Unpacking Racial/Ethnic Disparities in Emotional Distress Among Adolescents During Witnessed Police Stops

Dylan B. Jackson, Ph.D. a,*, Juan Del Toro, Ph.D. b, Daniel C. Semenza, Ph.D. c, Alexander Testa, Ph.D. d, and Michael G. Vaughn, Ph.D. e

a Department of Population, Family and Reproductive Health, Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health, Baltimore, Maryland
b Learning Research and Development Center, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
c Department of Sociology, Anthropology, and Criminal Justice, Rutgers University, Camden, New Jersey
d Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice, College for Health, Community, & Policy, The University of Texas at San Antonio, San Antonio, Texas
e School of Social Work, College for Public Health and Social Justice, Saint Louis University, St. Louis, Missouri

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ABSTRACT

Purpose: This study aimed to investigate racial/ethnic disparities in emotional distress during witnessed police stops among a national sample of urban-born youth.

Methods: A national sample of urban-born youth in the U.S. from the most recent wave (2014–2017) of the Fragile Families & Child Wellbeing Study was used in the present study, with a particular focus on youth who report having witnessed police stops, despite not being directly stopped by the police (N = 1,488).

Results: Significant racial/ethnic disparities in feeling angry and unsafe during witnessed police stops emerged, with multiracial, black, and Hispanic youth exhibiting the highest rates of these forms of emotional distress. In the case of Black and multiracial youth, officer intrusiveness and perceptions of procedural injustice collectively explain a large portion of disparities in emotional distress during witnessed stops.

Conclusions: Youth of color are more likely to report emotional distress during witnessed police stops, largely due to the officer intrusiveness and perceived injustices that characterize these stops. Moving forward, scholars should consider whether racial/ethnic disparities in witnessing police violence and injustice may be a significant driver of mental health inequities among urban-born youth.

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Police violence against people of color is a significant public health concern in the U.S. [1–3]. Although data from the Bureau of Justice Statistics indicate that most police–citizen encounters do not entail threats or use of force by officers [4], the recent deaths of George Floyd, Breonna Taylor, Elijah McClain, and many others have ignited protests across the country, calling for fundamental changes to policing practices. Beyond fatal police–citizen encounters, however, are numerous nonfatal encounters, which can have significant mental health repercussions, including psychological distress [5,6], depression [7,8], anxiety, stigma, and posttraumatic stress disorder [9–11] and suicidal ideation and attempts [12,13]. Importantly, the deleterious
impact of police encounters is often augmented among people of color [5,14,15] and typically varies by the severity, nature, and frequency of exposure [1,10,14].

A handful of recent studies have also revealed that police encounters—particularly hostile encounters—are injurious to the mental health of youth of color in urban contexts [5,10]. The health impact of witnessed police encounters among adolescents, however, has been overlooked. This is an important oversight, considering that witnessing police stops may contribute to significant emotional distress, particularly if it heightens trauma and engenders fear of direct encounters with police in the future [16]. This may be especially true when witnessed stops are characterized by procedural injustice or acts of police intrusiveness, such as harsh language, threats of force, or use of force [1,17]. Although witnessing a respectful, nonintrusive police encounter may be unrelated to emotional distress, witnessing police–citizen interactions characterized by acts of police intrusiveness is likely to generate significant emotional distress, perhaps especially among youth.

There is also a critical need to examine racial/ethnic disparities in psychological distress among adolescents who witness police encounters. Research has revealed that persons of color are not only more likely to report greater exposure to police encounters [12,15,18] but are also vulnerable to encounters marked by heightened intrusiveness, aggression, or procedural injustice [19–22], which can engender significant mental health disparities [7,15]. These disparities are likely to extend to youth, given evidence revealing that youth of color are disproportionately subjected to hostility and intrusiveness when stopped by police [22–24], are more likely to hold negative views of the police [25,26], and perceive stops as unfair [27]. Beyond direct police encounters, however, witnessing adverse police encounters may also produce psychological distress among youth, considering the vulnerability and emotional sensitivity that characterize this developmental period [28]. In addition, there is good reason to suspect that emotional distress during witnessed encounters may vary by race/ethnicity, given recent evidence that indirect exposure to police killings can elevate stress by heightening cortisol reactivity among urban black (but not white) youth [29]. Furthermore, given the overrepresentation of police violence in communities of color [16], youth of color may be primed to view witnessed stops as harsh and unfair and may also be more likely to witness stops with distressing features (e.g., officer intrusiveness).

