounters in which youth or their families called on the police for assistance (car accident, domestic violence situation) and subsequently felt protected by the police.
 - This reveals a dichotomy that is consistent with the research: positive experiences with police are often associated with feelings of safety while negative experiences were associated with feeling less safe.

Michael C. Gearhart et al., *Youth Profiles of Police-Initiated Post-Traumatic Stress Symptomatology*, *Child and Adolescent Social Work Journal* (2022).

Purpose

- To examine the relationship between young people's interactions with police officers and trauma

Methodology

- Data was gathered from the Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing study. For the present study, they restrict the sample to the sixth wave (year 15). Researchers filtered the sample to 918 youths who reported being stopped by the police at least once.
- Police-initiated post-traumatic stress symptomatology (PI-PTSS) refers to post-traumatic stress symptoms rooted in interactions with police officers. The survey sample includes nine items that assess the presence of post-traumatic stress that are anchored in their previous interactions with police.
- Criminal history and depressive symptomatology, based on the Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale, were also measured/considered in the study.

Results

- Black youth had 176% higher odds of experiencing high PI-PTSS than other youth in the study. Youth who have been stopped three or more times had 132% higher odds of experiencing high PI-PTSS.
- There was a strong correlation between lower family income and higher trauma profiles.
- Youth who experienced high-PI-PTSS were more likely to experience depressive symptoms as well.

Aaron Gottlieb et al., *Does the State Impact Hope? The Impact of Direct and Vicarious Police Contact on the Optimism of Youth in Large Cities*, *Child and Adolescent Social Work Journal* (2022).

Purpose

- To understand the impact of direct and vicarious police contact on youth attitudes towards the future generally, and with respect to graduating from college.

Methodology

- Researchers used data from the Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study. The sample size included 3288 youth.
- Researchers controlled for race, gender, age, delinquent behavior at age 9, mental health at age 9, academic achievement at age 9, as well as a variety of family factors (including mother's level of education poverty, and parental incarceration), neighborhood factors (including safety) and school factors (including public vs. private and metal detectors).
- Specifically measured impact on attitudes toward the future for youth who were stopped by police without being arrested, stopped by police and arrested, or experienced vicarious police contact (i.e. witnessed someone else being stopped by police).
- To capture attitudes toward the future generally, youth were asked to agree or disagree (to varying degrees) with the prompt "I am optimistic about my future."
- To capture optimism towards graduating college, youth responded to the question "How likely are you to graduate from college?"

Results

- Experiencing a police stop, even without arrest or direct contact with police, decrease the likelihood that a young person will be "very optimistic" about the future.
 - Youth who never experienced any type of police contact have a 67% likelihood of being very optimistic. This level of optimism declines by about 6 percentage points (to 61%) for youth who have experienced vicarious contact but have not been directly stopped.
 - For youth who have been both directly and vicariously stopped, the likelihood of being very optimistic about the future declines by approximately an additional 6 (for an arrest) and 8 (for a stop without an arrest) percentage points.
 - Thus youth who have never experienced any sort of police contact are approximately 13 percentage points more likely to be very optimistic about the future than youth who have experienced vicarious contact and have been stopped (but not arrested) by the police and 12 percentage points more likely to be very optimistic than youth who have experienced vicarious contact and been arrested.
- With respect to optimism about graduating college, the implications of police contact are more severe.

- The probability youth who never experienced police contact will believe they are very likely to graduate college is 74%. When a young person has experienced vicarious police contact but no direct contact, the probability declines by about 8 percentage points (to 67%).
- When a young person has experienced direct police contact in addition to vicarious contact, the probability declines by an additional 7 (stopped but not arrested) to 24 (arrested) percentage points.
- Young people who have never experienced any sort of police contact are approximately 31 percentage points more likely to believe that they are very likely to graduate from college than young people who have experienced vicarious contact and have also been arrested and 15 percentage points more likely to be very optimistic about college graduation than youth who have experienced vicarious contact.

Aaron Gottlieb & Robert Wilson, *The Effect of Direct and Vicarious Police Contact on the Educational Achievement of Urban Teens*, 103 Child. Youth Serv. Rev. (2022).

Purpose

- To determine the effect that police contact has on academic achievement.

Methodology

- Research draws from the Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study which is made up of 4,898 children born between 1998 and 2000 in 20 large cities.
- Researchers followed up with families throughout the child's life from 1, 3, 5, 9 and 15.
- Based on the data collected from the children/families at year 9 and 15, researchers captured their grade point average in the four major subjects (math, English, science, history), the amount of police contact they experienced, delinquency, attitudes towards teachers, mental health, mother's relationship status at time of birth and through the child's life, parental education, income, neighborhood safety, and school and classroom environment.

Results

- All types of direct police contact (arrests and stops that do not result in arrest) are associated with reductions in GPA.
- Vicarious police contact is associated with reductions in GPA.
- Police contact is associated with avoiding conventional institutions and delinquency.

Nia Heard-Garris, Tiffani Johnson, Rachel Hardeman, *The Harmful Effects of Policing—From the Neighborhood to the Hospital*, 176(1) JAMA Pediatr. 23 (2022).

- This editorial article connects the below study by Monique Jindal et al., (*Police Exposures and the Health and Well-being of Black Youth in the US: A Systematic*

Review) to additional research showing that individuals with negative police encounters have higher levels of medical mistrust and subsequent unmet health care needs.

- Despite these pressing concerns about the intersection of police brutality and access to medical care, many healthcare systems welcome police and have created their own security/police departments where there is less training and data transparency. The authors warn that this reinforces racial hierarchy and erects boundaries within the walls of healing spaces.
- Physicians and nurses weaponize race, power, and privilege when they feel threatened by expressions of emotion that differ from the White cultural norms of acceptable behavior. Black patients and their visitors are more than twice as likely to generate a request for security presence than their White counterparts.
- Although healthcare systems may assert that police presence protects their staff, the authors argue that it comes at the risk of deepening medical mistrust and delaying patient care, as well as compromising patients' confidentiality and civil rights.
- Relevance: Defenders could use insights from this article to inform their advocacy for youth who are accused of delinquent behavior in a healthcare setting or who are interrogated by police or otherwise searched within the confines of a hospital.

Monique Jindal et al., *Police Exposures and the Health and Well-being of Black Youth in the US: A Systematic Review*, 176(1) JAMA Pediatr. 78 (2022).

Purpose

- To systematically review the literature describing the link between police exposure and health outcomes for Black youth 26 years and younger.
- Black youth in the US experience disproportionate contact with police even when accounting for criminal or delinquent behavior, which some experts say is fueled by racism and discrimination. While the literature supports the link between racism and adverse health outcomes, less is known about the impact of policing on the well-being of Black youth.

Methodology

- This systematic review examined studies that explored the association between police exposures and health outcomes for Black youth 26 years and younger. All studies were peer-reviewed original research (quantitative or qualitative) conducted in the US and published between 1980, when community policing became prevalent, and December 2020.
- The 29 studies in this review (16 quantitative and 13 qualitative) include data from 19,954 participants aged 9 to 26.
- Exposure to police was defined to include presence of police in schools, personal experiences ranging from benign stops to use of force and arrest, witnessing another person's contact with police, and perceptions of police discrimination.
- Health outcomes included mental health, risk behaviors (e.g. substance use), and safety (e.g. fear of police and vulnerability of mistreatment). Researchers did not find studies on physical health that met the criteria for inclusion—a gap in the literature that will need to be filled by additional research.

Results

- This review found that the current body of research, although limited, reveals a link (called a “positive association”) between police exposures and adverse health outcomes for Black youth. Only 3 studies did not reveal this association, and they were of weak or moderate quality.
- Mental Health: Qualitative studies identified connections between police exposure and stress and depression. Quantitative studies showed a strong link with stress, but mixed findings regarding depression, possibly because Black youth may not use the label of depression for their symptoms.
- Risk Behaviors: Both quantitative and qualitative studies showed evidence of a link between police exposure and sexual and substance abuse risk behaviors.
- Safety: One quantitative study showed police exposure was linked with feelings of safety, but this was not supported by the 1 quantitative study assessing fear or the multiple qualitative studies showing police exposures’ association with fear for life.
- While both quantitative and qualitative studies linked police exposure to adverse health outcomes, the qualitative studies illuminated the specific role of racism in this outcome. Examples of this include:
 - Participants reported anger as a result of having to respond to racism and interact with a system in place to protect that instead caused them harm.
 - The inability to resolve confrontation with police lead to symptoms of depression.
 - Marginalization and being assumed to be guilty contributed to frustration, anxiety, and hopelessness.
 - This also applied to risky behavior, including avoidance of carrying condoms in fear that police would confiscate them and see them as evidence of sex work.
- The authors note that while there is a growing focus on the most serious consequences of police exposure, including death, this systematic review shows that seemingly trivial police contact or even fear of contact may be detrimental to the health of Black youth.

Dylan B. Jackson et al., *Youth Mental Well-Being Following Witnessed Police Stops*, J. Urban Health (2022).

Purpose

- To investigate the mental well-being of youth after witnessed police stops.

Methodology

- Data was gathered from the Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing study. For the present study, they used data from 2014-2017 (Y15).
- The sample is narrowed to youth who have no history of being directly stopped by police, and further restricted to youth who report having witnessed police stops in their neighborhoods and/or schools despite not being directly stopped by the police.
- Depression, anxiety, and happiness were measured during the Y15 survey based on qualitative survey responses.
- The study also measured officer intrusiveness in their exposure to police stops. Youth were asked about the behavior of law enforcement during stops, specifically “did the officer: (1) frisk them or pat them down? (2) search their bags or pockets? (3) use harsh

language? (4) use racial slurs? (5) threaten physical force? (6) use physical force? Or (7) handcuff them?

Results

- Youth who had witnessed police stops had poorer mental well-being than those who had not witnessed any stops, including greater depression and anxiety and lower levels of happiness.
- Youth who had witnessed police stops in their neighborhoods or schools showed substantially higher levels of depression and anxiety. Youth who witnessed stops in both their neighborhoods and schools exhibited lower levels of happiness following those stops than youth who had not witnessed stops.
- Officer intrusiveness during witnessed stops was associated with diminishing mental well-being exhibit in even higher levels of depression and anxiety, and lower levels of happiness. Officer intrusiveness was the strongest predictor of youth mental well-being.
- Youth of color reported less anxiety than white adolescents after witnessing an intrusive stop.
- Black and Latinx youth reported greater reductions in happiness than white youth after witnessing intrusive stops.

andré douglas pond cummings, Todd J. Clark, Caleb Gregory Conrad, Amy Dunn Johnson, *Trauma: Community of Color Exposure to the Criminal Justice System as an Adverse Childhood Experience*, 90(3) U. of Cincinnati L. Rev. 857 (2022).

- This law review article argues that police and the criminal justice system have a traumatic impact on Black and brown youth, and thus exposure to either should be considered an Adverse Childhood Experience (ACE).
- Part I of the article reviews ACEs research, including the link between high ACE scores and poor health outcomes, the short-term and long-term effects of trauma and toxic stress, and the prevalence of trauma in the Black community. The authors discuss “social disadvantage” as a widely-recognized category of ACEs, encapsulating the trauma produced by economic hardship, community violence, discrimination, and historical trauma. Black children are more likely to grow up in concentrated poverty and experience the ACE of “social disadvantage” due to federal, state, and local practices that created residential racial segregation.
- Part II discusses anti-Black policing and how current law enforcement traumatizes communities of color and their children often by design.
 - Black Americans are more than three times more likely to be killed during a law enforcement encounter than similarly situated white Americans. The killing of Black adults and children causes trauma and toxic stress to Black communities.
 - The authors connect current-day policing in America to its origins in slave patrols, arguing that anti-Blackness pervades policing and that communities of color have been further assaulted with additional trauma from the War on Drugs and subsequent evisceration of Fourth Amendment search and seizure protections.

