# The Development of Perceptions of Police Officers Scale (POPS)

in Latinos/as in the U.S.

by

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#### **ABSTRACT**

Since the passing of anti-immigration laws, Latinos/as have become more vulnerable to racial profiling, thus increasing the chances of having negative interactions with police officers regardless of documentation status. Within criminology fields it has been reported that Latinos/as in general hold a higher fear towards the police when compared to Whites. However, there is has been limited research capturing perceptions of police officers using a quantitative approach. **Method:** 26 items were developed and was hypothesized to have 3 subscales: Fear of Police Officers, Anxiety of Interacting with Police Officers, and Self-Perceptions of How Police View Latinos/as. The final analytic sample included 288 self-identified as Latinos/as using an online survey. Most of the participants (92.7%) indicated being either U.S. citizens or permanent residents. **Results:** Results indicated that there were 3 latent factor structure of the POPS with Cronbach's alpha's above 0.9. Results from the Pearson bivariate analysis indicated that POPS subscale Anxiety of Interacting of police officers positively correlated with anxiety symptoms (r = .47, p < .01). In addition, POPS sub-scale Fear of Police Officers positively correlated with anxiety symptoms (r = .43, p < .01). POPS sub-scale Perceptions of Police Officers (r = .36, p < .01). Furthermore, direct negative past experiences with police officers had a moderation effect between the associations of selfperceptions of how police view Latinos/as and psychological distress by enhancing the relationship between those two variables ( $\Delta R^2 = .25$ , F (2, 297) = 31.82, p < .05; ( $\beta = -.16$ , p > .05). Conclusion: This study contributes to our knowledge on self-perceptions of police among ethnic minorities and its association with mental health. These findings warrant attention for law enforcement and health service providers as it can help assist in

understanding the mechanism involved in the development of Latino/a mental health disparities.

Keywords: police officers, immigrants, Latinos/as, anxiety

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#### INTRODUCTION

In recent years, there has been in an increase in the reported cases around police brutality and racial profiling among the Latinos/as (Krogstad, 2014). According to the U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics (2011), Latinos/as have higher rates of interactions with police officers compared to other racial groups. To illustrate, while Latinos/as make up about 17.6% of the U.S. population, they account for about 23% of all searchers and nearly 30% of all arrests (The Guardian, 2016). When discussing rates of police killings in 2016, Latinos/as were the second largest victims after African Americans (The Guardian, 2016). It was estimated that 16 percent of the 585 victims of police killings were Latinos/as (The Guardian, 2016). These rates might be even higher as Latinos/as are often underrepresented in the reports of police killings and violence as government officials organize such information by race, not ethnicity (Down, 2016). Although police responsibilities vary, a few universal themes have emerged within their job descriptions. Their duties are mostly centered on local crime prevention and detection, criminal apprehension, and, most importantly, the commitment to assist and protect the public (Varvarigou et al., 2014). While their duties seem clear, Latinos/as often view police negatively and mistrust them.

While these controversial cases between Latinos/as and police officers have been occurring for decades, it is often completely ignored by news outlets. Some argue that this could be partly due to the media primarily covering stories around the Black Lives Matter movement and acts of violence against African Americans. Thus, news outlets often neglect to report the shootings and killings of Latinos/as (Down, 2016). Although global views about police efficiency and violence have been intensely studied among

African Americans, the literature neglects to include how historical and political changes may influence other groups (Carbado & Rock, 2016; Schuck et al., 2005). Others argue that the assumption that Latinos/as are more likely to be undocumented encourages the thought of seeing them as "just foreigners," making the negative actions of police officers more acceptable or forgettable (Down, 2016). This assumption also plays a role in their chances of getting pulled over by a police officer compared to other racial groups (Androff et al., 2011; Hernandez, 2005).

While criminologists suggest that racial profiling is a major component that shapes the views of ethnic minorities about police (Warren, Tomaskovic-Devey, Zingraff, Smith, & Mason, 2006; Weitzer & Tuch, 2002), no measure has captured how these external influences shape how Latinos/as believe police officers view them. Latinos/as are sometimes required to interact with police yet may avoid doing so if they believe officers will treat them differently based on their ethnicity. To my knowledge, there is no instrument that captures Latinos/as self-perceptions of police beyond the frequency of experience and global perception of public treatment (Schuck et al., 2005). This proves to be limiting as frequency only measures those who been exposed to past experiences and neglects those individuals who may avoid these interactions. Therefore, creating a measure that captures fear of police, anxiety of interacting with police, and self-perceptions of how police view Latinos/as as it relates to overall psychological distress is important. The primary goal of this study is to develop an instrument that captures the unique self-perceptions that Latinos/as have about police that I titled "Perceptions of Police Officers Scale (POPS)" while also establishing convergent validity with past measures on global opinions of police.

Additionally, this newly established measure can assist in understanding how these perceptions may impact other areas of an individual's life. For instance, with the increase in police brutality, this measure may also have important implications for how Latinos/as access public health resources. For example, some studies have found that fear of being mistreated by the general public may prevent Latinos/as from seeking medical attention (Carter, 1983, 1985; Culver, 2004; Davis et at., 2001; Herbst & Walker, 2001; Menjivar & Bejarano, 2004; Kidd & Chayet, 1984). In addition, the way Latinos/as view police officers perceive them is an important variable to investigate because studies have shown that mistrust and fear of police is associated with an increase in crime, decline in crime reports, limited access to public health services, and greater psychological distress (Davis et at., 2001; Carter, 1983, 1985; Culver, 2004; Herbst & Walker, 2001; Menjivar & Bejarano, 2004; Kidd & Chayet, 1984; Vidales, 2007). The POPS scale may help us further uncover such findings by assessing how it may relate to anxiety, ethnic/racial discrimination, and access to health care.

Bronfenbrenner's socio-ecological theory serves as a framework for this study as it explains how different structural systems such as community, organizations, and policy/enabling environments can influence a person's behavior and interactions with the outside world (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). This is particularly true when discussing how Latinos/as view police as many levels within the socio-ecological structure (i.e. news on police brutality, direct past experiences police) are influencing these perceptions. With this in mind, the current study sought to meet the following objectives:

(1) Assess the psychometric properties of the newly developed scale, "Perceptions of Police Officers Scale" (POPS) proposing a three-factor structure.

- (2) Establish convergent validity with past measures of attitudes about police (e.g. PLE and Attitudes Toward Police).
- (3) Test the relationships between the POPS's subscales, psychological distress (e.g. anxiety), ethnic discrimination, and access to health care.
- (4) Examine whether or not past experiences with police officers (e.g. negative and positive interactions) moderates the relationship between POPS subscales and psychological distress.

#### Theoretical Framework

Previous research has identified themes that have emerged when studying Latinos/as views of law enforcement officers which include increase fear of police officers, fear of deportation, negative perceptions of police officers, cultural barriers that affect communication with the legal system, and Latinos/as lack of understanding of the legal procedures (Carter, 1983, 1985; Culver, 2004; Davis et at., 2001; Herbst & Walker, 2001; Menjivar & Bejarano, 2004; Kidd & Chayet, 1984; Vidales, 2007). In most cases, the relationship between Latinos/as and law enforcement is complex and includes many factors that influence their views such as immigration status, socio-cultural values, poverty, discrimination, and/or language barriers (Carter, 1983, 1985; Culver, 2004; Herbst et al., 2001; Kidd et al., 1984).

As previously discussed, Bronfenbrenner's socio-ecological theory provides a structure for how interactions between the different levels of society may influence people's understanding of the role of police officers. According to Bronfenbrenner's socio-ecological theory "the human experience results from reciprocal interactions

between individuals and their environments, varying as a function of the individual, his or her context and culture, and over time" (APA, 2012, p. 4).