Considering the paucity of research on the mental health repercussions of witnessed police stops among youth, we hypothesize that compared with their white counterparts, youth of color will disproportionately experience emotional distress while witnessing a police–citizen interaction. Furthermore, we anticipate these disparities will be largely explained by interactional features of the witnessed stop related to police intrusiveness and procedural injustice.

**Methods**

Data for the present study come from the Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study (FFCWS). The FFCWS is a large, national study of approximately 4,800 children who were born between the years of 1998 and 2000. To date, six waves of data have been collected. The focus of the present study is on witnessed police stops reported in the youth survey that took place between 2014 and 2017, during the Year 15 (Y15) data collection. The FFCWS data were obtained using a multistaged, clustered sampling procedure in which unmarried couples with one or more children were oversampled. Because of this sampling strategy, the sample includes a large number of families and children with disproportionate exposure to various hardships and risk factors, including parental justice involvement as well as intrusive/unjust police encounters. Using a population of cities with 200,000 or more residents, a stratified random sample of 20 U.S. cities was selected. The subsequent sampling stage involved the selection of 75 hospitals within these 20 cities, followed by a random sample of couples who had just given birth to a child and who consented to participate in the study. In the present study, we restrict the sample to youth who participated in the sixth (i.e., Year 15) wave of data collection (N = 3,444). For the main analyses, we further restrict the sample to youth who report having witnessed police stops, despite not being directly stopped by the police (N = 1,488). The present study uses public-use, deidentified data and is therefore exempt from institutional review board review.

**Emotional distress during witnessed police stops**

The focal outcome variable in the present study is emotional distress during witnessed police stops. Youth who reported being personally stopped by police and/or witnessing police stops were asked follow-up questions concerning their feelings of distress during the reference stop. Given the focus of the present study on youth who witnessed stops (but had not personally been stopped), the reference stop referred to in this study can only be one of two kinds of stops: (1) a single witnessed stop for youth who have experienced this only once and have not been personally stopped or (2) the most salient witnessed stop (i.e., the one that stands out most in their minds) for youth who have witnessed multiple stops but have not been personally stopped. Youth were asked, “At the time of this incident, did you feel: 1. Scared?, 2. Angry?, 3. Safe?” Responses to each of these items were Yes (coded as 1) or No (coded as 0). The third item, however, was reverse coded so that youth who responded that they did not feel safe during the witnessed stop were assigned a value of 1, and youth who reported feeling safe during the stop were assigned a value of 0. To examine patterns across these different forms of emotional distress, all items were coded as separate binary items and were labeled Felt Scared, Felt Angry, and Felt Unsafe [10,30].

**Race/ethnicity**

During the Y15 survey, youth were asked the following question, “What is your race and ethnicity?” FFCWS data did not, however, include information on the race/ethnicity of the individual(s) who youth witnessed being stopped by police. FFCWS staff organized and coded responses to identify various groups of youth respondents, including white/Caucasian, black/African American, American Indian/Alaskan Native, Asian, Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander, Hispanic/Latino, and other/undefined. Ultimately, given the racial/ethnic make-up of the sample (i.e., majority black/African American) and the numerous racial/ethnic categories identified (some of which were extremely infrequent), categories were simplified in a constructed item made available in the public-use data (decodedrace), including the following racial/ethnic categories: white, Hispanic, black, multiracial, and other race/ethnicity (Appendix provides more details).
Police encounter features and perceptions

Officer intrusiveness. During the most recent wave of data collection, youth were also asked about the behavior of law enforcement during the reference stop (in this case, the only or most salient witnessed stop). Youth were asked, “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?” Responses to each of these items were Yes (coded as 1) or No (coded as 0). Each item pertaining to officer intrusiveness was coded as a binary item, and subsequently, the items were summed into a count measure of officer intrusiveness ranging from 0 to 6 (alpha = .71).