- Part III describes how criminal charging, jailing, and sentencing traditionally have disproportionately targeted Black men, contributing to the trauma that their children and families experience with the loss of a loved one to death or incarceration.
 - The authors cite the example of the Jena Six—where prosecutors initially charged Black high schoolers with attempted second-degree murder after a confrontation with a white student resulted in minor injuries, but eventually reduced the charges to misdemeanor simple battery— and Kalief Browder—who continued to struggle with the trauma of incarceration and solitary confinement even after he was released and charges were dropped—to argue that even when justice eventually prevails the trauma of systemic racial inequity can continue to impact the accused and their families.
- Part IV cites research on the traumatic impact of direct and vicarious police encounters on youth of color and argues that exposure to US law enforcement agents and the justice system at large actually functions as an ACE for youth of color in a way that is not present for non-minority youth and, as such, should be added to the list of ACEs that are formally recognized by public health officials.
 - The childhood trauma caused by the criminal justice system is not limited to exposure to police. Parental and personal involvement in the system is linked to an array of long-term negative health outcomes. Citing researchers Andrew Axelson and Samantha Boch, the authors note that if having an incarcerated parent was classified as a chronic health condition, it would be the second most prevalent chronic condition for children under 18 in the United States.
- Part V proposes reframing and reimagining policing in the United States to reform the criminal justice system so that the trauma it inflicts upon children of color and the resulting racial health disparities can be significantly mitigated.
 - While public health experts have begun to advocate that justice system exposure be added as an ACE, prevailing institutions (such as the CDC and the National Conference of State Legislatures) have failed to include it in their reports.
 - The authors call for both changes to the law regarding police use of force and for reforms to how police are hired and trained. Additional policy recommendations are focused on ending mass incarceration in the adult criminal justice system. The authors also recommend training judges about the traumatic impact of policing on youth of color as part of sentencing mitigation advocacy.

Victor J. St. John et al., *Reducing Adverse Police Contact Would Heal Wounds for Children and Their Communities*, Child Trends (2022).

- This article discusses the different ways police contact can result in adverse childhood experiences (school resource officers, use of force, arrests, parental and childhood incarceration) and suggests ways to reduce the harm of police contact as part of a broader effort to reduce childhood adversity.
- Police contacts, both vicarious and direct, have the potential to be interpreted as adverse childhood experiences. This is especially true for youth of color due to the disproportionate use of law enforcement and occupation of law enforcement in communities of color.
- Recommended solutions include:

- Broadly reduce police contact with children.
- Provide police officers with child and youth development training for direct interactions with minors.
- Provide social and emotional support for children and youth after police engagement.
- Develop police-community partnerships to conduct disparate impact reviews.
- Promote greater monitoring of, and accountability for, police-related childhood adversity.
- Expand the research base on childhood adversity to examine the implications of police contact.

Alexander Testa and Dylan B. Jackson, *Adverse Childhood Experiences and Perceived Unfair Police Treatment: Differences by Race and Ethnicity*, J. Adolesc. Health 1 (2022).

Purpose

- To examine differences among racial groups in the relationship between the number of Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACEs) and the likelihood of perceived unfair police treatment in the United States

Methodology

- Data come from the Add Health study, a national representative longitudinal study of adolescents enrolled in grades 7-12 (ages 12-19 years) in public, private, and parochial schools in the United States during the 1994-1995 academic year. To date, four follow-up interviews have been conducted (most recently in 2016-2018 when participants were 33-43 years old).
- In the 2016-2018 follow-up interview, participants were asked if they had ever been unfairly stopped, searched, or questioned by police. Those who answered “no” either had no police contact or viewed their interactions with police as fair. Those who answered “yes” had at least 1 interaction they perceived as unfair.
- Participants were asked whether they had exposure or no exposure to the following ACEs: emotional abuse, physical abuse, sexual abuse, community violence, substance abuse, suicide, divorce, parental incarceration, emotional neglect, and physical neglect. Researchers grouped participants into categories based on whether they had experienced 0, 1, 2, 3, or 4 or more ACEs.
- Researchers controlled for the following factors: biological sex, US born, depressive symptoms, low socioeconomic status, illicit drug use, and self-reported involvement in delinquent activity at the time of enrollment in the study (i.e. when the participant was 12-19 years old).

Results

- For non-Black individuals, accumulating ACEs increases the likelihood of perceived unfair police treatment by adulthood.

- Perceived unfair police treatment was highest among non-Hispanic Black individuals (35.5%) and lowest among non-Hispanic White individuals (13.7%) with 24.8% of Hispanic respondents reporting unfair police treatment.
- 18.2% of non-Hispanic Black respondents reported four or more ACEs, compared to 11.6% among non-Hispanic White respondents and 16.3% among Hispanic respondents.
- Perceived unfair police treatment is a ubiquitous experience in the lives of Black individuals regardless of ACE exposure.
- Non-Hispanic Black individuals with a history of zero ACEs have a higher probability of experiencing unfair police treatment than Hispanic or non-Hispanic White individuals who have 4 or more ACEs.
- White individuals exhibited an especially low risk of perceived unfair police treatment, but significant elevations in this risk as ACEs increased. Even so, White individuals with the highest levels of ACE exposure still exhibit substantially lower odds of perceived unfair police treatment than Black individuals with the lowest levels of ACE exposure.
- Males (relative to females) and Black individuals (relative to White individuals) were approximately four times more likely to experience unfair police contact.

Destiny G. Toliver et al., *United States Youth Arrest and Health Across the Life Course: A Nationally Representative Longitudinal Study*, Acad. Pediatr. (2022).

Purpose

- To measure the long-term health effects of arrest on adults who were arrested at various ages among a nationally representative sample.

Methodology

- Using the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health, the researchers describe sociodemographics and health status in adolescence and adulthood for people first arrested at age 14 or young, 14-17 and 18-24 compared to adults who were never arrested.
- Health measures included physical health, mental health, and clinical biomarkers (hypertension, diabetes).

Results

- Among the sample of 10,641 adults, 28.5% had experienced arrest before age 25.
- Individuals first arrested as children were disproportionately Black compared to white.
- Compared to individuals who were never arrested, people arrested before age 25 had more depressive symptoms and higher rates of suicidal thoughts during adolescence.
- Arrests that occurred before age 25 were associated with worse self-reported health, higher rates of functional limitations, more depressive symptoms and greater mortality by adulthood.

Kristin Turney et al., *Stigma Arising From Youth Police Contact: The Protective Role of Mother-Youth Closeness*, J. Marriage Fam (2022).

Purpose

- To examine the relationship between mother-youth closeness and stigma stemming from police contact.

Methodology

- The article uses data from the Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study (a sample of youth born in urban areas between 1998 and 2000).
- As part of the study, researchers followed up on the children and their families at various points throughout their lives (ages 1, 3, 5, 9 and 15). Part of their follow-up included questions concerning any police contact the children had experienced by the age of 15 and also how close they feel with their mother(s).

Results

- Youth-police contact can lead to feelings and experiences of stigma.
- Youth who have closer relationships with their mothers anticipated higher levels of stigma from police stops; however, when these youth actually experienced a police stop, the stigma they experienced was less than youth without close relationships with their mothers. In other words, mother-youth closeness is associated with anticipating more stop-related stigma, but not stop-related experienced stigma.
 - Close relationships between mothers and youth are protective for the anticipation, but not the experience, of stigma stemming from police stops.
 - In the aftermath of police stops, where youth potentially anticipate resultant stigma, close relationships with mothers may give youth an outlet to discuss these anxieties and concerns.

Kristin Turney et al., *Police Stops and the Erosion of Positive Future Orientation Among Urban Adolescents*, 71 J. Adolesc. Health 2 (2022).

Purpose

- To examine the ramifications of adolescent direct and vicarious police stops for positive future orientation (meaning the ability to set future goals and plans) among all adolescents by race/ethnicity, and to assess how features of police stops – including frequency, intrusiveness, resultant stigma and traumatic stress response – are associated with positive future orientation.

Methodology

- The study used data from the Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study (a national sample of at-risk urban-born youth) to examine the relationship between adolescent police stops and positive future orientation.

Results

- Direct and vicarious police-stops, compared to no police stops, are negatively associated with positive future orientation among adolescents.
- Associations are largest among Black and Hispanic girls.

- Any exposure to police stops, regardless of the features of the stops (frequency, intrusiveness, resultant stigma, and resultant traumatic stress response) is negatively associated with positive future orientation.

Lindsey Webb et al., *Anticipation of Racially Motivated Police Brutality and Youth Mental Health*, J. Crim. Justice (2022).

Purpose

- To explore connections between the anticipation of racially motivated police brutality and multiple facets of adolescent mental health.

Methodology

- Students ages 14-18 were recruited from the Baltimore City public schools.
- Between December 2020 and July 2021, participants completed a questionnaire assessing anticipatory stress regarding racially motivated police brutality and current mental health.
- Researchers examined associations between this anticipatory stress and mental health, specifically whether anticipatory stress were more salient among adolescents with comorbid mental health symptoms, compared to those without comorbid symptoms.

Results

- Youth with anticipatory stress stemming from both personal and vicarious police brutality had more symptoms of anxiety, depression, and PTSD, as well as lower hope compared to youth without anticipatory stress.
- The association between anticipatory stress and anxiety was stronger for girls than boys.

Todd J. Clark, Caleb Gregory Conrad, andré douglas pond cummings, and Amy Dunn Johnson, *Meek Mill's Trauma: Brutal Policing as an Adverse Childhood Experience*, 33 St. Thomas L. Rev. 158 (2021).

- In this law review article, authors argue that policing should be considered an Adverse Childhood Experience (ACE) while using the lyrics of Meek Mill to illuminate the brutal realities of the policing of Black youth. [For more information on policing and justice system involvement as an ACE, read the annotation for the 2022 article by the same authors included on page eleven of this document: andré douglas pond cummings, Todd J. Clark, Caleb Gregory Conrad, Amy Dunn Johnson, *Trauma: Community of Color Exposure to the Criminal Justice System as an Adverse Childhood Experience*, 90(3) U. of Cincinnati L. Rev. 857 (2022).]
- Part I reviews ACEs research, including the prevalence of ACEs in the Black community, and provides an overview of the groundbreaking original ACE study that discovered the direct link between high ACE scores and poor health outcomes.
- Part II discusses the broad ACE category of social disadvantage and how a child growing up in an environment built on a foundation of poverty and violence will inevitably have more trauma, more ACEs, and be harmed through this experience of toxic stress.