Although individuals themselves may not have past experiences with the police, they may develop negative views of police officers due to what they hear on the news, social media or through friends and family. This is particularly true when discussing the history of police brutality and its impact on the Latino/a population. Based on the socioecological theory and previous research, I posit that there are three broad aspects of perceptions of police: "Fear of Police Officers", "Anxiety Of Interacting With Police Officers", and "Self-Perceptions of Police Officers View Latinos/as"

## **Self-Perceptions of How Police View Latinos/as**

Changes in perceptions of the police have largely been influenced by police brutality. With all the changes and attention given to Latino/a in recent years, it is important to understand what perceptions are formed about how others view them in our society. Criminologists suggest that racial profiling has been a major component that has shaped the views of ethnic minorities about police (Warren, Tomaskovic-Devey, Zingraff, Smith, & Mason, 2006; Weitzer & Tuch, 2002). Latinos/as may believe that they will be treated differently by police based on their ethnicity. To my knowledge, no measure has captured how Latinos/as believe police officers view them in the U.S. This subscale offers a new dynamic that captures views about police mistreatment based on race-ethnicity. It could also capture if individuals believe police officers are likely to discriminate them.

Most of the research examining perceptions of police officers have been on African Americans (Jacob, 1971; Sampson and Bartusch, 1998; Walker et al. 2000;

Weitzer and Tuch, 2005). Those studies show that African Americans have negative perceptions towards police officers and often distrust them (Jacob, 1971; Sampson & Bartusch, 1998; Walker et al. 2000; Weitzer & Tuch, 2005). There is, however limited research specifically focusing on Latinos/as perceptions of the police (Holmes, 1998; Martinez, 2007). Particularly, there is no research focusing on how Latinos/as think police view them in this country. Most research on perceptions of the police among Latinos/as has found consistent themes which include fear, distrust, perceptions of discrimination and selective enforcement, lack of courtesy, and excessive force and brutality (Carter, 1983, 1985; Mirande, 1980; Weitzer, 1999). Along with other factors, Latinos/as have raised concerns about the legitimacy of police officers and the procedural fairness of these law enforcement organizations (Engel, 2005; Smith & Holmes, 2003; Tyler, 2001). While, another study on Latinos/as interactions with the criminal justice system in Texas, found several negative perceptions and beliefs that included a sense of inadequate police protection, police cannot reduce crime, and poor evaluation of police performance compared to the general population (Carter, 1983). Yet, what is missing from these studies is gaining an understanding if Latinos/as believe police offers will treat them differently based on their ethnicity.

As Bronfenbrenner's socio-ecological theory posits, that within the macrosystem cultural, socioeconomic status, and ethnicity or race can play a role in how an individual interacts with their environment (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). For example, messages around the media, the political changes have led Latinos(as) to believe police officers view them negatively based on their ethnicity. Within the Latinos/as culture, individuals are often taught to respect authority figures such as police. Based on past

literature and the theories on the macrosystem, this study defines self-perceptions of how police view Latinos/as as self-perceptions of awareness, feelings, behaviors, and stereotypes associated with how police officers view Latinos/as in the U.S.

#### Fear of Police Officers

Most of the literature that has focused on the self-perceptions of law enforcement has been in the field of criminology. It has been well documented that Latinos/as, in general, hold a higher level of fear towards police when compared to whites (Lurigio, Greenleaf, & Flexon, 2009; Schuck & Rosenbaum, 2005). In addition, other studies report that Latino/a citizens hold lower levels of trust and confidence in police officers when compared to whites (Reisig, & Parks 2000, Schuck, & Rosenbaum, 2005; Rosenbaum, Schuck, Costello, Hawkins, & Ring 2005; Schuck, Rosenbaum, & Hawkins, 2008). In a study of Mexican Americans in Southern California, participants reported fear and mistrust of police (Menjivar & Bejarano, 2004). These findings are consistent with the findings from other studies that indicate that members of minority groups are more likely than whites to believe that the police discriminate against minorities (Weitzer, 1996). Studies that have measured fear of the police are limited as they solely focus on fear by investigating fear of crime itself, accusations involving committing a crime (Reisig & Parks, 2000; Schuck & Rosenbaum, 2005; Schuck, Rosenbaum, & Hawkins, 2008), and exploring negative past experiences with police (Menjivar & Bejarano, 2004).

Bronfenbrenner's socio-ecological theory explains how encounters with different systems within his or her environment may influence one's behaviors and actions (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). The microsystem involves those individuals you have direct contact with on a daily basis such as: family, friends, classmates, teachers,

neighbors, and local police officers (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). This system is important to understand as Latinos/as often coexist in immigrants' communities that have members with diverse legal statuses. Therefore, although an individual may not be undocumented themselves, they could be surrounded by family members, friends, or even classmates who are. As mentioned previously, Latinos/as now more than ever, are being targeted by police officers, under the assumption that this sub-group is more likely to be undocumented (De Genova, 2004, 2007; Menjivar & Bejarano, 2004; Menjivar, 2014). Thus, federal laws that were solely created to focus on undocumented immigrants are also impacting those who are documented (De Genova, 2004, 2007; Menjiyar & Bejarano, 2004; Menjivar, 2014). Cognitive messages received from friends and family could suggest that it is safer to stay away from police officers in order to not expose anyone who may be undocumented. For instance, in a qualitative study conducted in Arizona, interviewed Central American Latinos/as to understand their views about crime and police officers (Menjivar & Bejarano, 2004). Arizona is a key location when investigating perceptions of the legal system because police officers are obligated to turn in someone might be undocumented to immigration authorities who have committed common crimes (Menjivar & Bejarano, 2004). Many of the participants who stated they were afraid of police also reported not trusting officers, fearing consequences of a family member being deported, or unfair treatment due to their ethnicity. This could be viewed as a risk factor as several studies have shown that fear of police is associated with not reporting crimes to authorities, decrease safety within a community, negative reactions to police encounters, and stress related to anxiety (Reisig, & Parks 2000, Schuck, & Rosenbaum, 2005; Rosenbaum, Schuck, Costello, Hawkins, & Ring 2005; Schuck,

Rosenbaum, & Hawkins, 2008). Although the impact of federal immigration laws is beyond the scope of this study, it is still important to understand the influence it may have on Latino/a U.S. citizens. Based on the literature and Bronfenbrenner's social-ecological theory, this study defines fear of police officers as feelings centered around fear of police officers harming them, treating them unfairly, or accusing them of a crime given their position as an immigrant in society.

### **Anxiety of Interacting with Police Officers**

Increased levels of anxiety could be damaging to an individual and have extreme long-term effects (Dhabhar, 2014). Police officers are trained to assess when someone is highly anxious or nervous, as it may indicate a crime has taken place (Varvarigou et al., 2014). Yet, dangerous consequences may unfold if Latinos/as are primed to experience high levels of anxiety during these interactions, as police officers may assume their reactions are for other reasons such as lack of documentation. In order to avoid these possible situations, Latinos/as may try to avoid situations and/or places with high density of police officers. For example, a recent study of Arizona's SB 1070 bill reported that participants in a predominantly Latino(a) neighborhoods perceived their communities to be less safe, while health care providers reported a drop-in health care services after the passage of the bill (Toomey et al., 2014). In a longitudinal study, researchers investigated the effects of prior to and after the passage of the Arizona Senate Bill 1070 among Latina mothers. Results showed that participants whom engaged in efforts to avoid interactions with government agencies were less likely to utilize public assistance after the passing of SB 1070 (Toomey et al., 2014). Thus, Latinos/as often go through great lengths to avoid interactions with police officers to prevent mistreatment and abuse (Menjiva et al., 2004).