Perceptions of procedural injustice. In line with recent research [31], we used three items pertaining to perceptions of procedural injustice. Youth were asked, “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 with dignity and courtesy, and 3. Respect their rights?” Response options included often (=0), sometimes (=1), and never (=2). Items were coded so that high scores correspond to lower perceptions of these stop characteristics. Responses to these three items were summed into an additive scale ranging from 0 to 6 (alpha = .70).

Covariates

The following covariates were included in each of the multivariate models to minimize the likelihood of spurious results: youth age (in years; Y15), youth sex (male = 1; Y15), youth delinquency and substance use (17 items index; alpha = .71; Y9), police at school (Y15), youth age witnessed stop (in years; Y15), income-to-poverty ratio (ranging from <.50 [score of 1] to >3.00 [score of 5]; Y9), material hardship (11-item index; alpha = .72; Y9), low neighborhood cohesion (5-item index; alpha = .78; Y9), perceptions of neighborhood danger (binary item assessing parents fear of child going outside because of violence; Y9), mother relationship status (mother married to bio father, mother cohabiting with bio father, with other as reference; Y9), maternal education (ranging from less than high school [1] to college graduate [4]; Y9), maternal depression (mother met criteria for depression; Y9), and paternal incarceration (father ever or currently incarcerated; Y9).

Statistical analyses

First, in preliminary analyses, we exclude youth with direct stop experiences and conduct difference-of-means t-tests to examine significant differences in key demographics and covariates between youth who had and had not witnessed stops (N = 2,506). Second, for the main analyses, we further restrict the sample to youth who report witnessing stops (N = 1,488) and estimate the proportion of youth reporting each form of emotional distress during the reference stop witnessed, stratified by race/ethnicity. Third, to adjust for potential confounders, we re-estimate these bivariate patterns in a multivariate context using logistic regression techniques, controlling for all covariates. Finally, we use the Karlson-Holm-Breen (KHB) method to examine the extent to which officer intrusiveness witnessed by the youth and/or youth perceptions of procedural injustice explain associations between race/ethnicity and emotional distress during witnessed police stops [32]. The KHB method was chosen to test this final hypothesis for two reasons. First, coefficients across nested nonlinear models cannot be directly compared because of a rescaling of the model that occurs after additional variables are added. The KHB method corrects for this rescaling and provides an estimate of how much each variable attenuates the association between the independent (race/ethnicity) and dependent variable (emotional distress during witnessed stops). Second, because we are simultaneously considering multiple, correlated mediating variables, the KHB method provides the benefit of (1) decomposing the independent attenuating effects of each of these individual variables and (2) calculating whether the change in the focal independent variable across models is greater than expected by chance. All analyses were conducted in Stata 16.1 using multiply imputed data (chained equations, 20 imputations).

Results

We begin by reviewing key differences between youth with no direct stop experiences who have and have not witnessed police stops (N = 2,506). The findings are displayed in the Appendix. Relative to youth who had not witnessed stops, those who had were more likely to be black (t = 3.63; p < .01) and less likely to be white (t = −2.37; p < .05) or other race/ethnicity (t = −2.15; p < .05). In addition, youth delinquency and substance use, material hardship, low neighborhood cohesion, neighborhood perceptions of danger, and paternal incarceration were all significantly higher/more common among youth who had witnessed stops, whereas maternal education, income-to-poverty ratio, and maternal marriage to bio father were significantly lower or less common among these youth. Among the youth who reported witnessing police stops (N = 1,488), 17.21% were white, 26.88% were Hispanic, 48.19% were black, 5.31% were multiracial, and 2.41% reported another race/ethnicity. Furthermore, 44.15% of youth who witnessed police stops reported at least one form of emotional distress during witnessed police stops, with “felt scared” being the most common (26.61%).