- Part III provides an overview of anti-Black policing and how law enforcement traumatizes communities and youth.
 - Part IV explains how criminal charging and sentencing disproportionately target Black men, contributing to the trauma their children experience.
 - Part V argues that contact with policing and the criminal justice system are ACEs for Black children.
 - Part VI discusses Meek Mill's efforts to reform the criminal justice system. Mill uses his story to inspire his art and activism. He founded the REFORM Alliance in 2019, along with Jay-Z and the owners of two professional sports teams. REFORM has helped pass legislation in states that have reduced probation caseloads and prevented the imprisonment of people on probation for technical violations.
 - **Relevance:** Defenders can look to the authors' pairing of Meek Mill's lyrics with research as an example of how to incorporate their client's artistic expression in pleadings. For example, the authors cite research on the trauma Black youth experience in police encounters and then quote Meek Mill describing his own experience and referencing the police killing of Stephon Clark: "Yeah, they called it the projects, they put us in projects / What they gon' do with us? Can't call the cops yet / You might just get popped at / Cause they the ones shootin' us / I'm on my mom's steps, it's like a bomb threat / The violence pursuing us / Ain't no PTSDs them drugs keep it at ease / They shot that boy twenty times when they coulda told him just freeze / Coulda put him in a cop car, but they let him just bleed."
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Juan Del Toro, *Racial/Ethnic Disparities in Policing and the Mental Health Consequences Among Adolescents in the United States and the United Kingdom*, 111 Am. J. Public Health 1 (2021).

- In this editorial article, Dr. Del Toro describes the findings of a study by Dylan B Jackson et al., titled *Adolescent Police Stops, Self-Harm, and Attempted Suicide: Findings From the UK Millennium Cohort Study, 2012-2019*. This study is detailed below. Del Toro connects these findings to research previously done in the United States.
- Youth in the United Kingdom who experienced police stops at the age of 14 reported higher rates of self-harm and significantly higher odds of attempted suicide by the age of 17. This is consistent with research of American youth who report poorer mental health, higher depression, and anxiety after being stopped by the police.
- Interestingly, the UK study focused on a youth sample that was predominately white yet the rate of police stops continued to reveal racial/ethnic disparities. This may be because biases and stereotypes permeate Western countries, and Black children, for example, tend to be viewed as less innocent, more threatening and older than their white peers.
- Noting that young people who have experienced negative police encounters are likely to develop increased cynicism toward the law and avoidance of government institutions, Del Toro concludes that "tackling policing as an institution and its relationship with young citizens may be necessary for government leaders as they work to sustain equitable and democratic societies in the United States, the United Kingdom, and beyond."

Note: The UK study referenced by Del Toro is: **Dylan B Jackson et al., *Adolescent Police Stops, Self-Harm, and Attempted Suicide: Findings From the UK Millennium Cohort Study, 2012-2019*, 111 Am. J. Public Health 10 (2021).**

Methodology:

- Researches used data from the 3 most recent sweeps of the UK Millennium Cohort Study (MCS), from 2012-2019. The MCS is an ongoing nationally representative contemporary birth cohort of children born in the UK between 2000 and 2002.

Results:

- Youth experiencing police stops by the age of 14 reported significantly higher rates of self-harm at age 17 and significantly higher odds of attempted suicide by age 17.
- These patterns were largely consistent across examined features of police stops and generally did not vary by sociodemographic factors.
- In addition, 18 to 40% of associations between police stops and outcomes were explained by mental distress.

Adam D. Fine, Jamie Amemiya, Paul Frick, Laurence Steinberg, and Elizabeth Cauffman, *Perceptions of Police Legitimacy and Bias from Ages 13 to 22 among Black, Latino, and White Justice-Involved Males*, 45(3) L. & Hum. Behav. 243 (2021).

Purpose

- Although researchers, policymakers, and practitioners recognize the importance of the public's perceptions of police, few studies have examined developmental trends in adolescents' and young adults' view of police.
- Police legitimacy is important because it leads to cooperation with law enforcement and engagement in law-abiding and pro-social behavior into adulthood.
- Youth of color, predominantly Black and Latino youth, generally report more negative perceptions of law enforcement than do White youth. Yet, it is unknown at what ages such racial/ethnic differences emerge because few studies have tracked this.

Methodology

- Using longitudinal data from the Crossroads Study, this study examined trends in males' perceptions of police legitimacy from ages 13 to 22, as well as whether perceptions of police bias were associated with perceptions of police legitimacy.
- Participants were 1,216 male youth who had been arrested for the first time for a specific low-to-moderate offense such as vandalism, arrest, or possession of marijuana.
- The sample was racially and ethnically diverse: Latino/Hispanic (46%), Black/African American (37%), White (15%), and self-identified other race (2%).
- Youth were between 13 and 17 years of age and participated in nine survey waves across 5 years.
- Perceptions of police bias and legitimacy were measured through two surveys where youth were asked to respond on a 4-point scale (*strongly disagree* to *strongly agree*), including statements like "I have a great deal of respect for the police," "Overall, the police are

honest,” “Police treat people differently based on their racial/ethnic group,” and “Police treat people differently depending on the neighborhoods they are from.”

- Researchers also looked at socioeconomic status (based on parent’s highest level of education), involvement in criminal behavior across the study period (using a self-report measure), and re-arrest (using case records).

Results

- Perceptions of police legitimacy followed a U-shaped curve that declined during adolescence, reached its lowest point around age 18, and improved during the transition to adulthood.
 - Latino youth tended to report worse perceptions, but their perceptions declined to a smaller degree during adolescence before improving into young adulthood.
 - Black youth tended to report statistically more negative perceptions of police legitimacy across ages compared to both White and Latino youth. Black youth’s perceptions of police legitimacy declined until around age 18 and showed only slight improvements thereafter.
- Police bias increased during adolescence before largely plateauing into early adulthood.
- Perceptions of police bias were consistently associated with more negative perceptions of police legitimacy across races and ages. A steeper increase in police bias over time was associated with a more pronounced decline in perceived police legitimacy.

Amanda Geller, *Youth-Police Contact: Burdens and Inequities in an Adverse Childhood Experience, 2014-2017*, 111 Am. J. Public Health 1300 (2021).

Purpose

- To assess police contact with youth in urban-areas across the United States as a potential adverse childhood experience by measuring its frequency, nature, and distribution among urban adolescents.

Methodology

- Youth involved in this research were enrolled in the Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study (FFCWS).
 - FFCWS followed 4,898 children born in 20 large cities between 1998 and 2000.
 - Out of those 4,898 children, 3,442 were urban births, and out of those urban born, 2,478 were interviewed at year 15 (Y15); it is this sample of youth that make-up the present study.
 - The resulting sample was socioeconomically disadvantaged with high proportions of Black and Hispanic families and high rates of criminal justice involvement.
 - Adolescent demographics were placed into five categories (white, Black, Hispanic, other race, and multiple races).
- The survey measured several aspects of adolescents’ experiences with the police by asking them a series of questions, including whether they had personally been stopped or whether they had vicarious police contact.

- Adolescents personally stopped provided details pertaining to their experiences, including the number of stops they experienced, their age when first stopped, and officer behavior in the stop which most stood out in their mind (“critical stop”).
- Adolescents were also asked to self-report their participation in delinquent activities over the past year. Analyses adjusted for adolescents’ self-reported behavior, meaning the below results are not likely due to differences in youth behavior.

Results

- Urban youth are heavily policed, beginning as early as junior high school.
 - 19% of adolescents reported having been stopped by the police while 69% reported vicarious contact.
 - Police exposure through vicarious contact was common across race, with most Black, white, and Hispanic adolescents reporting.
 - In experiences of being personally stopped by police, however, racial disparities were pronounced.
 - Black boys and girls were far more likely than their white counterparts to report being personally stopped:
 - 39% of Black boys and 14% of Black girls compared to 23% of white Boys and 10% of white girls.
 - Racial disparities were most evident in officer intrusion during the critical stop and were most pronounced among boys:
 - Two-thirds of Black and Hispanic boys reported intrusion (such as frisks, harsh language, racial slurs, threats or use of physical force, and handcuffing) in their critical stops while less than one quarter of white boys had similar experiences.
 - Although police intrusion was less frequent among girls, when it did occur, it was primarily reported by Black girls and was essentially nonexistent for white girls.
 - Black boys had odds of reporting police contact more than twice those of white boys.
- Considering the pronounced racial disparities in officer intrusion during “critical stops,” research suggests that police encounters with non-white adolescents are qualitatively different, and substantially more aggressive than those with white adolescents, and potentially traumatic.
- Notably, disparities were concentrated among children of less educated mothers, and not observed among the children of college graduate mothers. This finding is in contrast to previous research that has found racial disparities in policing of youth with high socioeconomic status.
- The continual and extensive exposure to aggressive policing faced by young people, particularly Black and Hispanic youth, have the potential to impact their immediate and long-term physical and mental health well beyond the effects currently documented.
- The researcher concludes by arguing that because aggressive police contact is so common in the lives of Black and Hispanic urban youth, early police contact should be designated as an ACE in order to provide institutional recognition (particularly in mental and physical healthcare and education) of the potential for harm in police encounters and draw on an established literature and policy and practice framework for the prevention, identification, and treatment of these harms.

Dylan B. Jackson et al., *Silence After Stops? Assessing Youth Disclosure of Police Encounters*, J. Res. Adolesc. (2021).

Purpose

- To determine the prevalence of youth police-stop disclosures and the recipients of these disclosures.

Methodology

- Research draws from the Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study which is made up of 4,898 children born between 1998 and 2000 in 20 large cities.
- Researchers followed up with the families throughout the child's life at ages 1, 3, 5, 9 and 15.
- In the year 15 survey, youth who reported having experienced a police stop at some point in their lifetime were asked if they told anyone about the incident and if they did, who did they tell.

Results

- 70% of youth who had been stopped by the police disclosed the stop to someone in their social circle.
- The still fairly large percentage of youth who do not disclose (30%) may be attributed to youth lacking confidence they will receive support upon disclosure.
- The more youth perceive the stop to be unjust and unfair, the less likely they were to disclose.
- Among youth who disclosed stops, parents (particularly mothers) and friends were the most common recipients.
 - Black youth in particular were less likely to disclose to friends or fathers. They were more likely to disclose to siblings. White youth were more likely to disclose to friends, fathers, and siblings.

Dylan B Jackson, *The Case for Conceptualizing Youth-Police Contact as a Racialized Adverse Childhood Experience*, 111 Am. J. Public Health 1189 (2021).

- This editorial article connects the above study by Amanda Geller (*Youth-Police Contact: Burdens and Inequities in an Adverse Childhood Experience*) to additional research on the traumatic impact of policing on youth of color, arguing that curtailing the hyper-surveillance of Black youth and bolstering community infrastructure (such as community centers, after-school and youth empowerment programs) are urgent public health necessities.
- Encounters with police are traumatic for Black youth and are internalized by youth as “extremely frightening, harmful, or threatening” and can potentially cause adverse physiological symptoms.

- Police-induced trauma is, in many respects, its own class of trauma; it is set apart as a uniquely potent historical, racialized, intergenerational form of trauma that is affixed to a collective experience of marginalization.
- Better assessment tools, such as a culturally informed adverse childhood experiences (C-ACE) framework, are needed to identify and respond to the traumatic impact of policing in the lives of Black youth.
- Additional research must be done to identify the policy and programmatic solutions to mitigate the trauma of racialized police encounters, including equipping teachers to facilitate non-stigmatizing, culturally competent conversations about these experiences in ways that provide support and prevent re-traumatization.

Dylan B. Jackson et al., *Unpacking Racial/Ethnic Disparities in Emotional Distress Among Adolescents During Witnessed Police Stops*, 69 J. Adolesc. Health 248 (2021).