In addition, Latinos/as, may avoid these interactions to not jeopardize their family's safety or their own (Menjiva et al., 2004). In some cases of emergency, Latinos/as that reach out to police officers for assistance, end up experiencing negative consequences. This is particularly true for states like Arizona, as rates for police shooting among Latinos/as are higher compared to other locations (Hoffmann, 2007). Maricopa county has been proven to be one of the most dangerous places in the nation to be a Latino/a interacting with a police officer (Hoffmann, 2007). In 2007, Sheriff Joe Arpaio created a hotline number for those who wanted to report information about undocumented immigrants. Furthermore, negative outcomes of situations in which Latinos/as have sought police protection has sent messages to the public against seeking help. For example, in 2003, the media brought attention to a case about a young boy named Mario Madrigal Jr., who was shot and killed by a police officer in Arizona (Hoffmann, 2007). Mario who was 15 at the time, planned on hurting himself with a kitchen knife. Unfortunately, instead of preventing the act of suicide from occurring, police officers shot and killed him under the claim their own lives were threatened. After this event, many Latinos/as in the community protested against police. Mario's family believes he was no threat to anyone's life but himself that night, yet, was killed for police officer's inability to handle a mental health crisis. Unfortunately, such actions have cause Latinos/as to urge others against calling the police when in crisis and avoid interactions with them.

To my knowledge, although there is research that measures fear of police officers (Lurigio, Greenleaf, & Flexon, 2009; Schuck & Rosenbaum, 2005), there is not a scale that measures anxiety related to interacting with police officers. These items would be

different to general fear as they would measure anxious reactions to just having to talk to the police. Fear has typically been measured by simply asking if individuals are afraid of police but neglected to investigate physiological reactions. This proves to be a new dimension that is important to study, since increased anxiety may alter the dynamic of how an individual may speak to police officers. This concept plays a role into the mesosytem of the Bronfenbrenner's socio-ecological theory (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). The mesosystem is involved in the relationships between the microsystems and an individual's life. In other words, experiences with family and friends can be related to experiences in other environments. Based on the literature and mesosystem anxiety of interacting with police officers is defined in this study as feelings around being nervous, or anxious when thinking about possibly interacting with a police officer in the future

# **Establishing Convergent Validity**

In a more recent study, Schuck and colleagues (2005) created a scale to expand our understanding of attitudes towards the police that includes 4 dimensions: neighborhood, global, police services, and fear of the police. "Fear Of The Police" only had two questions which centered around the individual's experience and that of children and family. For example, "Are you sometimes afraid that police will stop you and threaten to arrest you when you are completely innocent?" (Schuck et al., 2005).

Although these two questions provide some insight on the fear factor of police among racial and ethnic minorities, it also proves to be limiting when assessing individual's own fear of the police, which is what the POPS subscale is providing. The focus is purely on the individuals own fear of the police and excludes any questions asking about friends and family members. In addition, the Global subscales asked questions about their

generational views of police officers. These two subscales, in theory, should demonstrate convergent validity of the POPS subscales as they are closely related, yet distinct as they are asking different aspects of views on police. Furthermore, a recently published study created a measure called Police and Law Enforcement (PLE) scale (English et al., 2017). This scale includes 5 items centered around the frequency in which individuals experienced a negative interaction with a police officer or law enforcement official. The researchers in this study were primarily focused on experiences of African-American men and neglected to sample other ethnic populations. An example item included "in the past 5 years, how often did a police or law enforcement accuse you of having or selling drugs?" (English et al., 2017). Although this scale proves promising in assessing the frequency of negative interactions, it made it difficult for researchers to determine if an individual is referring to police officers or law enforcement. In addition, when creating this scale, items were developed focusing on the experiences of African American men. I argue that this scale will serve as a measure of convergent validity, as it has items about an individual's experiences with police but fails to capture the dimensions proposed in the POPS subscales, making them distinct.

## Policing, Psychological Distress, & Discrimination

The minority stress model proposes that individuals from marginalized groups face chronic psychological distress when faced with interpersonal prejudice and discrimination (Meyer, 2003). As the social stress theory states, minorities have a disadvantaged social position in the dominant society which exposes them to more stressful conditions and events (i.e., discrimination, exclusion) and thus contributes to many risk factors (Anderson, Clark, & Williams, 1999). Research surrounding these

areas suggest that exposure to stressful life events has an impact on the psychological and physical well-being of Latinos/as in our society (American Psychological Association, 2006; National Survey of Latinos, 2002). Stressful life events such as police brutality can have a negative impact on emotional and biological reactions that can hinder mental and physical health (Cohen, Kessler, & Underwood, 1995). Broadly speaking, studies have focused on the relationship between perceived discrimination and health. These studies report that perceived or actual discrimination has significant effects on physical and mental health (Krieger, 1999, 2000; Ryan, Gee & Laflamme, 2006). More specifically, studies have found that among U.S. immigrants there is an association between reported racial-ethnic discrimination and high levels of depression (Rumbaut, 1994). To further support these findings, a meta-analysis of 51 studies reported that discrimination had a significant relationship with mental health indicators among U.S. Latinos/as (Lee & Ahn, 2012). Latinos/as who believe that police officers will have discriminatory attitudes towards them may also report higher levels of anxiety and ethnic/ racial discrimination. However, despite the sustainable body of research that suggests that perceived discrimination is harmful to mental health, the measurements used to assess discrimination in these studies rarely take into account Latinos'/as' view of police officers. Indeed, a substantial number of studies have explored the prevalence of everyday discrimination among Latinos/as, but not specifically the negative selfperceptions Latinos/as may have of police officers. The closest studies that have focused on Latinos/a and areas of the legal system have merely done so by investigating participants legal status, fear of deportation, and the impact of immigration enforcement strategies among them. Such studies have shown that legal status is associated with the

health of immigrants in various ways (Gonzales & Chavez, 2012). Physical health may include such as fear-induced headaches and weakened digestions to limited access to health care (Gonzales & Chavez, 2012). Mental Health may include the development of anxiety and depression (Gonzales & Chavez, 2012). Scholars have also asserted that individuals experience psychological distress resulting from fear of detention and deportation (Becerra et al., 2013; Chaudry et al., 2010), and that high levels of discrimination and the fear of deportation are both risk factors for physical and mental health issues (Franzini et al., 2001; Mitchell & Lassiter 2006; Pumariega et al., 2005). Hence, these studies may help us understand the relationship between POPS's subscales and anxiety. Thus, I propose that three of the subscales in the POPS will be associated with psychological distress which are Fear of Police Officers, Anxiety of Interacting with Police Officers, and Self-Perceptions of How View Latinos/as. These relations are depicted in Figure 1. In addition, I propose that the three subscales of POPS will be associated with ethnic/racial discrimination (see Figure 2). Based on previous research, I propose that subscales in the POPS Fear of Police Officers, Anxiety of Interacting with Police Officers, and Self-Perceptions of How View Latinos/as will be associated with increased psychological distress and ethnic/racial discrimination (see Figure 1 & 2).

# **Policing and Access to Health Care**

An important aspect to consider when discussing certain factors that influence Latinos/as is access to health care. In this study, access to health refers to an individual's ability in seeking primary health and mental health services. Recent research in public health has reported that exposure to stressors (i.e., discrimination, immigration policies) can affect Latinos/as utilizing public services. For example, perceived discrimination by

Latinos/as has been found to be associated with delays in treatment seeking and lower rates of follow up treatment (Toomey et al., 2014). After the passing of the Arizona Senate Bill 1070, Latinos/as were less likely to utilize public assistance (Toomey et al., 2014). Studies focusing on immigrant populations have reported common themes on how fear and emotional distress can influence immigrants in the U.S. (Miller & Rasmussen, 2010; Silove et al., 2001; Steinberg, 2008). Such influences can include but are not limited to a decrease in seeking health care, and an increase in discrimination and immigration stressors (Chaudry et al., 2010). The Proposition 187, a 1994 California state ballot initiative which prevented undocumented immigrants from accessing publicly funded health care, affected Latino(a) in many ways. Studies reported that immigrants feared seeking medical care and often delayed health care as a result of the initiative (Asch, Leake, Anderson, & Gelberg, 1998; Asch, Leake, & Gelberg, 1994; Berk & Schur, 2001; Fenton, Catalano, & Hargreaves, 1996). In addition, in a study conducted by Hacker and colleges (2011), found that the enforcement by ICE influenced trust within a community, which in turn, had negative implications for health and effective integration process. Hacker and colleges (2011), used an anti-immigrant climate conceptual framework (see Figure 3) to explain how the influence of ICE has been associated with a decrease in health. Although the impact of immigration laws is beyond this study, this framework also explains of the anti-immigration climate has influenced perceptions of police and fear of them, which in turn has been associated with a decrease of health among immigrants, and other immigrant stressors. Following this framework, the current study proposes for Latino(a) perceptions of police would impact their access to healthcare regardless of legal status. Thus, this study proposes that Fear of Police Officers, Anxiety

of Interacting with Police Officers, and Self-Perceptions of How View Latinos/as may be associated decrease in health care access (see Figure 2).