After restricting the sample to youth who had witnessed stops, we plotted the percentage of youth reporting each form of emotional distress, stratified by race/ethnicity. The results, which are displayed in Figure 1, reveal that relative to white youth, black and multiracial youth were especially likely to report feeling angry or feeling unsafe while witnessing stops. To illustrate, although only 9% of white youth reported feeling angry during the witnessed stop, 22% of Black youth and 23% of multiracial youth reported these feelings. Similarly, only 11% of white youth reported feeling unsafe during the witnessed stop, compared with 28% of black youth and 31% of multiracial youth. Notably, Hispanic youth reported higher levels of these forms of emotional distress than white youth, but lower levels than black and multiracial youth.

We further examined the association between race/ethnicity and emotional distress during witnessed stops in the multivariate logistic regression models displayed in Table 1. The findings indicate that, although race/ethnicity was not associated with feeling scared during witnessed stops, it was associated with feeling angry and unsafe. Specifically, relative to white youth, the odds of feeling angry during the stop were 101% higher among Hispanic youth (p < .01), 138% higher among black youth (p < .01), and 149% higher among multiracial youth (p < .01). Furthermore, relative to white youth, the odds of feeling unsafe...
during the stop were 72% higher among Hispanic youth \((p < .05)\), 117% higher among black youth \((p < .01)\), and 152% higher among multiracial youth \((p < .01)\). Ancillary analyses indicated that youth sex did not significantly moderate these associations.

In follow-up analyses, we examined the presence of racial/ethnic disparities in key features and perceptions of witnessed stops. These findings reveal that net of covariates, black, multiracial, and Hispanic youth reported significantly higher rates of officer intrusiveness during witnessed stops as well as significantly higher perceptions of procedural injustice (for more details, see the Appendix). To illustrate this pattern further, Figure 2 depicts the racial/ethnic disparities in each form of officer intrusiveness. For most forms of officer intrusiveness, multiracial youth (followed closely by black youth) were most commonly exposed to intrusive treatment of citizens by officers in witnessed stops. To highlight these findings, 27% and 28% of multiracial youth witnessed threats of force and use of force, respectively. By comparison, only 9% and 14% of white youth witnessed threats of force and use of force, respectively. Furthermore, relative to other groups, multiracial youth most often witnessed harsh language and racial slurs on the part of the officer (followed again by black youth). For example, witnessing the use of racial slurs by the officer was five times more common among multiracial youth than white youth. Given the apparent racial/ethnic disparities in the features of witnessed stops—which tend to mirror racial/ethnic disparities in emotional distress during witnessed stops—we conducted a final set of mediation analyses using the KHB method to determine the extent to which acts of officer intrusiveness and perceptions of procedural injustice might explain racial/ethnic disparities in emotional distress during witnessed police stops. The findings, which are displayed in Table 2, indicate that, for Black and multiracial youth, both officer intrusiveness and perceptions of procedural injustice explain a significant proportion of their increased likelihood to feel angry and unsafe during witnessed police stops. Mediation effects are particularly large in the case of feeling unsafe, such that 70% of the association between black and feeling unsafe and 79% of the association between multiracial and feeling unsafe are explained collectively by officer intrusiveness and perceptions of procedural injustice. Associations between Hispanic and these measures of emotional distress, despite being somewhat weaker, are significantly explained by perceptions of procedural justice, but not officer intrusiveness. In this case, mediation is also more robust when examining feeling unsafe (vs feeling angry), with perceptions of procedural injustice explaining about 47% of the association between Hispanic and feeling unsafe.

**Discussion**

The present study revealed that among a national sample of urban-born youth who report witnessing police stops, greater emotional distress emerged among youth of color, particularly multiracial, black, and Hispanic youth. Further analyses revealed that these racial/ethnic disparities in emotional distress during witnessed police stops were largely explained by acts of officer intrusiveness and youth perceptions of procedurally unjust treatment of citizens during witnessed stops. Given our focus on youth who had uniformly witnessed police stops, youth may have been socialized to anticipate unfair
treatment based on their social categories. For instance, racial/ethnic disparities in state-sanctioned violence have a long history in the U.S., disproportionately impacting black and Hispanic communities [33]. Shared knowledge of police shootings of unarmed black citizens and stereotypes of Hispanics as undocumented immigrants may have created a context in which youth of color who witness police stops become vulnerable to hypervigilance and rumination. Our findings likely reflect these social realities. The fact that officer intrusiveness and procedural injustice were central explanations of the higher levels of emotional distress among youth of color during witnessed police stops may allude to their acute awareness of biased treatment toward their communities from law enforcement and the emotional distress that such biased treatment engenders.