Purpose

- To investigate the racial/ethnic disparities in emotional distress during witnessed police stops among a national sample of urban-born youth.

Methodology

- The sample comes from the Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study (FFCWS), which is a national study of roughly 4,800 urban youth born between 1998 and 2000.
- Due to the data collection methods of FFCWS, many of the youth come from single-parent homes with disproportionate exposure to various hardships, including family members intimately acquainted with the justice system and various kinds of police encounters.
- Out of the 4,800-youth involved in the study, 1,488 of them reported having witnessed police stops between 2014 and 2017. These 1,488 youth are the focal point of the present study.
- Among the 1,488 youth, 17.21% were white, 26.88% were Hispanic, 48.19% were Black, 5.31% were multiracial and 2.41% reported another race/ethnicity.
- These youth completed surveys to measure emotional distress, officer intrusiveness, and perceptions of procedural injustice, asking
 - At the time of the incident (i.e. the witnessed stop), did you feel: 1. Scared, 2. Angry, 3. Safe
 - Did the officer: 1. Frisk them or pat them down, 2. Search their bags or pockets, 3. Use harsh language, 4. Use racial slurs, 5. Threaten physical force, 6. Use physical force
 - How often in the incidents you witnessed did the police 1. Explain why they stopped the person in a way that was clear to them, 2. Treat them with dignity and courtesy, and 3. Respect their rights

Results

- Out of the sampled 1,488 youth, greater emotional distress existed among youth of color, particularly multiracial, Black and Hispanic youth.

- This emotional distress stemmed primarily from acts of officer intrusiveness and what youth perceived as procedurally unjust treatment of citizens during observed stops.
- Multiracial and Black youth were most frequently exposed to intrusive treatment during witnessed stops; 27% and 28% of multiracial youth witnessed threats of force and use of force, respectively, whereas only 9% and 14% of white youth witnessed threats of force and use of force, respectively.
- During witnessed police stops, 22% of Black youth and 23% of multiracial youth reported feeling angry whereas only 9% of white youth reported similar feelings; 28% of Black youth and 31% of multiracial youth reported feeling unsafe compared to only 11% of white youth.
- Odds of emotional distress during witnessed police stops greatly increase among youth of color; relative to white youth, Hispanic youth were 101% more likely to feel angry during stops and Black youth were 138% more likely to feel angry; This trend continues in youth feeling unsafe during witnessed stops – relative to white youth, the odds of feeling unsafe during the stop were 72% higher among Hispanic youth, 117% higher among Black youth and 152% higher among multiracial youth.

Mike Males, *Police Shooting Statistics of Unarmed Suspects Show the Young More Likely to Be Killed*, Juvenile Justice Information Exchange, February 11, 2021.

Methodology

- The Juvenile Justice Information Exchange analyzed data collected and reported by the Washington Post (considered the most complete tabulation of shootings by American law enforcement officers) in the six-year period from January 1, 2015 through January 13, 2021.

Findings

- Even when suspects are unarmed and not attacking anyone, officers are more likely to shoot Black, Native, and Latinx people than white people. Police are two to three times more likely to shoot Native and Black suspects, and 20% more likely to shoot Latinx suspects than white suspects.
- Police are much more likely to shoot unarmed, nonattacking young people than older people. Unarmed, non-attacking teenagers are nearly five times more likely to be shot to death by officers than similarly non-attacking middle-aged suspects.
- An unarmed, non-attacking white teenager is eight times more likely and a similarly non-attacking Latinx teenager is ten times more likely to be shot by police than a non-attacking member of their respective races age 50 or older.
- However, unarmed, non-attacking Black suspects age 50 and older are just as likely to be shot as similarly unarmed, non-attacking Black teenagers.

Madeleine Novich & Alyssa Zduniak, *Violence Trending: How Socially Transmitted Content of Police Misconduct Impacts Reactions Toward Police Among American Youth*, TFVA (2021).

Purpose

- To determine the effect that social media and videos of police violence have on young peoples' perceptions and feelings of police officers.

Methodology

- In this qualitative study, researchers conducted in-depth interviews with a diverse sample of 19 students on an urban college campus from September to November 2018.
- The participants were 42% Latinx, 37% white, 11% Asian, and 11% African American.
- The interviews sought feedback on participants' experience with and attitudes toward police, social media usage, and the impact of video content on their opinions of law enforcement.

Results

- The influence of parents, friends, face-to-face encounters, vicarious experiences, and social media contributes to the development of young people's perspectives of law enforcement.
- A majority of the study's white participants indicated that social media had a limited impact on their perceptions of police and tended to rationalize videos of police misconduct by isolating these incidents to a few "bad apples."
- White participants, however, have also used positive social media representations of police officers to validate their preexisting positive opinions.
- For participants of color, witnessing police officers engaged in violent behavior, or seeing a traumatic event online, directly contributed to negative attitudes towards police and raised concerns related to the legitimacy of their authority, distrust, and excessive use of power.
- For participants of color, seeing traumatic videos of police officers using violence generates extreme distress, anxiety, and other reactions associated with poor mental health.

Raymond Douglas Partin & Peter S. Lehmann, *The Association Between Sleep Duration and Arrest Among Adolescents, Crime Delinq.* (2021).

Purpose

- To investigate the association between sleep duration and arrest.

Methodology

- Researchers analyzed data from the 2018 Florida Youth Substance Abuse Survey (FYSAS)—an annual survey that assesses current drug use and abuse, delinquent behaviors, peer associations, family and social involvement, school involvement, neighborhood characteristics and other social characteristics.

Results

- Short sleep duration is positively associated with self-reported arrest, meaning those who were arrested slept for shorter periods of time.
- This research represents the first investigation into the association between sleep duration and self-reported arrest.

Chad Posick and Akiv Dawson, *The Health Outcomes of Direct and Witnessed Interactions with the Police: Do Race and Ethnicity Matter*, 69 J. Adolesc. Health 183 (2021).

- This article discusses how even the most routine police interactions can have profound impacts on an individual and in some cases even lead to “psychological distress, depression, anxiety, and suicidal behavior.”
- Negative health and behavioral outcomes are not limited to direct police encounters but also include indirect encounters, i.e., exposure through media such as the Rodney King beating or the George Floyd murder, or observing a negative encounter involving a family member or friend.
- Research indicates that negative and/or unwelcomed police encounters exist as part of the shared cultural memory of Black Americans that is passed down from one generation to the next. This ingrained cultural memory contributes to the cumulative trauma experienced by the community.
- Memories of these negative prior events become cultural forces imbedded with collective meaning. They become metaphorical representations of a “continuation of violence experienced by the whole community.”
- Research suggests that policies and programs can potentially limit the increasingly negative health consequences that come from police interactions; these include: 1) screening for both bodily and mental health symptoms by professionals who typically come in contact with youth often, 2) Trauma-informed trainings for police officers, 3) Moving away from intrusive police practices.

Gia Badolato et al., *Racial and Ethnic Disparities in Firearm-Related Pediatric Deaths Related to Legal Intervention*, 146(6) Pediatrics (2020).

Purpose

- To measure racial and ethnic differences in adolescent mortality rates related to firearm injury from law enforcement over a 16-year period.

Methodology

- Researchers utilized data from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention Web-Based Injury Statistics Query and Reporting System (WISQARS), which collects data from death certificates.
- The data set included adolescents aged 12 to 17 years who died from firearm injury from legal intervention from 2003 to 2018.

- During the 16-year study period, 140 adolescents died by legal intervention and of those deaths 131 (92%) involved a firearm. The majority (93.18%) were boys with a mean age 15.94.

Results

- 41.98% of youth killed were Black, compared to 26.52% white and 26.71% Hispanic.
- Black and Hispanic youth are disproportionate victims in fatal police shootings.

Relevance

- Black and Hispanic youth have greater reason to fear police compared to white youth because they are killed by police shootings at disproportionate rates.
- As an ongoing public health crisis, it is critical that interventions and policies are implemented to mitigate these tragedies.

Dylan B. Jackson et al., *Police Stops and Sleep Behaviors Among At-Risk Youth*, J. Nat. Sleep Foundation (2020).

Purpose

- This study examines the association between exposure to police stops and sleep behaviors and explores whether social stigma and post-traumatic stress might inform this association.

Methodology

- A sample of 3,444 U.S. youth were studied. Youth reported their sleep quantity and quality, exposure to vicarious and direct police stops, police intrusiveness during police stops, and experiences of social stigma and post-traumatic stress following the stop.

Results

- Stress caused by frequent police stops actually deprives youth of sleep.
- Youth who reported exposure to police stops exhibited significantly greater odds of sleep deprivation and low sleep quality.
- Even when youth are bystanders or witness the more subtly abusive police behaviors, they still experience trauma that lowers both the quality of their sleep and the number of hours.
- This association was attenuated to non-significance when social stigma and post-traumatic stress following the stop were taken into account.

Michael J. McFarland, Amanda Geller, Cheryl McFarland, *Police Contact and Health Among Urban Adolescents: The Role of Perceived Injustice*, 238 Social Science & Medicine (2019).

Purpose

- To evaluate whether personal and vicarious police contact are related to self and caregiver-reports of teen health and to what extent these associations vary by perceptions of procedural injustice

Methodology

- Researchers analyzed longitudinal health data collected from 3435 adolescents in the Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study alongside teen self-reports of whether they were stopped by police or experienced vicarious police contact, and if so, their perceptions of procedural injustice in these encounters.
- Youth were given a survey that asked “In general, how is your health?” with responses ranging from “1 (poor)” to “5 (excellent).” Primary caregivers were asked the same question about their child.
- Primary caregivers were also asked about whether the adolescent experienced stress-linked somatic symptoms, such as “frequent diarrhea or colitis,” “frequent headaches or migraines,” and “trouble breathing or wheezing.”
- Participants were asked if they had been personally stopped or whether they had witnessed someone else being stopped by police or had heard from someone they knew about having been stopped.
- If participants reported they had experienced direct or vicarious police contact, they were then asked questions about the times of the stops, how often police explained the reason for the stop, how often police treated them with dignity and courtesy, and how often police respected their rights.
- Researchers controlled for competing stressors, including economic distress, parental incarceration, witnessing a crime, victimization, and a perceived lack of neighborhood safety.

Results

- Participants who reported personal or vicarious police stops had worse self-reported health in adolescence than their counterparts with no contact.
- Both types of police contact were unrelated to caregiver reports of adolescent health and inconsistently related to somatic symptoms. Researchers suggest this may indicate limitations in caregivers’ abilities to assess their teens’ health.
- Procedural injustice exacerbated the relationship between both personal and vicarious police contact and diminished self-reported health.
- Associations between police contact and self-reported health were stronger among Black and Hispanic adolescents than white ones, meaning Black and Hispanic youth experienced worse health after police contact.
- These results highlight personal and vicarious police contact, particularly instances viewed as procedurally unjust, as commonly experienced adverse health events among urban adolescents.

Dylan B. Jackson et al., *Police Stops Among At-Risk Youth: Repercussions for Mental Health*, 65 J. Adolescent Health 627 (2019).

Purpose

- This study examines the mental health consequences of police interactions on Black and Hispanic at-risk youth who report being stopped at least once by the police.

Methodology

- The average age of the participants was fifteen years old.
- Participants reported their level of emotional distress during the stop, feelings of social stigma after the stop, and posttraumatic stress symptoms after the stop.