## **Direct Past Experience as a Moderation Variable**

Another important factor that may influence perceptions individuals have of the legal system is past experiences with police officers (Furstenberg & Wellford, 1973; Reisig & Parks, 2000; Schuck & Rosenbaum, 2005; Skogan, 2005). Researchers have emphasized that direct past experiences with the police is a major component that accounts for differences in negative views of the police among ethnic minorities (Furstenberg & Wellford, 1973; Reisig & Parks, 2000; Schuck & Rosenbaum, 2005; Skogan, 2005). Most of the research on citizen attitudes has been guided by the experience with the police model. This model states that "citizens' satisfaction with the police is largely a result of their prior contact" (Rosenbaum et al., 2005). Typically speaking, these studies have found that those with recent contact with police officers report more negative views than those who have not had contact (Rosenbaum et al., 2005). Furthermore, individuals who initiate contact (i.e. call 911 for help), are more satisfied with their experience with the police than those who are involuntarily stopped (i.e., traffic stops; Decker, 1981). Researchers propose that perceptions of police officers are influenced largely by the quality of treatment of the direct past experience (Rosenbaum et al., 2005). In other words, individuals who thought they were treated unfairly, rude, or unprofessional during an encounter with the police are more likely to be dissatisfied with the police and hold negative perceptions about them (Cheurprakobkit & Bartsch, 2001; Rosenbaum et al., 2005; Tyler & Huo, 2002; Wortley et al., 1997). In addition, the use of excessive force with community members has also influenced

negative perceptions, particularly among African Americans (Klockars, 1996; Tyler, 2005). By contrast, in a study conducted by Rosenbaum, et al., (2005), reported that direct experiences with the police were not enough to influence negative perceptions of ethnic minorities regardless of who initiated contact. In turn, they found that the quality of that encounter (i.e. negative experience or lack of satisfaction with experience) was associated with negative attitudes toward the police among the sample who initiated contact (see Figure 4 and 5). In addition, when a police officer, initiated contact and the individual perceived that as a negative encounter it had no effect on the perceptions of that individual. These findings could be explained by the expectancy theory which states that individuals who already have negative attitudes towards the police, their views remain the same if they had a negative experience (Rosenbaum et al., 2005). Meaning that if they already have an expectation that they will have a negative experience, and then they do, it does not change their perceptions. One can argue that having a negative predisposition may be influencing the types of interactions ethnic minorities have during police encounters. Although these early studies provide some insight as to how direct past experiences can influence perceptions of police, the results have been inconclusive. Most of these studies are limiting in that they rely data on interviewing those who came in contact with the police and neglect to be able to compare those individuals who may not have had contact with them at all. As the literature shows direct experience whether positive or negative does influence negative perceptions of police (Cheurprakobkit & Bartsch, 2001; Rosenbaum et al., 2005; Tyler & Huo, 2002). Thus, I hypothesize that direct past experience will have a moderating effect between the relationship POPS subscales and psychological distress. In particular, I argue that a dissatisfaction or

negative experience with these encounters will strengthen the relationship between the differential associations of POPS subscales and psychological distress. While direct past positive encounters with the police will change the direction of the relationship of the same associations. These relations are depicted in Figure 4 and 5.

### **The Present Study**

The following goals were addressed in this research: (1) the psychometric properties of a newly developed scale called "Perceptions of Police Officers Scale" (POPS), and (2) the associations between the newly proposed subscales with psychological distress and post-migration living among a sample of Latino(a) immigrants of diverse generational statuses.

What are the psychometric properties of a series of items that measure Perceptions of Police Officers Scale (POPS) that captures negative self-perceptions and experiences with police officers among Latino(a) immigrants in the U.S.?

**Hypothesis 1:** I proposed a three-factor structure model which include subscales that measure ("Self-Perceptions of How Police View Latinos/as", "Fear of Police Officers", and "Anxiety Of Interacting With Police Officers").

Hypothesis 2: Subscales from POPS "Self-Perceptions of How Police View Latinos/as", "Fear of Police Officers", and "Anxiety Of Interacting With Police Officers" will be positively correlate with past measures capturing police experiences Police and Law Enforcement Scale (PLE) and Dimensions of Attitude Toward Police subscale global, establishing convergent validity.

**Hypothesis 3:** Subscales from the POPS "Self-Perceptions of How Police View Latinos/as", "Fear of Police Officers", and "Anxiety Of Interacting With Police Officers" will positively correlate with BSM-I Psychological distress (Anxiety).

**Hypothesis 4:** Subscales from the POPS "Self-Perceptions of How Police View Latinos/as", "Fear of Police Officers, "Anxiety Of Interacting With Police Officers" will negatively correlate with access to health care.

**Hypothesis 5:** Subscales from the POPS "Self-Perceptions of How Police View Latinos/as", "Fear of Police Officers", "Anxiety Of Interacting With Police Officers" will positively correlate with ethnic/racial discrimination.

Hypothesis 6: Positive direct past experiences with the police effect the strength the associations between the associations "Self-Perceptions of How Police View Latinos/as", "Fear of Police Officers", "Anxiety Of Interacting With Police Officers" and BSM-I Psychological distress (Anxiety). Higher rates of positive experiences with dampen the relationships with POPS subscales and Anxiety.

Hypothesis 7: Negative direct past experiences with the police effect the strength the associations between the associations "Self-Perceptions of How Police View Latinos/as", "Fear of Police Officers", "Anxiety Of Interacting With Police Officers" and BSM-I Psychological distress (Anxiety). Higher rates of negative experiences will enhance the relationship between POPS subscales and Anxiety.

#### **METHOD**

## **Development of Perceptions of Police Officers Scale (POPS)**

Perceptions of Police Officers Scale (POPS). I used a sequential procedure in order to develop a multidimensional scale that captures aspects of Latinos/as anxiety of interacting with police officers, fear of police officers harming them, and self-perceptions of how police view Latinos/as in the U.S. The sequential procedure was as follows: (1) item development using a multidisciplinary and theoretical approach, (2) internal and external revision of items, (3) exploratory factor analysis.

Item development. After an intensive review of literature, I engaged in the process of item development to create an original item pool. A total of 31 items were originally developed. Items were designed with the intent of capturing self-perceptions of police officers on three conceptual dimensions: (1) self-perceptions of how police view Latinos/as, (2) fear of police officers, (3) and anxiety of interacting with police officers. All items were tapping the affective dimension of the participant's self-perceptions towards police officers.

Internal and external item revision. All items were subject to an internal review process to go over appropriateness. A total of 4 outside reviewers were used in order to review each item and defended each's item's utility in capturing the three dimensions mentioned previously. Research experts ranged from different disciplines such as psychology, sociology, and education policy. In addition, the research experts had unique experiences with psychological and sociological research, policy development, teaching, and advocacy with Latinos/as and Latino/a immigrants that assisted in the development of the initial items. Reviewers provided insight and suggestions on items already

developed by simplifying or requesting to eliminate an item from the three dimensions.

Lastly, face validity and wording of items were taken into account.