Despite its contribution, the present study is not without its limitations. First, the findings may not generalize to the U.S. population of youth, given the features of the sample. Second, although police stop data were obtained relatively recently (2014–2017), findings may not be strictly applicable to the current U.S. social and political contexts. Current events and activism pertaining to police accountability and racial justice may alter the impact of witnessing police stops on emotional distress for youth of color. Future research should build on the current findings by exploring these patterns in the wake of current events pertaining to police violence and racial injustice. Third, given that all key measures are derived from youth, shared method variance is a concern. Future studies should seek to use officer reports and/or other officer data (e.g., body-worn camera data) [34]. Fourth, the data lack details regarding some individual-level risk factors for exposure to the police, such as street code adherence among youth [35], and broader contextual features concerning systemic racism and discrimination, which future research should consider. Further study of the continued emotional distress following the stop as well as the actions (if any) taken by youth in response to the emotional distress of witnessing an unfair/intrusive encounter is also needed using alternative data sources [36]. Finally, the race/ethnicity of the citizen(s) involved in the witnessed encounter cannot be known, which could aid in the interpretation of the findings (e.g., particular relevance of perceptions of procedural injustice for Hispanics), given that the race/ethnicity of the person stopped may also be an important driver of the emotional distress experienced and may more broadly highlight high levels of police intrusiveness in communities of color. Relatedly, the race/ethnicity of the police officer(s) is also unknown in the present study. Future research should seek to collect data on these important details and explore these questions further.

**Conclusion**

Collectively, our findings suggest compromised emotional well-being among youth of color who witness police stops. Several policy implications directly stem from these results. Ultimately, the diffuse effects of police stops in communities of color on the mental health of youth cannot be underestimated by youth service providers. Instances of exposure to intrusive and procedurally unjust stops should be considered potentially traumatic events that can result in maladaptive coping strategies. Accordingly, school counselors and/or social workers should actively address the deleterious psychological impact of witnessing police stops among youth, particularly among urban youth of color who are vulnerable to witnessing particularly hostile and procedurally unjust police encounters. These qualified professionals could provide mental health screenings and offer counseling care following these events to forestall the use of psychoactive substances as a self-medicating behavior intended to reduce uncomfortable and distressing emotions stemming from witnessed police encounters. In addition to offering direct services to these youth, concrete steps must be taken to build institutional trust and facilitate positive police–youth relations. This may entail enhanced training for police to engage with youth in a manner that is developmentally appropriate and