Results

- Youth more frequently stopped by police are more likely to report heightened emotional distress and post-traumatic stress symptoms than youth who are not stopped as frequently.
- Age at first stop did not impact mental health outcomes.
- The environment in which the youth is stopped predicts mental health outcomes. More specifically, youth who were stopped at school reported more emotional distress during the stop, social stigma after the stop, and PTSD after the stop than youth who were stopped on the street.
- Similarly, the level of intrusiveness of the stop predicted the youths' mental health responses: the more intrusive the stop, the greater the youths' emotional distress, social stigma, and PTSD symptoms.

Dylan B. Jackson, Alexander Testa, and Michael G. Vaughn, *Low Self-Control and Adolescent Police Stop: Intrusiveness, Emotional Response, and Psychological Well-Being*, 66 J. Crim. Justice (2019).

Purpose

- This research extends the literature on both Gottfredson and Hirschi's (1990) self-control theory and adolescent police stops by exploring the role of low self-control in the features and consequences of police stops among urban-born youth.

Results

- Youth with lower levels of self-control are more likely to be stopped by police and more likely to experience greater emotional distress and social stigma from police stops.
- Black youth were prone to more intrusive and hostile interactions with police.
- Among stopped youth, those with lower levels of self-control were more likely to
 - be stopped multiple times and in multiple locations (particularly at school);
 - report more procedural injustice and officer intrusiveness; and
 - experience greater emotional distress during police encounters and social stigma and post- traumatic stress following encounters.

Juan Del Toro et al., *The Criminogenic and Psychological Effects of Police Stops on Adolescent Black and Latino Boys*, 116 PNAS, 8261 (2019).

Purpose

- This study explores the short and long-term effects of police contact on young people subjected to high rates of contact with law enforcement.

Methodology

- The study included Black and Latino boys in ninth and tenth grade.

- Psychological distress measures included stress-related symptoms (e.g. “I found it hard to wind down”), depressive symptoms (e.g. “I felt downhearted and blue”), and anxiety symptoms (“I felt I was close to panic”).

Results

- Adolescent Black and Latino boys who were stopped by police reported more frequent engagement in delinquent behavior six, twelve, and eighteen months later than boys who were not stopped by the police (independent of prior delinquency).
- The relationship between police-encounter and subsequent delinquency was mediated, at least in part, by the psychological distress these youth experience due to police stops.
 - In other words, stops cause stress which causes delinquent behavior.
- Adolescents who experienced more frequent police stops reported greater concurrent distress and greater concurrent delinquency than adolescents who experienced less frequent police stops.
- The relationship between initial police-stop and future delinquency was stronger in the younger boys were when stopped for the first time.

Brendesha M. Tynes et al., *Race-Related Traumatic Events Online and Mental Health Among Adolescents of Color*, 65 J. Adolescent Health 371 (2019).

Purpose

- This study assesses whether viewing race-related traumatic events online (TEO) was associated with depressive and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) symptoms.

Methodology

- The national sample included 302 African American and Latinx adolescents between 11–19 years old.
- The TEOs included: seeing images or videos of others from their ethnic group being beaten, arrested or detained, and a viral video of a Black person being shot by a police officer.

Results

- There is a significant association between TEO and both PTSD symptoms and depressive symptoms.
- Participants reported depressive symptoms such as “being sad,” “feeling like crying,” “feeling alone,” and “feeling like they had friends.”
- PTSD symptoms included re-experiencing, hyperarousal, and numbing.
- Viewing each type of TEO was associated with reporting PTSD symptoms. Additionally, more frequently viewing TEOs was associated with higher levels of depressive symptoms and PTSD symptoms.

Ana Lilia Campos-Manzo et al., *Unjustified: Youth of Color Navigating Police Presence Across Sociospatial Environments*, 10(3) Race and Justice 297 (2018).

Purpose

- To explore how nondelinquent adolescents of color experience police presence across a racially/ethnically and socioeconomically segregated metropolitan area in the U.S.
- *Note:* This study does not explicitly measure trauma, but does assess and compare African American and Latino/a youth's perception of the police.

Methodology

- This study included 84 nondelinquent boys and girls of color, specifically 41 boys and 43 girls, ages 9–17, of African American, Latino/a, Jamaican-American, Nigerian/Saint Lucian, and multiracial/ethnic descent.
- The study conducted semi-structured interviews at four community youth centers.
- Interviewers asked questions like: What do you think about this place? What have been your experiences with peers? What about adults? What did you think about the situation [that involved the police]? How did you feel? Have there been other similar situations?

Results

- Nondelinquent adolescents of color experienced police presence as surveillance and as response to crime in gendered and racialized ways across segregated cities and suburbs in Evergreen, South Carolina.
- In Downtown Greenville, a predominantly Latina/Latino, African American, and Jamaican American segment of the city, with high levels of poverty and police presence, boys of color experienced intense police surveillance, including harassment and a negative focus with no clear investigative purpose. Both boys and girls of color state they experienced police failing to address victimization, and choosing instead to focus on illicit substances/drugs use and the presence of all-terrain vehicles (ATVs) on the streets.
- In West Greenville, a predominantly white population and high socioeconomic indicators, youth experienced policing as protective and as a response to disputes in the neighborhood.
- In East Greenville and the suburbs, the racially/ethnically and socioeconomically diverse city and predominantly white suburbs with high socioeconomic indicators, the adolescents experienced “officer friendly” and “calm” areas with almost no police presence.

Relevance

- Policing is most prevalent and persistent in the lives of youth of color.

Michelle E. Chen, *Mass Incarceration and Adolescent Development: Connecting Identity and Trauma in Black Adolescent Males*, Child Development Theses at Sarah Lawrence College (2018).

Purpose

- This thesis explores the impact of mass incarceration and over-policing on Black adolescent development and identity formation. It is particularly focused on identity and self-worth in Black adolescents.

Methodology

- The author worked with people affected by mass incarceration as a middle school counselor and a student in a six-year graduate program. The stories from the children she worked with informed this thesis.

Results

- For young Black men, messages of reduced self-worth and diminished value resulting from over-policing reinforce negative images of the self.
- The thesis compiles research on adolescent cognitive development demonstrating that teens are not able to make informed decisions like adults because of how their brains function.
- The experience of incarceration, paired with the lack of rehabilitative services, leads to long-lasting trauma for Black boys who are incarcerated at a young age.
- Trauma impacts self-worth, which is particularly damaging when the brain is still developing. Trauma can leave youth with a low sense of self-worth, poor self-esteem, and identity confusion. Adolescents also feel shame and guilt as a result of their trauma and experience impaired ability to form or maintain relationships with peers. Without support and the ability to manage intense emotions, many youth engage in self-harm, substance abuse, or criminal activity.

Zuleka Henderson, *In Their Own Words: How 12 Black Teens Define Trauma*, J. of Child and Adolescent Trauma 141 (2017).

Purpose & Methodology

- This is a qualitative study that explores the concept of trauma from the perspectives of 12 low-income Black teens.
- The researcher asserts that because perception plays a critical role in distinguishing a traumatic experience and its impact, it is important to explore how Black youth characterize trauma *in their own terms* instead of relying solely on established clinical criteria as the metric for identifying and evaluating trauma.
- The findings present important implications for the development of more culturally and developmentally inclusive discussions of trauma and for clinical practice with low-income, Black youth who are impacted by trauma and adversity.

Results

- Participants' descriptions included death and loss, exposure to violence, police harassment, racism and discrimination, poverty, being stuck in "the hood," and being bullied.
- Participants highlighted traumatic factors that are not enumerated in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders.
- Dealing with death and loss emerged as the most prominent dimension associated with trauma. All 12 participants described that Black teens from their neighborhoods commonly lose parents, siblings, and friends to violence and incarceration or lose other family members to health challenges, including cancer. While acknowledging that death was a part of life, participants talked about death and loss as a hardship for Black youth in their communities because of the frequency with which it happens and because of the negative impact that it has on teens to repeatedly deal with mourning the loss of loved ones.

- Several participants identified negative interactions with the police among the major sources of trauma or hardship for Black teens in their communities. One youth described that police commonly approach Black youth and force them to disperse from areas where they gather to socialize. Others indicated that police frequently question youth from their communities and treat them as if they are guilty, without probable cause.

Nikki Jones, “*The Regular Routine*”: Proactive Policing an Adolescent Development Among Young, Poor Black Men, 143 *New Directions Child and Adolescent Dev.* 33 (2014).

Purpose & Methodology

- In this study, the author conducted a series of interviews with adult and adolescent Black men to examine the effects of policing on their sense of self.
- Participants were part of Brothers Changing the Hood, a San Francisco-based nonprofit organization that aims to influence Black men in the neighborhood and help them stay away from violence and the criminal justice system.

Results

- For poor, young Black men who live in high-surveillance neighborhoods, police contact is a routine feature of their adolescent lives.
- Routine police interaction injures a young person's sense of self, especially when these interactions occur during adolescence.
- Because adolescence is typically marked by increased psychological autonomy in that “individuals begin to explore and examine psychological characteristics of their self in order to discover who they really are,” an adolescent’s interaction with authoritarian figures that are often degrading and dehumanizing informs his beliefs about “who he is, who he can become, his commitment to mainstream society, and, ultimately, his beliefs in the fairness and legitimacy of policing.” Thus, vicarious exposure to policing reaffirms Black youth's negative attitudes towards the police and results in secondary shame and degradation.

Amber J. Landers et al., *Police Contacts and Stress Among African American College Students*, 81 *Am. J. Orthopsychiatry* 72 (2011).

Purpose & Methodology

- This study focuses on attitudes toward police by Black undergraduate students (66 women, 35 men) ages 16 to 21.
- They rated the frequency and stressfulness of 83 general, college-related, race-related, and police-related events (e.g. “being pulled over”, “witnessing police conduct search without good reason” or a “loved one being pulled over”). For each stress item, participants rated the frequency of occurrence within the last two years and rated the event's stressfulness.

Results

- More passive and non-problematic police contact, such as witnessing a person request assistance from the police, was associated with lower stress levels.

- By contrast, more harmful contact with the police, such as witnessing the police use excessive force during an arrest, was associated with greater stress levels.
 - Vicarious contact produced similar stress levels as direct contact.
 - Greater frequency of police contact correlated with greater stress across all types of police contact, regardless of intrusiveness. In other words, even innocuous treatment by police, if frequent, increased participants' stress levels.
 - Male college students reported significantly greater stress across all types of police contact than did their female counterparts.
 - Researchers measured participants' "ethnic centrality," or the degree to which participants' considered their ethnicity an important part of how they define themselves.
 - Greater centrality of ethnic identity was associated with less stress for benign police contacts. This finding was consistent with those of other studies that suggest that elements of ethnic identity may act as a buffer to depression and psychological distress.
-

II. IMPACT OF POLICING ON ADULT HEALTH

G. Sims, M. Kia-Keating & O.D. Hal, *Racial Trauma and Resilience in the Aftermath of Media Exposure of Fatal Police Violence Toward Black Americans: Consequences and Collective Burden*, Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychol. (Advance online publication 2025).

Purpose

- To examine how media exposure to extreme police violence affects the mental health of Black Americans.

Methodology

- In this qualitative study, 12 Black American participants were interviewed for 1.5–2 hours regarding their exposure to media of fatal police violence toward Black Americans. The mean age of participants was 26.83 years. Of the 12 participants, half identified as male, and half identified as female.
- Researchers used a semi-structured interview to inquire about the physiological, psychological, emotional, and social experience of witnessing fatal police violence via media recordings.