After this revision process, a total of 26 items were chosen for the final pool. This included 9 items theorized to measure negative (1) self-perceptions of how police officers view Latinos/as, 7 items theorized to measure (2) fear of the police, and 10 items theorized to measure (3) anxiety of interacting with police officers. Participants were asked to rate their agreement with each of the 26 items on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from (1) strongly disagree to (4) strongly agree with the following prompts "Please reflect on your general experiences as a Latino/a in the United States up until now, and please rate your agreement with the following statements according to how you feel today" and "Please note that the term Hispanic or Latino/a" refers to a person of Mexican, South or Central American, or other Spanish culture or origin regardless of race. The term "U.S." was used to refer to the United States. Example questions of each factor are as follows: (1) "I feel that police officers are likely to assume that Latinos/as are criminals", (2) "I am afraid that a police officer might hurt me", and (3) "I feel nervous when I have to talk with a police officer" (see Table 1). Scores were calculated by averaging of each individual subscale since each factor is different once an exploratory factor analysis confirmed the factor loadings. After a series of exploratory factor analysis were conducted a total of 19 items were included in the final item pool (see Table 2). Items were dropped due to low factor loading scores or crossloading between factors. The cut-off score for statistically meaningful rotated factor loadings were .32 with alpha levels .01 (two-tailed; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007; Yong, & Pearce, 2013). When items

were cross-loading at .32 or higher on two or more factors, the item they were dropped (Yong, & Pearce, 2013) (see Table 1).

## **Participants**

The final analytic sample included 288 participants that self-identified as Latinos/as ( $M_{age} = 30.65$ ,  $SD_{age} = 9.80$ ). The sample was composed of self-identified Mexican, Mexican American or Chicano, (n = 165, 57.3%), Puerto Rican (n = 45, 15.6%), and other countries (n = 77, 26.7%) such as Honduras, Cuba, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Peru, El Salvador, Venezuela, and Spain. The majority of the sample participants (92.7%) indicated being either U.S. citizens. While others were U.S. permanent residents (42.2%), Visas Holders (1%), or Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) (1.7%).

From this sample (n = 168, 58 %) were females, (n = 119, 41.3%) were males, and one participant did not indicate either gender. In terms of educational level (n = 1, 0.3 %) had less than high school, (n = 4, 1.4 %) attended high school but did not hold a degree, (n = 27, 9.4 %) had a high school degree or GED, (n = 9, 3.1 %) attended trade or technical school, (n = 81, 28.1 %) some college experience but held no college degree, (n = 101, 35.1 %) had a college degree (e.g., B.A., B.S.), (n = 24, 8.3%) some graduate school experience, and (n = 41, 14.2 %) had an advanced degree (e.g., M.A., Ph.D.) In addition, (n = 56, 19.4 %) reported having immigrated to the U.S. from another country and have been living in the U.S. ranging from 6 to 58 years (M = 12.77, SD = 15.71). The majority of participants spoke English and Spanish (n = 156, 56.2 %) and about 43.1% reported being monolingual English speakers. About thirty seven percent of participants had a household income of 50,000 or more. When asked about generational status, (n = 150, 50.00 %) and about generational status, (n = 150, 50.00 %) and about generational status, (n = 150, 50.00 %) and about generational status, (n = 150, 50.00 %) and about generational status, (n = 150, 50.00 %) and about generational status, (n = 150, 50.00 %) and about generational status, (n = 150, 50.00 %) and about generational status, (n = 150, 50.00 %) and about generational status, (n = 150, 50.00 %) and about generational status, (n = 150, 50.00 %) and about generational status, (n = 150, 50.00 %) and about generational status, (n = 150, 50.00 %) and about generational status, (n = 150, 50.00 %) and about generational status, (n = 150, 50.00 %) and about generational status, (n = 150, 50.00 %) and about generational status, (n = 150, 50.00 %) and about generational status, (n = 150, 50.00 %) and about generational status, (n = 150, 50.00 %) and about generational status, (n = 150, 50.00 %) and about generational stat

80, 27.8%) indicated being second generation Latinos/as, (n = 47, 16.3%) indicated being third generation immigrant, (n = 30, 10.4%) indicated being fourth generation immigrant, (n = 28, 9.7%) indicated being fifth generation immigrant, (n = 48, 16.7%) indicated being sixth generation immigrant. In terms of residence, participants represented 20 U.S. states. California, Florida, New York, Arizona, New Mexico, and Georgia represented the majority of participant's location.

### Instrumentation

Psychological Distress (BSI). To assess psychological distress, participants were given a 12-item scale which consisted of the subscales of anxiety and depression from the Brief Symptom Inventory (BSI; Derogatis, 1993). Participants responded using a 5-point Likert scale ranging from (0) not at all to (4) extremely. Scores were calculated by averaging the 6 items the measured anxiety and 6 items that measured depression. Higher scores indicate higher levels of anxiety and depression among participants. These particular subscales reliability and validity have been supported in a variety of diverse samples in different studies (Hemmings, Reimann, Madrigal, &Velasquez, 1998; Myers et al., 2002; Evans, Yamamoto, Acosta, & Skilbeck, 1984). Subscales scores of the BSI typically have a moderate to high reliability in studies with ethnic minorities ranging from alphas of .59 to .85 (Hemmings, Reimann, Madrigal, &Velasquez, 1998; Myers et al., 2002; Evans, Yamamoto, Acosta, & Skilbeck, 1984). In the current sample, reliability alphas for the scales were .94 for depression and .92 for anxiety.

Access to Health Care (AHC). To assess participants current access to health care, I created a six item scale. The AHC responded using a 5-point Likert scale from (1) never to (5) constantly. Higher scores indicate participants' willingness to seek health

care. The questions asked are as follows (1) "How likely are you to seek treatment for health problems?", (2) "How likely are you to seek emergency medical care when needed?", (3) "How likely are you to seek long-term healthcare?", (4) "How likely are you to seek dental care?" (5) "How likely are you to seek counseling/mental healthcare?", (6) "How likely are you to get health insurance?". Scores were calculated by taking the average of all six items and creating a composite score. A reliability coefficient for the scale in the current sample was  $\alpha = .84$ .

Perceived Ethnic Discrimination Questionnaire Brief (PEDQ). To assess perceived ethnic discrimination within an interpersonal and social context, I administrated the Perceived Ethnic Discrimination Questionnaire Brief (PEDQ; Brondolo et al., 2005). Participants responded using 17 items were on a 5-point Likert scale from (1) never to (5) constantly. The PEDQ contains four subscales (1) social exclusion, (2) discrimination at work, (3) threat or harassment, and (4) stigmatization. In order to get overall ethnic discrimination sub-scales can be calculated by averaging all sub-scales. Although an overall score has been used in the context of a four-factor structure, I conducted an exploratory factor analysis on this scale to determine if indeed such an aggregation was appropriate. According the Empirical Kaiser Criterion to determine the number of factors (Braeken, & Van Assen 2016), there was only one factor in this sample, not the four as previously found. As such, all the items were averaged to produce a single score. The reliability coefficient for the social exclusion sub-scale was α = .95.

Police and Law Enforcement Scale (PLE). To assess the frequency and negative past experiences participants with police officers, I administrated the Police and Law Enforcement Scale (PLE; English et al., 2017). The PLE is a five-item scale and

participants responded using a 6-point Likert scale from (1) never and (6) always. This instrument was also used as a form of convergent validity with the recently created (POPS) scale. High scores indicate more negative past experiences with police officers. Scores were calculated by taking the average of all five items and creating a composite score. An example question includes "In the past 5 years, how often have police or law enforcement accused you of having or selling drugs?". The scale was also used to establish convergent and discriminant validity of POPS subscales. Reliability coefficient alpha for the scale in the current sample was  $\alpha = .87$ .