### Table 1

Logistic regression models of the association between youth race/ethnicity and forms of emotional distress during witnessed stops (N = 1,488)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Covariates</th>
<th>Felt scared OR (95% CI)</th>
<th>Felt angry OR (95% CI)</th>
<th>Felt unsafe OR (95% CI)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Youth race/ethnicity</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>1.06 (0.71–1.58)</td>
<td>2.01** (1.19–3.40)</td>
<td>1.72* (1.08–2.75)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>.99 (0.69–1.43)</td>
<td>2.38** (1.47–3.87)</td>
<td>2.17** (1.41–3.33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiracial</td>
<td>.55 (0.28–1.09)</td>
<td>2.49** (1.25–4.97)</td>
<td>2.52** (1.35–4.69)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>.90 (0.39–2.10)</td>
<td>.55 (0.12–2.44)</td>
<td>.82 (0.27–2.48)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Covariates</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth age witnessed stop</td>
<td>1.15 (0.97–1.36)</td>
<td>.89 (0.60–1.05)</td>
<td>1.05 (0.89–1.26)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income-to-poverty ratio</td>
<td>1.02 (0.91–1.14)</td>
<td>.84 (0.88–1.14)</td>
<td>1.02 (0.95–1.10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material hardship</td>
<td>1.02 (0.95–1.09)</td>
<td>.88 (0.84–1.09)</td>
<td>1.02 (0.77–1.52)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low neighborhood cohesion</td>
<td>1.00 (0.81–1.23)</td>
<td>.73 (0.60–1.14)</td>
<td>1.07 (0.60–1.32)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother married to bio father</td>
<td>.94 (0.69–1.29)</td>
<td>.54 (0.49–0.93)</td>
<td>.91 (0.66–1.23)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother cohabiting with bio father</td>
<td>.62* (0.40–0.99)</td>
<td>.52 (0.49–0.93)</td>
<td>.93* (0.87–0.99)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceptions of neighborhood danger</td>
<td>1.26 (0.90–1.76)</td>
<td>.80 (0.74–0.86)</td>
<td>1.08 (0.77–1.53)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceptions of neighborhood danger</td>
<td>1.16 (0.80–1.68)</td>
<td>.86 (0.81–1.08)</td>
<td>1.11 (0.80–1.53)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maternal education</td>
<td>.86* (0.75–0.99)</td>
<td>.86 (0.78–1.05)</td>
<td>.96 (0.83–1.11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paternal incarceration</td>
<td>.88 (0.60–1.03)</td>
<td>.97 (0.84–1.15)</td>
<td>1.09 (0.71–1.67)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceptions of neighborhood danger</td>
<td>1.19 (0.89–1.59)</td>
<td>.91 (0.75–1.17)</td>
<td>1.26 (0.87–1.83)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceptions of neighborhood danger</td>
<td>1.10 (0.89–1.16)</td>
<td>.88 (0.84–1.09)</td>
<td>1.19 (0.91–1.56)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cl = confidence interval; OR = odds ratio.
trauma informed. Although this may appear time consuming and costly, the health costs of trauma and subsequent maladaptive coping by youth in the wake of exposure to hostile police encounters are enormous, and these prevention activities may result in long-term cost savings [37].

Perhaps most importantly, we assert the need for policing practices and policies to be revisited to reduce overpolicing in communities of color [38–40]. Curtailment of punitive approaches to crime, such as proactive policing practices, as well as consistent consequences for abuses of power when they occur are necessary steps in mitigating risk factors that otherwise contribute to youth’s emotional distress and perceived illegitimacy toward legal institutions [38]. To facilitate lasting change, however, this critical step must be accompanied by investment in state- and community-based institutions that promote adolescent health and wellness through political inclusion and civic belonging [39]. It is our hope that these actions can facilitate reductions in unwarranted exposure to the criminal justice system and promote greater racial equity in youth’s development.

Table 2
KHB analysis of mediators of the association between race/ethnicity and measures of emotional distress during witnessed stops (N = 1,488)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measures of emotional distress</th>
<th>Hispanic</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>Multiracial</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Felt angry</td>
<td>z-score</td>
<td>z-score</td>
<td>z-score</td>
<td>z-score</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Officer intrusiveness</td>
<td>% Reduction</td>
<td>10.62%</td>
<td>16.93%</td>
<td>27.81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceptions of procedural injustice</td>
<td>z-score</td>
<td>2.88**</td>
<td>2.80**</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>21.97%</td>
<td>41.22%</td>
<td>45.57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Felt unsafe</td>
<td>z-score</td>
<td>z-score</td>
<td>z-score</td>
<td>z-score</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Officer intrusiveness</td>
<td>% Reduction</td>
<td>18.82%</td>
<td>24.25%</td>
<td>47.52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceptions of procedural injustice</td>
<td>z-score</td>
<td>2.80**</td>
<td>3.84**</td>
<td>3.07**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>47.30%</td>
<td>41.22%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**p < .01; *p < .05. Covariates are included by suppressed to conserve space. Estimates are only obtained in cases where models met the criteria of Baron and Kenny (1986). In certain cases, associations between the independent variable (i.e., race/ethnicity) and the outcomes displayed in Table 1 were consistently null. Specifically, other race/ethnicity (X) was not significantly associated with any measure of emotional distress (Y); therefore, no mediation effects were estimated in Table 2 for these nonsignificant associations. In addition, associations between all racial/ethnic groups and “Felt Scared” were null, resulting in no mediation effects being estimate for that outcome.

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Supplementary Data

Supplementary data related to this article can be found at https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jadohealth.2021.02.021.

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