Results

- Participants described experiences of physiological discomfort and emotional distress while watching these videos. Participants spoke about their bodies "tensing" in preparation for violence, feelings of "dread" that flooded their systems, and experiencing their "heart racing".
- Participants described a mental preoccupation with the images they had seen, wherein the images looped repeatedly through their minds.
- Notably, participants reported that the anxious feelings they experienced watching the video carried into their actual encounters with police.
- Participants in this study described intense feelings of hopelessness, anxiety, disgust, and grief, as well as somatic experiences of heaviness and disorientation.

Glenna L. Read, Harry Y. Yan & Rachel L. Bailey, *Viewing Violent Policing Videos Contributes to Trauma Symptoms for Black Americans*, 31 Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychol. 256 (2025).

Purpose

- To investigate how watching videos of police violence and experiences with police contributes to health disparities in well-being that disproportionately negatively affect Black Americans.

Methodology

- 1240 Americans were surveyed
 - Participants in the final sample had an average age of 46.57;
 - Participants identified as White (63.40%), as Black/African American (19.00%), and other (17.60% includes participants who identify as Asian American (5.32%), Hispanic/Latinx (3.05%), Pacific Islander (.39%)).
 - 50.29% were women and .78% are either nonbinary or preferred not to answer;
 - 37.60% have 4-year college, college equivalent, or higher level of degrees.
- Researchers asked survey respondents about:
 1. the level of worry they had interacting with the police,
 2. whether they had previous experience with the police,
 3. if they had viewed any violent police videos in the last year and if so what level of exposure they had,
 4. and a self-report of their PTSD symptoms as the result of watching the videos.

Results

- Black participants were more likely to report negative experiences with police, exposure to violent policing videos, and greater worry about being stereotyped as criminal by police than those who identified as White.
- Black participants reported significantly higher levels of recent (last month) exposure than White participants to traumatic events online. Specifically, 64.33% of Black participants reported having watched more than a few videos of police violence; only 49.87% of White participants reported the same.
- Both (a) negative experiences with police and (b) exposure to vicarious police violence were significantly associated with PTSD symptoms.
- The study supports long-standing lines of research regarding race-based trauma suggesting that exposure to violent police videos causes negative mental-health impacts associated with racial bias in policing.

D.A. Green et al., *Racial Identity Attitudes and Vicarious Traumatization from Undue Police Violence on Anticipatory Traumatic Reaction Among Black Americans*, 39 J. Interpersonal Violence 848 (2024).

Purpose

- To examine how different forms of vicarious exposure to police violence, along with varying attitudes about racial identity, impacted Black Americans' experiences of vicarious

traumatization from undue police violence. Specifically, this study compared the traumatic reactions anticipated by Black Americans following exposure to a video, a news report, and an imagined scenario of police violence toward a Black man.

Methodology

- Participants:
 - Participants included 138 Black participants who were ages 18 to 73.
 - 91 participants were cisgender women and 47 were cisgender men.
- A 20-item anticipatory traumatic reaction scale (ATRS) was used to measure future-focused stress following media exposure. The ATRS consists of three subcategories: Feelings (beliefs related to future threats), Preparation (actions to protect oneself or others), and Disruption (degree to which one experiences disruptions to their daily life.)
- Participants were assigned to one of three media exposure conditions: 1) watching a 2-minute video of the interaction; 2) reading news report; and 3) being instructed to imagine undue police violence toward an unarmed Black man.
- In each media exposure condition, participants learned about Derrick Thompson, a 28-year-old Black man, who experienced verbal aggression and physical force by an officer during a traffic stop.
- Immediately after the media exposure, participants completed the ATRS.

Results

- Participants reported similar levels of anticipatory trauma reactions regardless of media exposure group.
- In other words, exposure through any type of media to non-lethal police violence appears to be linked to similar levels of future distress among Black Americans.

Lori S. Hoggard & Mariah T. Lutchman, *Police-Perpetrated Racism and Health in African American and Black Communities*, 18(1) Soc. Personality Psychol. Compass e12868 (2024).

Purpose

- This brief review article describes the racial inequalities in policing using an interdisciplinary framework. The authors assert that police-perpetrated racism inherent in policing is a form of structural racism. In closing, the authors present several potential solutions aimed at reducing racial inequalities in policing and promoting racial justice.

Root Causes of Inequities in Policing

- Because modern-day policing is rooted in antebellum slave patrols, policing became the first line of defense in maintaining and perpetuating racial hierarchies.
- Racial inequities in criminal justice outcomes may be associated with social identity threat. Social identity threat (stereotype threat) is defined as a concern that one may be judged negatively, stereotyped or discriminated against based on being a part of a group. This can cause anxiety, self-regulatory efforts, and behavior (such as fidgeting or avoiding eye contact) that is commonly perceived as suspicious by police officers, thereby increasing the likelihood that innocent people will be misclassified as guilty by the police. *Note: For more information, see the Stereotype Threat Annotated*

Bibliography available in the Case Advocacy section of the Racial Justice Toolkit at <https://defendracialjustice.org>.

- The beliefs in negative stereotypes concerning Black people can influence police officers' perceptions of Black people, their interpretations of encounters with them, their engagement with them, their misidentifications of non-weapons as weapons and decisions to shoot. *Note: For more information, see the Implicit Bias Studies Annotated Bibliography available in the Confronting Bias section of the Racial Justice Toolkit at <https://defendracialjustice.org>.*
- Black people are often stereotyped as having superhuman qualities which can influence police excessive use of force when dealing with unarmed Black civilians.

Health Consequences of Racial Inequities in Policing

- Police contact can be trauma inducing.
- Black people show signs of increased psychophysiological and psychological responses to experiences of racism, especially those stemming from negative police interaction.
- Unfair police contact is associated with poor physical health among inner-city adolescents.
- Life-time police stops are associated with greater odds for Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder.

Solutions

- Policy maker should increase availability and transparency in police department data on public-police encounters.
- Police should seek to transform police culture by removing the focus on aggressive policing.
- Police should screen police recruits for their social dominance orientation.
- Policy makers should increase mandatory training hours for non-lethal conflict de-escalation training and for recognizing the signs of a distressed person, along with soliciting the assistance of a mental health professional.
- Advocates should research and implement alternative public-health-informed response programs that are separate from police agencies.

John Briere & Marsha Runtz, *Police in the Rearview Mirror: Social Marginalization, Trauma, and Fear of Being Killed*, Am. J. Orthopsychiatry (2023).

Purpose

- To examine the relationship between race, LGBT+ status, and experiences of police aggression.

Method

- 528 individuals completed an anonymous 30-minute online survey where they were asked to respond to a hypothetical scenario: if a police car came up right behind you with its lights flashing, how much would worry that you would be killed? Response options ranged from “not at all” to “extremely.”

- Participants identified as 73.7% female; 23.1% as male; 3.2% as nonbinary; 64.3% white; 8.2% Black; 8.6% Hispanic; 8.2% Asian-American; 9.7% mixed-race.

Results

- Black respondents were 12 times more likely than white respondents to report extreme fear of being killed by the police.
- At least some fear of being killed by police was reported by the majority (56%) of Black participants, 39% of those self-describing as “other or mixed” race, and 31% of Hispanic participants, as compared to 26% of those of Asian descent and 19% of those identifying as white.
- Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer participants were also more likely than cisgender/heterosexual respondents to report fear of being killed by police (35% vs. 20%).
- Fear of being killed by police was also more prevalent among those self-reporting unprovoked police aggression in the past and those for whom police aggression had led to posttraumatic stress disorder.
- Black people are several times more likely than White people to fear police violence in their personal lives.

Abhery Das & Tim A. Bruckner, *New York City’s Stop, Question, and Frisk Policy and Psychiatric Emergencies Among Black Americans*, J. Urban Health 255-268 (2023).

Purpose

- To examine whether police stops of Black Americans during New York City’s “stop, question, and frisk” (SQF) policy corresponded positively with psychiatric emergency department (ED) visits among Black residents in NYC.

Methodology

- This study uses the number of outpatient psychiatric ED visits among non-Hispanic Black individuals in NYC from the Statewide Emergency Department Database (SEDD). Researchers drew statistics from the five counties which represent the five boroughs of NYC. Data was analyzed month-to-month from 2006 to 2015.
- Researchers obtained administrative data on pedestrian police stops from 2006 to 2015 from NYPD’s “stop, question, and frisk” database. This data provides information on race/ethnicity of the individual stopped, the date of the stop, and whether the stop resulted in frisking and use of force (called post-stop outcomes).
- The researchers then examined whether the number of total psychiatric ED visits by Black people in the area correlated to the number of police stops of Black people.

Results

- Monthly police stops correspond with modestly but statistically detectable increases in psychiatric ED visits in the same month.
- There were over 212 greater than expected psychiatric ED visits in the Black community per month in which police stops for Black Americans in NYC rose by one standard

deviation—meaning that in an average month there are 18,235 police stops of Black people and in months that have 10,621 more stops of Black people (the standard deviation), there are more than 212 additional psychiatric ED visits than typical. This is a 2.72% increase in ED visits among Black individuals in these months. A standard deviation increase in stops including frisking equates to a 3.8% increase in psychiatric ED visits among Black Americans in NYC. For stops including use of force, researchers found a 3.71% increase in psychiatric ED visits among Black Americans in NYC.

- All police stops, stops including frisking and stops including use of force are correlated with increased psychiatric help-seeking in the broader Black community.

Michael Nino et al., *The Racial/Ethnic Health Consequences of the U.S. Criminal Justice System: How Consequential is Probation and Other Justice System Contact for Self-Rated and Chronic Conditions?* 87 J. Crim. Justice 1-12 (2023).

Purpose

- To determine the effect that certain criminal justice system contacts has on health among specific racial and ethnic groups.

Methodology

- The authors drew data from Waves I-V of the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health, a nationally representative sample of approximately 20,000 adolescents in grades 7 to 12 who were attending 132 schools in 1994/1995 (Wave I). Wave V interviews were administered in 2016-19 and included 19,268 of the original Wave I respondents from the in-home survey.
- Researchers asked participants whether they had experienced contact with the criminal justice system, including probation and/or incarceration.
- Researchers asked participants to rate their health by responding to the question “in general, how is your health?” Responses ranged from 1 (excellent) to 5 (poor). Researchers also asked participants to indicate which, if any, chronic health condition diagnoses they had received from a physician. Conditions include cancer, high blood pressure, high cholesterol, diabetes, and others.

Results

- Researchers found that 25% of respondents experienced some form of criminal justice contact by the time they were interviewed in 2016-29. 65% of those with criminal justice contact reported either a history of probation, incarceration, or both. Black Americans were more likely to have reported some form of criminal justice contact as compared to both Hispanic and white participants.
- Criminal justice contacts play a relatively minor role in the health and well-being of white Americans. However, a combination of probation and incarceration was linked to poorer self-rated health among white Americans.
- Sentences of probation are more likely to negatively impact Black and Hispanic Americans’ self-rated health than white Americans.

- Incarceration always negatively affects self-rated health and chronic health outcomes for Black people. A combination of probation and incarceration increased the likelihood of chronic health conditions for Black people even more.

Richard Carbonaro, *System Avoidance and Social Isolation: Mechanisms Connecting Police Contact and Deleterious Health Outcomes*, 301 Social Science and Medicine (2022).