Dimensions of Attitude Toward Police. To assess participant's attitudes toward the police we administrated Attitudes Toward the Police measure (Schuck et al., 2005). This measure includes 4 subscales but for purposes of this study I only asked questions on the Global and Fear sub-scales. The Global sub-scale included five items that captured attitudes of police officers in general. Higher scores indicated that higher negative perceptions of police officers. An example question includes "Police officers are often rude to the public". The Fear sub-scale only included two items that measured fear of interactions with the police and fear of a family member interacting with the police. Higher scores indicated a higher level of fear among participants. An example question includes "Are you sometimes afraid that police will stop you threaten to arrest you when you are completely innocent?". Scores were calculated by averaging each sub-scale and creating a composite score. The scale was also used to establish convergent and discriminant validity of POPS subscales. Reliability coefficients for the Global subscale was  $\alpha = .88$ . Reliability coefficient for the Fear subscale was  $\alpha = .86$ .

Positive Past Experiences with Police Officers. To assess perceptions of positive past experiences with police officers, participants were asked 2 questions in English. Responses were also asked on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from (1) *strongly disagree* to 4 *strongly agree* and (5) *Not Applicable, NA*. Questions were as follows (1) "My experiences with police officers have been mostly positive" (2) "In the past, when police officers have initiated contact with me (i.e. pulled me over for traffic violation, arrest), my experience has been negative. In order to establish validity of this scale, I correlated this measure with items from the PLE scale and it proved to have convergent validity as they negatively correlated (r = -.52, p < .01). Reliability coefficient alphas for this scale in the current sample was  $\alpha = .75$ .

### **Procedures**

This study was conducted using a web-based survey. Participants were only given the option to answer in English only. Informed Consent was obtained from all the participants and all procedures were approved by the IRB. The survey approximately took an average of 15 to 25 minutes to complete. Recruitment of participants included intentional snowball and target sampling. To reach this specific population of Latino/a I utilized professional and personal networks with a high density of Latina/o involvement to promote participation. For example, I used psychology and sociology professional associations, local and national email distribution lists (e.g., ASU Latino/a students), student and university staff groups (e.g., Mecha, DreamZone), as well as non-profit and social media networks (e.g., Facebook) and community-based agencies. In addition, I used Amazon Mturk to recruit participants in order to recruit Latinos/as from across the U.S. and target a diverse sample of Latinos/as. Participants were offered a total of \$0.50

compensation for participation through Amazon Mturk. In addition, participants that completed the survey outside of Amazon Mturk were offered compensation in form of a raffle in order to win one out of three 25.00 Amazon gift cards. Sixty participants were not offered compensation at all. Participants had to identify as being over the age of 18 and currently living in the U.S. For the purposes of this study I only used the sample of 330 who self-identified as Latino(a) over the age of 18. Data validity checks were used to verify that participants spent the minimum amount of time needed to answer the questions. For example, two validity questions (e.g. please mark agree for this item) were randomly placed throughout the survey in order to identify and remove participants that might not have been responding carefully (Meade & Craig, 2012). A total of 12 were excluded from the analysis for failing to answer the validity checks correctly. In addition, to ensure that participants were not taking the survey more than once through Amazon Mturk we excluded any participants that had the same IP address as having the same IP address may indicate that the same person took the survey twice. A total of 30 participants were thus excluded. The study announcement/recruitment ad was provided English and included links to the web-based survey. Missing values were controlled by using listwise deletion for all analysis (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007).

### **Analytic Plan**

Data were analyzed using SPSS V.20 in x steps. Step 1: I subjected the items of the Perceptions of Police Officers Scales (POPS) to a series of exploratory factor analyses (EFA) using a principal axis factoring for the extraction and an oblique rotation method, direct oblimin to test hypothesis 1, that a three factor solution (i.e., "Anxiety of Interacting with Police Officers", "Fear of Police Officers", and "Negative Perceptions of

How Police Officers view Latinos/as" would result in the best fit. The principal axis factor has its advantages because it focused on the latent variables of interest (Yong, & Pearce, 2013). The reason why oblique rotation method is preferred is that it involves in restrictions of the factors and was thus most likely to reveal the structure in the data (Yong, & Pearce, 2013). The utilization of an oblique technique is advantageous because it produces a matrix that contains the item loadings and factor correlation matrix, including correlations between factors (Yong, & Pearce, 2013). In addition, Braeken and Van Assen (2017) suggested using Empirical Kaiser Criterion (EKC) to determine the number of factors to rotate is a better method than using parallel analysis since it is directly linked to the statistical theory on eigenvalues and to researchers' goals to obtain reliable scale. EKA has shown to outperform a parallel analysis for specific case of oblique factors. The cut-off score for statistically meaningful rotated factor loadings were .32 with alpha levels .01 (two-tailed; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007; Yong, & Pearce, 2013). Results were checked to ensure there are few items cross-loading (i.e. split loadings), meaning that each factor defines a distinct cluster of interrelated variables. Therefore, when items were cross-loading at .32 or higher on two or more factors, the item they were dropped (Yong, & Pearce, 2013) (see Table 1).

**Step 2:** Preliminary analysis examined Pearson correlations coefficients to test hypothesis 2, 3, 4, and 5 in order to show the relationship between all the subscales of the POPS and outcome variables (i.e. psychological distress (i.e. depression and anxiety), health care access, and ethnic/racial discrimination). In addition, to test convergent and discriminant validity of (POPS) subscales, I ran Pearson correlations to show the

relationships between PLE Scale and Dimensions of Attitude Toward Police subscales (i.e. Global and Fear).

Step 3: The moderation variable of direct positive and negative past experiences with police officers was tested to examine hypothesis 6 and 7 using multiple regression analysis. An interaction term was created to determine if negative or positive past experiences with the police "Anxiety of Interacting With Police Officers", Fear of Police Officers", "Self-Perceptions of Police Officers View Latinos/as "will make the relationship with anxiety symptoms stronger.

### RESULTS

## **Exploratory Factor Analysis**

The Perceptions of Police Officers Scale (POPS) was measured using 26 items. I conducted an exploratory factor analysis (EFA) using principal axis factoring and an oblique rotation method, direct oblimin in order to test the hypothesized factors. Results from the EFA indicated via scree plots and factor loadings that there was a four-factor structure in the data. According the EKC analysis of 288, it supported a 4 factors structure. However, after further evaluation of the factor loadings, the fourth factor barely had significant factor loadings, was difficult to interpret and the eigenvalue was only minimally over the EKC cutoff of 1.0 (i.e., 1.001), and therefore was not considered a factor (see Figure 6). Table 1 shows results from the first exploratory factor analysis as well as items that were dropped.

For purposes of this study, we used Worthington and Whittaker's (2006) rules for item deletion and deleted items with factor loadings less than .32 on all the factors, and any loadings that were higher than .32 present in more than one factor. In addition, results of the factor loadings indicated items crossloading (i.e. split loadings), meaning that each factor defines a distinct cluster of interrelated variables. Therefore, if items crossloading at .32 or higher on two or more factors, the items were dropped (Yong, & Pearce, 2013). Based on these suggestions for rules, I ended up deleting 2 items in total. In addition, one of the factors indicated that all the reverse coded items were loading together. We ended up deleting these items from the final item pool. We ran a final unconstrained exploratory factor analysis after deleting crossloading items and reverse coded items, which indicated that there was a three-factor structure. Factor 1 (Self-Perceptions of How Police View

Latinos/as) had an eigenvalue of 11.43 and explained 60.17% of the variance, factor 2 (Fear of Police) had an eigenvalue of 0.78 and explained 4.11% of the variance, and factor 3 (Anxiety of Interacting With Police Officers) had an eigenvalue of 1.39 and explained 7.36% of the variance. When these three factors are combined they explain 71.64% of variance in the data.

The first factor "Self-Perceptions of Police Officers View Latinos/as" captures a participants insights what police officers think of Latinos/as in the U.S. This subscale consists with 8 items; a sample item includes: "I feel that police officers do NOT treat Latinos/as with respect". Cronbach's alpha was .93 for the (Self-Perceptions of Police Officers View Latinos/as) subscale. The second factor, (Fear of Police) captures individuals distress surrounding police officers taking advantage or physically harming them. This subscale consists of 5 items; a sample item includes: "I am afraid that a police officer might hurt me." Cronbach's alpha was 0.95 for the (Fear of Police sub-scale). The third factor, "Anxiety of Interacting with Police Officers" capture items that measure the affective behaviors of interacting with police officers. This subscale consists of 6 items; sample items include: "I feel nervous when I have to talk with a police officer." Cronbach's alpha was .94 for the (Anxiety of Interacting with Police Officers) sub-scale. The items within each of the subscales were averaged to create a total score that would then be used to test my other hypothesizes. Table 3 shows results descriptive statistics for the three Perceptions of Police Officers (POPS) factors.