Purpose

- To explore the relationship between criminal justice contact and negative health outcomes, specifically its contribution to medical system avoidance and social isolation.

Methodology

- The study draws data from waves 1-4 of the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health, following a nationally representative in-school sample of 90,000 racially diverse respondents in 7-12th grade into adulthood from 80 schools in the U.S.
- Police stops were measured by self-reported total stops when participants were age 18-27 (mean age 22). Medical system avoidance was measured as whether the respondent did not go to the hospital or clinic when they thought they needed to within the last year. Social isolation was measured by self-reports of spending no time with friends, along with other questions measuring social isolation.
- Researchers controlled for age, race, sex, income, and health insurance, among other relevant factors.
- General health outcomes were measured at each wave with a self-reporting of health on a 5-point scale ranging from “excellent” to “poor.”

Results

- Police stops were associated with a greater likelihood of medical system avoidance, with the magnitude of this relationship increasing as the number of stops increase.
- Police stops were associated with an increase in loneliness, but not time with friends. The magnitude of this relationship also increased as the number of stops increased.
- People with more police stops have worse health, and the self-reported health was worse for individuals with more frequent police encounters.
- Medical system avoidance may serve as a mediator between police stops and health outcomes.

Justin T. Pickett, Amanda Graham, and Francis T. Cullen, *The American Racial Divide in Fear of the Police*, Criminology (2022).

Purpose

- To examine the prevalence, sources, and consequences of fear of the police in Black and White Americans.

Methodology

- Researchers surveyed a nationwide sample of comparable numbers of Black (517) and White (492) respondents in 2021.
- The survey asked respondents about both personal fear of police and their altruistic fear.
 - To measure personal fear, researchers asked about their emotional fear “that the police will do the following things to you without good reason in the next five years.” They rated how afraid they were (0 = very unafraid, 4 = very afraid) of falling victim to ten types of police mistreatment (e.g. “punch or kick you,” “pepper spray you,” or “kill you”).
 - To measure altruistic fear, researchers asked how often (0 = very rarely, 4 = very often) the respondents “worry about the police hurting the following people,” and listed seven groups (including family members, friends, and neighbors).
- In an effort to determine possible sources of fear of police, researchers asked respondents about their own personal experiences of prior police mistreatment and how many times police had mistreated their family members or close friends. They also asked respondents about their overall exposure to the news.
- The survey also measured two possible outcomes of police-related fear: support for defunding the police and intentions to engage in defense legal socialization (i.e. likelihood that the respondent would advise young family members to stay away from police or teach them how to protect themselves from police).
- Researchers examined how afraid respondents were of specific types of police contact by asking respondents about their relative preferences for events, such as rather they would rather be the victim of a serious felony (robbery or burglary) or experiences unprovoked police contact (questioned, searched, or arrested).

Results

- Most White respondents felt safe, but most Black respondents lived in high degrees of fear of the police killing them and hurting their family members.
- Most White respondents (61 percent) are more afraid of crime than of police, but most Black respondents (55 percent) are more afraid of police than of crime. Most Black respondents (58 percent) are either “afraid” or “very afraid” of being killed by police, but only 34 percent are fearful of being murdered by someone who is not a police officer.
- The racial divide in fear was linked to past experiences with police mistreatment.
- Overall news consumption was not significantly associated with personal or altruistic fear. These findings are inconsistent with the idea that fear simply reflects media bias and instead supports the position that individuals’ fears reflect their lived reality.
- Fearing the police was linked to support of defunding the police and intentions to have “the talk” with young family members about the need to distrust and avoid officers.
- Approximately half of Black respondents preferred to be robbed or burglarized than to have unprovoked contact with officers.

Hannah K. Caison, *A Familiar and Recurring Evil: Why Defendants Should Ask Potential Jurors About Police Brutality*, 100 (1) N.C. L. Rev. 309 (2021).

- This law review article provides insight on the inclusion of questions about race and police brutality in voir dire.
- The author explores *State v. Crump*, where the Supreme Court of North Carolina held that Black male defendants involved in shootings with the police do have the right to include questions about race and police brutality in voir dire.
 - Ramar Crump, a Black man, called his mother to say what he thought was his final goodbye moments after realizing the men with whom he had exchanged gunshots were police officers. Only fifteen days prior, Jonathan Ferrell, an unarmed Black man, had been shot and killed by police just thirteen miles away. Crump was convicted of assault with a deadly weapon. The Supreme Court of North Carolina reversed his conviction, holding that the trial court abused its discretion and prejudiced Crump when it “categorically denied” his attorney’s attempts to question potential jurors both generally about their racial biases and specifically about their impressions of police shootings of Black men.
- The author asserts that by engaging in a frank conversation with potential jurors about their impressions of police interactions with Black people, attorneys can help secure their clients’ constitutional right to an impartial jury. Especially in an era where police brutality is well-known and well-documented, questions about race during voir dire will be most effective when they center on specific instances of racial bias and police brutality.
- Failing to discuss race does not mean jurors will be unaffected by racial bias. Instead, it means jurors are left totally to themselves to form conclusions about how race affected a particular case.
- Defense attorneys should ask about high-profile instances of police brutality against Black people to both gauge reactions by jury members and to prompt those jurors to truly examine their own biases before deciding the guilt or innocence of Black defendants.
- Some answers may reveal that a juror is impartial and should be struck from the jury. But even if no juror expresses a view that makes an attorney question their impartiality, these questions are still valuable because it brings the reality of police brutality and racism to the jurors’ minds at the beginning of the case.
- The author recommends attorneys:
 - Frame questions around specific factual instances of police brutality against Black people, as opposed to more general inquiries about racial bias
 - Not only use cases in close geographical proximity, but look to nationally-known stories of police brutality
 - Avoid accusations of using “stake-out” questions—questions that attempt to ascertain what a juror’s decision would be under a specific set of facts—by carefully framing questions as aiming to invoke conversations about race rather than asking jurors how they would have voted in similar cases.

Sherri Williams, *Stream of Sadness: Young Black Women’s Racial Trauma, Police Brutality and Social Media*, 21(8) *Feminist Media Studies* 1270 (2021).

Purpose

- To understand the impact of viewing violent and deadly images of police brutalization over time on young Black women.

Methodology

- This qualitative study uses in-depth interviews of fifteen Black women enrolled in colleges, aged 18-23, in North Carolina in 2017.
- Participants were asked about their regular social media use across all platforms, and were then asked about how they connected viewing police brutality online to racial trauma.

Results

- Three primary themes emerge from qualitative responses: racial trauma was triggered, images of brutality reflected and intensified feelings of vulnerability to police violence, and reinforced that Black women and girls' have direct and peripheral experiences with police brutality.

Courtney E. Boen, *Criminal Justice Contacts and Psychophysiological Functioning in Early Adulthood: Health Inequality in the Carceral State*, Journal of Health and Social Behavior (2020).

Purpose

- To better understand how criminal justice contacts shape health and contributes to racial health disparities.

Methodology

- Researchers used data from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health, a nationally-representative longitudinal study of U.S. adolescents from 1994-2009.
- Participants were screened for C-reactive protein (CRP), an acute phase protein produced by the liver that is linked to stress exposure, particularly chronic stressors. Chronically elevated levels of CRP have been linked to increased health risk, including higher rates of heart disease and mortality.
- Participants were asked a series of questions:
 - How often over the past seven days have they felt: (1) bothered by things that don't usually bother them; (2) they could not turn off the blues, even with help from family or friends; (3) they had trouble keeping their mind on what they were doing; (4) depressed; (5) sad?
 - For each measure, the scale was 0 = never or rarely; 1 = sometimes; 2 = a lot of the time; 3 = most or all of the time.
 - Criminal justice contacts were measured by asking if a participant had ever been incarcerated; at what age was the first incarceration (the majority experienced incarceration after age 18); what was the total length of incarceration; and how many times they were incarcerated.

- Race and gender was also determined through questioning.

Results

- Formerly incarcerated participants had higher levels of CRP than individuals who were never incarcerated.
- Participants who were incarcerated for one year or more have the greatest risk of elevated CRP.
- There is a significant association between having experienced incarceration and later being at higher risk for depression. While any length of incarceration increases risk for depression, incarceration durations exceeding one year were associated with more depressive symptoms. There is some evidence that incarceration at earlier ages is associated with heightened depressive risk.
- Incarceration is an essential driver of individual health and population health disparities.
- Black individuals are more likely to experience incarceration and also have a higher risk of depression.

Lisa Bowleg et al., *Negative Police Encounters and Police Avoidance as Pathways to Depressive Symptoms Among US Black Men, 2015-2016*, 110(51) American Journal of Public Health S160-S166 (2020).

Purpose

- To examine the link between negative police encounters, police avoidance, incarceration history, and depressive symptoms among Black men in the United States.

Methodology

- Researchers conducted a computer-based survey of 891 Black men in Washington, DC. Participants were between 18 and 44 years of age. Participants were asked whether they had ever been incarcerated, how often they encounter police and what those encounters are like, if they avoid police, and if they experience depressive symptoms.
- They also conducted focus groups with Black men from 9 socioeconomically diverse neighborhoods in DC in 2013 and 2014. These focus groups helped researchers decide what to focus on in the quantitative analysis of their survey.

Results

- Researchers found a statistically significant link between incarceration history and depressive symptoms in Black men who reported that they try to avoid police.
- Participants with a history of incarceration who were unemployed reported significantly higher police avoidance and higher depressive symptoms.
- For Black men who have not been previously incarcerated, avoiding police may be a coping mechanism to deal with depressive symptoms brought on by being overpoliced.
- For Black men who have incarceration histories, the hypervigilance required to avoid the police can become harmful if the stress of trying to avoid the police is so great that it renders them vulnerable to depression.

Christopher Dennison & Jessica Finkedley, *Self-reported Experiences and Consequences of Unfair Treatment by Police*, 59 *Criminology* 254 (2020).

Purpose

- To examine the predictors of experiencing unfair treatments by police.
- To determine the degree to which unfair police treatment is associated with a range of social-psychological and behavioral outcomes in adulthood, including depressive symptoms, self-efficacy, suicide ideation, and drug use.

Methodology

- Uses National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health, following a nationally representative in-school sample of 90,000 racially diverse respondents in 7-12th grade into adulthood.
- Unfair police treatment was measured using responses to the question: “Have you ever been unfairly stopped, searched, or questioned by the police?”
- Depressive symptoms during adulthood is based on indicators from the Center for Epidemiology. Suicide ideation and drug use were also measured by responses from participants.

Results

- Participants who reported experiencing unfair police treatment were more likely to have grown up with families of lower SES, have parents who received welfare, and lived in more disadvantaged neighborhoods during adolescence.
- Those with a history of unfair treatment by police reported more delinquency and substance use compared with those with no experience of unfair police treatment.
- 60.037 percent of those who reported unfair police treatment had been arrested at some point, compared to 26.311 percent of those with no unfair experience.
- Those who experienced unfair treatment also reported more depressive symptoms and lower self-efficacy, and were more likely to report suicide ideation and drug use.
- Results suggest that the odds of reporting ever experiencing unfair treatment by police are disproportionately higher among minorities (and more specifically non-Latino Black people), men, and those from lower socioeconomic backgrounds. Such experiences are detrimental to all of the social-psychological and behavioral outcomes in adulthood, even after accounting for the difference in who is most likely to experience unfair police treatment. Researchers note that some mental health consequences seem to be more pronounced among non-Latino White people compared to non-Latino Black people, which they believe is attributable to the unfortunate reality that unfair police contact continues to be a normative life-course event for Black people in the United States.

Amanda Graham et al., *Race and Worrying About Police Brutality: The Hidden Injuries of Minority Status in America*, 15(5) Victims & Offenders 549-573 (2020).

Purpose

- To examine the extent to which Black people in the United States fear police brutality

Methodology

- Researchers conducted a national survey that measures fear by how much respondents “worry” about experiencing police force.
- 1,000 people participated (48.6% male; 64.2% Black; 11.9% Black; 15.7% Hispanic).

Results

- Only 6.6% of Whites “worry a lot” about police brutality whereas 75% do not worry at all.
- 32.4% of Black people “worry a lot” about being a victim of police officer violence. Black people are roughly five times more likely to worry about police brutality than whites.

Susan A. Bandes, Marie Pryor, Erin M. Kerrison, Phillip Atiba Goff, *The Mismeasure of Terry Stops: Assessing the Psychological and Emotional Harms of Stop and Frisk to Individuals and Communities*, 37 Behav. Sci. Law 176 (2019).

- This article highlights the robust social science literature on the effects of *Terry* stops on people of color, both immediately and over time, and on communities as a whole.
- *Terry* stops subject individuals to harassment and have negative physical, emotional, and psychological effects. Stops and frisks are especially traumatizing for people with disabilities, mental illness, and histories of sexual trauma.
- Youth experience psychological harm and feelings of resentment toward police after *Terry* stops.
- *Terry* stops create distrust of law enforcement and discourage cooperation with the police, which can harm the overall safety of communities.
- The authors recommend that stakeholders re-evaluate the consequences of the *Terry* regime. In *Terry*, the Supreme Court balanced the contribution of “stop and frisk” to effective crime prevention against the impact of the intrusion on individual rights. The harm caused by current stop and frisk practices outweighs any minimal benefit such stops may contribute to public safety

J.R. Smith Lee & M.A. Robinson, “*That’s My Number One Fear in Life. It’s the Police*”: Examining Young Black Men’s Exposures to Trauma and Loss Resulting From Police Violence and Police Killings, 45 J. Black Psychol. 143 (2019).

Purpose

- To examine the process, context, meaning, and mental health consequences of police violence for young Black men transitioning to adulthood in Baltimore, Maryland.

Methodology:

- This qualitative study examined the mental health impact of police violence on young Black men in Baltimore. Researchers conducted in-depth, semi-structured life history interviews with 40 Black men aged 18–24. Using a modified grounded theory approach (an analytical method that builds explanations directly from participants' experiences and focuses on generating an explanation of a particular phenomenon grounded in and supported by the data), the researchers identified key themes from the narratives. The analysis was guided by Critical Race Theory (Crenshaw) and stress and coping theory (Lazarus & Folkman).
- Researchers asked participants the following questions:
 - 1) What are young Black men's exposures to police violence over the life course?;
 - 2) What are the mental health consequences of young Black men's exposures to police violence?; and
 - 3) How do young Black men respond and construct meaning about their exposures to police violence?

Results:

- Findings revealed police violence as a traumatic stressor, with participants witnessing it in childhood and later experiencing direct harassment, abuse, and injury by police
- 44% of the subsample of participants reported becoming subject to police surveillance, targeting, and force
- One participant described his experience with police in his community: "I'm overwhelmed, like I can't believe this! Enraged, you know. Cautious, 'cause you don't ever know what they might do. So, you know, you gotta be cautious."
- Beyond avoiding the indignity of racism, the study reveals that running from police may also be motivated by a legitimate fear of death and a desire to avoid it.

Jacob Bor et al., *Police Killings and their Spillover Effects on the Mental Health of Black Americans: A Population-Based, Quasi-Experimental Study*, 392 The Lancet 1 (2018).

Purpose & Methodology

- This study examines the effects of police killings on the mental health of people who are not directly affected.
- Combines data on police killings with individual-level data from the 2013-15 US Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System to estimate the causal impact of police killings of unarmed Black Americans on self-reported mental health of other Black American adults in the US.

Results

- 38,993 of 103,710 Black American respondents were exposed to one or more police killings of unarmed Black people in the prior 3 months. The largest effects on mental health occurred in the 1-2 months after exposure.

- Police killings of unarmed Black Americans have adverse effects on the mental health (including stress, depression and anxiety, and problems with emotions) of Black adults in the general population.

Lisa Fedina et al., *Police Violence Among Women in Four U.S. Cities*, 106 Preventative Medicine 150 (2018).

Purpose

- To assess the prevalence and nature of police violence and victimization among women.

Methodology

- The study relies on data from the Survey of Police-Public encounters taken in 4 eastern U.S. cities in 2016. 932 women were included in the study
- Police violence exposure was measured using the Police Practice Inventory (PPI), which consists of indicators based on the following domains of violence by police officers toward women: physical, sexual, psychological, and neglect.
- The study also tested for levels of intimate partner violence (IPV) and sexual violence (SV) outside of a policing context.

Results

- Lifetime prevalence of police victimization among women in the sample included physical (4%), sexual (3.3%), psychological (14.4%), and neglect (17.2%).
- IPV and SV victims reported significantly higher prevalence of all forms of police victimization compared to non-IPV and SV victims.
- Black and Latina women reported higher prevalence of police victimization.

Naomi F. Sugie & Kristin Turney, *Beyond Incarceration: Criminal Justice Contact and Mental Health*, 82 Am. Soc. Rev. 719 (2017).

Purpose

- This study examines how various types of criminal justice contact—arrest, conviction, and incarceration—impacts young adults' mental health.

Methodology

- Participants included non-Hispanic white, non-Hispanic Black, and Hispanic youths who had contact with the criminal justice system. The average age was twenty-four years.
- Researchers asked participants to rate on a scale of 1-4 (where 1 meant “all of the time,” 2 meant “most of the time,” 3 meant “some of the time,” and 4 meant “none of the time”) how often within the past month they felt nervous, calm and peaceful, downhearted and blue, happy, and “so down in the dumps that nothing could cheer them up.”

- Researchers took the average of each participant's answers to determine each participant's overall mental health. Answers for "calm and peaceful" and "happy" were reverse-coded, so the higher average values indicated poorer mental health.

Results

- Arrests, independent of conviction and incarceration, was associated with worse mental health—meaning, participants felt more nervous, downhearted, and blue, and less calm, peaceful, and happy.
- Further, arrests were cumulatively related to mental health; in other words, each arrest incrementally contributed to poorer mental health.
- Incarceration, independent of arrest and conviction, was associated with poor mental health. Moreover, the type of incarceration mattered: both current and pretrial incarceration were associated with poorer mental health. Recent incarceration and incarceration with conviction were not associated with poorer mental health.

Sirry Alang et al., *Police Brutality and Black Health: Setting the Agenda for Public Health Scholars*, 107(5) Am. J. Pub. Health 662-665 (2017).

- This article investigates the link between police brutality and poor health outcomes among Blacks and argues that public health scholars must prioritize generating evidence of the causal relationship between police brutality and health inequities and seeking solutions.
- The article focused on five pathways:
 - (1) fatal injuries that increase population-specific mortality rates;
 - (2) adverse physiological responses that increase morbidity;
 - (3) racist public reactions that cause stress;
 - (4) arrests, incarcerations, and legal, medical, and funeral bills that cause financial strain; and
 - (5) integrated oppressive structures that cause systematic disempowerment.
- Police killings increase Black-specific mortality rates. Even though only two percent of injuries from police interventions that require treatment in the emergency department or hospital result in death, Blacks are almost five times more likely than whites to have a police intervention-related injury.
- Experiencing or witnessing police brutality, hearing stories of friends who have experienced brutality, and having to worry about becoming a victim are all psychological stressors.
- "One example of a racist public reaction that might cause stress is arguing that victims were somehow responsible for their own untimely murders—dissecting the guilt or innocence of the murdered persons versus understanding how white supremacy might have caused this."
- Police brutality affects individual and community health through its toll on productivity and on the economy. In addition to job loss after incarceration, survivors of brutality may have to deal with disabilities resulting from police use of excessive force.
- Excessive police force and inadequate prosecution of perpetrators may increase feelings of powerlessness in the Black community.

Thema Bryant-Davis et al., *The Trauma Lens of Police Violence against Racial and Ethnic Minorities*, 73(4) J. Soc. Iss. 852-871 (2017).

- This article explores the available scholarship focused on police brutality perpetrated against racial and ethnic minorities from the lens of trauma studies.
 - It conducts a review of the psychological literature by searching terms such as police brutality, police violence, race-based traumatic stress, racist-incident– based trauma, racism and trauma, intergenerational trauma, and complex trauma.
 - The potential psychological consequences for the direct and indirect targets of racially and ethnically motivated police brutality may include, but are not limited to, distrust, fear, anger, shame, PTSD, isolation, and self-destructive behaviors.
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Abigail A. Sewell & Kevin Jefferson, *Collateral Damage: The Health Effects of Invasive Police Encounters in New York City*, 93 J. Urb. Health 42-67 (2016).

Purpose

- This study evaluates the associations between invasive aspects of pedestrian stops and multiple dimensions of poor health.

Results

- Living in neighborhoods where pedestrian stops are more likely to become invasive is associated with worse health.
 - Living in neighborhoods where stops are more likely to result in frisking show the most consistent negative associations.
 - Minorities who live in neighborhoods with a wider ethno-racial disparity in police behavior have poorer health outcomes in most respects.
 - Stops generally worsen the health of Blacks and Latinos relative to whites and Asians.
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Abigail A. Sewell et al., *Living Under Surveillance: Gender, Psychological Distress, and Stop-Question-and-Frisk Policing in New York City*, 159 Soc. Sci. Med. 1-13 (2016).

Purpose & Methodology

- This study highlights the collateral consequences of mass incarceration, including stop-and-frisk policing tactics.
- It examines whether there is an association between psychological distress and neighborhood-level aggressive policing such as frisking and use of force by police, and whether that association varies by gender.

Results

- While the neighborhood stop rate exhibits inconsistent associations with psychological distress, neighborhood-level frisk and use of force proportions are linked to higher levels of non-specific psychological distress among men, but not women.

- Specifically, men exhibit more non-specific psychological distress and more severe feelings of nervousness, effort, and worthlessness in aggressively surveilled neighborhoods than do women.
- Male residents are affected by the escalation of stop-and-frisk policing in a neighborhood. Living in a context of aggressive policing is an important risk factor for men's mental health.

Amanda Geller et al., *Aggressive Policing and the Mental Health of Young Urban Men*, 104(12) Am. J. Pub. Health 2321–2327 (2014).

Purpose & Methodology

- This study surveyed young men aged 18 to 26 years in New York City on their police encounter experiences and subsequent mental health.
- Respondents reported how many times they were approached by New York Police Department officers, what these encounters entailed, any trauma they attributed to the stops, and their overall anxiety.

Results

- Young men reporting police contact, particularly more intrusive contact, displayed higher levels of anxiety and trauma associated with their experiences.
 - Anxiety symptoms were significantly related to the number of times the young men were stopped and to how they perceived the critical encounter was conducted.
 - Respondents who reported more lifetime stops experienced more trauma symptoms. Trauma levels were also significantly higher among public housing residents.
 - Stop intrusion remained a statistically significant predictor of PTSD.
- Observed health implications were strongest in the most intrusive encounters.