## **Correlations Among Study Variables**

We explored the distribution of the study variables and confirmed that all are continuous variables (summarized in Table 4), including the new developed scales, were

normally distributed; all met the assumption of a skew < 2 and kurtosis < 7 (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007; West, Finch, & Curran, 1995). Results from the Pearson bivariate analysis indicated that POPS subscale Anxiety of Interacting of police officers positively correlated with anxiety symptoms (r = .47, p < .01). In addition, POPS subscale Fear of Police Officers, positively correlated with anxiety symptoms (r = .43, p < .01). POPS subscale Perceptions of Police Officers (r = .36, p < .01). The correlations among all study variables are presented in Table 4.

Within this model, convergent validity was established as displayed by positive associations between POPS subscale Anxiety of Interacting with Police Officers with Global Perceptions of Law Enforcement (r = .63, p < .01), Fear of Police (r = .66, p < .01), and Police and Law Enforcement Scale (r = .42, p < .01). In addition, convergent and discriminate validity was established as displayed by positive associations between POPS subscale Fear of Police Officers with Global Perceptions of Law Enforcement (r = .67, p < .01), Fear of Police (r = .82, p < .01), and Police and Law Enforcement Scale (r = .53, p < .01). Lastly, convergent validity and discriminate was established as displayed by positive associations between POPS sub-scale Perceptions of Police Officers with Global Perceptions of Law Enforcement (r = .79, p < .01), Fear of Police (r = .74, p < .01), and Police and Law Enforcement Scale (r = .46, p < .01).

Hypothesis four was tested using a bivariate analysis which indicated that POPS sub-scale Anxiety of Interacting with Police Officers and Ethnic Discrimination (r = .42, p < .01) was positively correlated. POPS subscale Fear of Police with and Ethnic Discrimination (r = .51, p < .01) was also significantly positively correlated. Finally,

POPS sub-scale Perceptions of Police Officers and Ethnic Discrimination (r = .52, p < .01) was also significantly positively correlated.

Finally, also testing hypothesis five results from the Pearson bivariate analysis indicated that POPS subscale Anxiety of Interacting with Police Officers and access to health care (r = -.20, p < .01) was negatively correlated. POPS sub-scale Fear of Police with and access to health care (r = -.18, p < .01) was also significantly negatively correlated. Finally, POPS sub-scale Perceptions of Police Officers and access to health care (r = -.19, p < .01) was also significantly negatively correlated.

# **Hierarchical Linear Regression Moderation Variables**

To test the hypotheses 6 and 7 that the past experiences (i.e., negative or positive past experiences with police officers) will change the strength of the relationship between POPS subscales and anxiety symptoms, hierarchical multiple regression analysis was conducted. To avoid potentially problematic high multicollinearity with the interaction term, the variables were centered and an interaction term between POPS subscales, positive and negative past experiences with police was created (Aiken & West, 1991) the two predictors and the interaction were entered into a simultaneous 6 separate regression models (see Table 5).

Model 1: Results indicated that positive past experiences with police officers and Anxiety of Interacting with Police Officers were both associated with anxiety symptoms  $\Delta R^2 = .23$ , F (2, 281) = 43.61 p < .001. The interaction between Anxiety of Interacting with Police Officers and positive past experience was not significant  $\Delta R^2 = .24$ , F(3, 280) = 30.12, p > .05; ( $\beta = -.09$ , p > .05).

Model 2: Results indicated that positive past experiences with police officers (b = -.042, SEb = .004,  $\beta$  = -.506, p < .001) and Fear of Police Officers  $\Delta R^2$  = .20, F(2, 281) = 37.12, p < .001, were both associated with anxiety symptoms. The interaction between Fear of Police Officers and positive past experience was not significant  $\Delta R^2$  = .21, F(3, 280) = 25.00, p > .05; ( $\beta$  = -.05, p > .05).

Model 3: Results indicated that positive past experiences with police officers and Perceptions of Police Officers  $\Delta R^2 = .15$ , F(2, 281) = 25.78, p < .001 were both associated with anxiety symptoms. The interaction between Perceptions of Police Officers and positive past experiences with police was not significant  $\Delta R^2 = .15$ , F(3, 280) = 17.15, p > .05; ( $\beta = .01$ , p > .05).

Model 4: Results indicated that negative past experiences with police officers and Anxiety of Interacting with Police Officers  $\Delta R^2 = .30$ , F(2, 281) = 62.33, p < .001 were both associated with anxiety symptoms. The interaction between negative past experiences with police officers and Anxiety of Interacting with Police Officers was not significant  $\Delta R^2 = .30$ , F(3, 280) = 41.41, p > .05; ( $\beta = .007$ , p > .05).

Model 5: Results indicated that negative past experiences with police officers and Fear of Police Officers  $\Delta R^2$ = .26, F(2, 281) = 50.84, p < .001 were both associated with anxiety symptoms. The interaction between negative past experiences with police officers and Fear of Police Officers was not significant  $\Delta R^2$ = .26, F(2, 281) = 33.78, p > .05; ( $\beta$  = -.003, p > .05).

Model 6: Results indicated that negative past experiences with police officers and Perceptions of Police Officers  $\Delta R^2$ = .23, F(2, 297) = 44.63, p < .001 were associated with anxiety symptoms. The interaction between negative past experiences with police officers

and Perceptions of Police Officers was also significant  $\Delta R^2$ = .25, F(2, 297) = 31.82, p < .05; ( $\beta$  = -.16, p > .05), suggesting that the effect of negative past experiences with police officers on perceptions of police officers effects the level of anxiety symptoms (see Figure 7).

#### DISCUSSION

With the recent political climate and widespread protest about police discrimination of ethnic minorities, the POPS scales prove to be a useful tool in capturing Latinos/as experiences and perceptions of police officers. The current study provided evidence of the validity and reliability of a newly developed scale named "Perceptions of Police Officers" (POPS). In addition, this study examined the associations between POPS subscales, anxiety, access to health care, and ethnic/racial discrimination. As expected in the initial hypothesis, I predicted a 3-factor structure in the data. Results indicated via factor loadings that there was a four-factor structure. However, after further evaluation the fourth structure did not meet significant criteria in terms item loading scores (see Table 1). This concludes that the four-factor was not significant enough to be considered a latent variable and therefore was not included in the final analysis. The factor loadings in the final analysis provided support for a 3-factor structure as there was no cross loadings that would indicate that the items were measuring the same construct. The final analysis indicated a 3 factor-structure which I labeled; A Self-Perceptions of How Police Views Latinos/as, Fear of Police Officers, and Anxiety of Interacting with Police Officers (see Table 2). Convergent and discriminative validity was established and hypothesis two was supported as the associations between POPS sub-scales, Police and Law Enforcement Scale (PLE) Scale, and Dimensions of Attitudes Toward Police Scale were all positively related, yet, distinct constructs (see Table 4). These results further support a 3-factor structure within the data as correlations scores between POPS subscales and these constructs were distinct.

The exploratory factor analysis in this study provides a compelling argument for psychometric evidence of the Perceptions of Police Officers subscales. Two out of the three factors Anxiety of Interacting with Police Officers and Fear of Police Officers captures issues related to predicted reactions an individual might experience around police officers. These items are centered around the individuals fear of violence, abuse, wrongful judgment, crime reporting, and interaction with police. In addition, Self-Perceptions of How Police Views Latinos/as subscale captures unique experiences among Latinos/as. Typically, measurements of perceptions of police officers or law enforcement officials have assessed the frequency of past experiences or overall global perceptions of police officers (English et al., 2017, Schuck et al., 2005), neglecting to capture how ethnicity plays a role in these dynamics. More importantly, this subscale captures selfperceptions of how individuals think police view Latinos/as in the U.S. I argue that the POPS subscales add a new dimension which focusses primarily on the Latino/a population. This is an important aspect to consider as this has not been the main area of the majority of literature on police discrimination (Jacob, 1971; Sampson & Bartusch, 1998; Walker et al., 2000; Weitzer & Tuch, 2005).

As expected, hypothesis three which stated that POPS subscales A *Self-Perceptions of How Police Views* Latinos/as, *Fear of Police Officers*, and *Anxiety of Interacting with Police Officers* would positively correlate with BSM-I Psychological distress (Anxiety) was supported. All three POPS subscales correlated positively with Anxiety symptoms significantly. This finding is consistent with other studies that have found positive associations between increased psychological distress and negative views of police among ethnic minorities (Brown et al., 2000; Hammond, 2012; Pieterse &

Carter, 2007; Utsey, 1997; Watkins et al., 2011). In addition, these results support the existing literature that Latinos/as have raised concerns about the legitimacy of police officers and the procedural fairness of law enforcement organizations (Engel, 2005; Smith & Holmes, 2003; Tyler, 2001). Other studies have also found that Latinos/as believed police officers are less likely to protect them from harm and are incompetent in their job duties (Carter, 1983, 1985; Mirande, 1980; Weitzer, 1999). It is important to note that these subscales bring attention and add to other studies that have shown ethnic minorities, particularly, African Americans lack trust when it comes to police officers and have negative perceptions of them (Jacob, 1971; Sampson & Bartusch, 1998; Walker et al. 2000; Weitzer & Tuch, 2005).

Furthermore, hypothesis four was supported as all three POPS subscales *Anxiety* of *Interacting With Police Officers, Fear of Police Officers*, and *Self-Perceptions of How Police View Latinos/as* negatively correlated with access to health care significantly. This result indicates that individuals were less likely to seek medical care if they reported increased levels of fear and anxiety of police as well as believed police viewed them negatively. This outcome was as expected but yet alarming since most of the sample consisted of U.S citizens or U.S. born individuals. Although this sample lacks the representation of undocumented Latinos/as, one must wonder the effects perceptions of police officer have on the communities of Latinos/as. This finding is even more interesting as Latinos/as often live with other family members of mix residency status. The anti-immigrant climate framework helps us understand these complex dynamics between Latinos/as and police. For example, this framework explains how the anti-immigration climate may influence and increase the negative perceptions police have

about Latinos/as (Hacker et al., 2011). With the recent collaboration between ICE and police departments, individuals may stop seeking medical care (see Figure 2). It is important to note that this effect might be higher among undocumented Latinos/as, as residency status has been found to play a role on an individual's health and effective integration of long-term treatment. Future studies should consider how these associations might change due to residency status among Latinos/as.

Hypothesis five stated that POPS subscales Self-Perceptions of How Police Views Latinos/as, Fear of Police Officers, and Anxiety of Interacting with Police Officers would positively correlate with ethnic and racial discrimination was supported. This finding aligns with other studies that suggest Latinos/as have been targeted by law enforcement due to racial profiling and because they are more likely to be undocumented (Adler, 2006; Becerra et al., 2013; Menjívar & Kanstroom, 2014). In addition, other studies that have shown that self-perceptions of ethnic/racial discrimination influence how individuals view law enforcement officials. Future studies should focus on how past experiences of discrimination can change perceptions of police over time. Interesting enough, although most studies have suggested that the Ethnic/Racial Discrimination Scale has subscales that measure social exclusion, discrimination at work, threat or harassment, and stigmatization when running a factor analysis, factor loadings indicated that there was only one significant factor measuring ethnic/racial discrimination. Therefore, due to this unique finding, I argue Ethnic/ Racial Discrimination Scale should be measured as a whole instead of individual subscales, which was done in this study (see Table 6).

Lastly, hypothesis six stated that positive past experiences with police officers will moderate the relationship of POPS subscales *Self-Perceptions of How Police Views*Latinos/as, *Fear of Police Officers*, and *Anxiety of Interacting with Police Officers* and anxiety, was not supported. There was no significant moderation effect found. Although individually these constructs seem to have a change in the variance of anxiety, they did not have a significant change when combined (see Table 5). This could indicate that perceptions of police officers stay the same regardless of past experiences with them.

Therefore, even if an individual has had positive or negative past experiences with police they still may hold the same negative reference of them. This supports some studies that suggest that direct experiences with the police were not enough to influence negative perceptions of ethnic minorities and that the quality of the encounter (i.e., negative experience or lack of satisfaction with experience) was associated with negative attitudes toward the police (English et al., 2017; Rosenbaum et al., 2005; Schuck et al., 2005).

Interestingly enough, hypothesis seven stated that negative past experiences with police officers will moderate the relationship between POPS subscales Self-Perceptions of How Police Views Latinos/as, Fear of Police Officers, and Anxiety of Interacting with Police Officers and anxiety, was partially supported. Only one model was supported during analysis. Negative past experiences seemed to have a moderation effect on the relationship between Self-Perceptions of How Police View Latinos/as and anxiety symptoms while the other two POPS subscales had no moderation effect. This may indicate that when people experienced higher frequencies of negative past experiences with police officers it increased their anxiety symptoms. Yet, when they had lower frequencies of negative past experiences, it did not change the relationship between

Perceptions of Police Officers and anxiety symptoms. In other words, the more negative references/ interactions you have had with law enforcement the more likely you are to believe police officers view Latinos/as negatively and more anxiety you may have. This finding also supports other studies that have found that individuals who thought they were treated unfairly, rude, or unprofessional during an encounter with the police are more likely to be dissatisfied with the police and hold negative perceptions about them (Cheurprakobkit & Bartsch, 2001; Rosenbaum et al., 2005; Tyler & Huo, 2002; Wortley et al., 1997). This could be an issue for many reasons such as reduced rates of crime reporting, avoiding places where police officers may be, and not trusting police if they consider themselves Latinos/as. Future studies should focus on how direct past experiences and POPS subscales may influence other outcomes of psychological distress and health-seeking behaviors.

# **Implications & Future Research**

The results from this study reveals several practical applications for clinicians and researchers. Promoting knowledge about how Latinos/as view the police is important area for the legal system and the mental health field. The findings from this study reinforce our knowledge that Latinos/as associate police with anxiety, fear, and mistrust (Davis et at., 2001; Carter, 1983, 1985; Culver, 2004; Herbst & Walker, 2001; Menjivar & Bejarano, 2004; Kidd & Chayet, 1984; Vidales, 2007). This is particularly alarming as mental health providers often have to contact police during a crisis intervention or to report danger of others. Police involvement is often inevitable when it comes to protecting someone from self-harm and/or other issues that require legal assistance.

Mental health professionals would be able to take the POPS scales and began to uncover

some of the hesitations and fears Latino/a clients might have when it comes to contacting the police or involving the police in any type of resolution. Given the likelihood that Latinos/as may have to interact with police officers at one point in their lives, mental health professionals can use the findings from this study to assess how negative self-perceptions of police impact their daily lives. Questions on the POPS subscale could be administered during the initial intake with Latino/a clients in order for the therapist to have an understanding in more depth the dynamics between the client and police. This can prove very useful in understanding why someone might not want to interact or even by seen by a police officer. Regarding the influence of perceptions of police on mental health, this study supported the associations between anxiety and POPS subscales. This is particularly important to know because a Latino/a client dealing with anxiety may have increased levels depending on their perceptions of police. Understanding these perceptions can assist in helping make more progress in therapy and start reducing certain anxiety that might be tied to police officers. On the other hand, POPS could be used to educate police officers about how their community might see them. When training police officers, they should be aware of how they are being perceived especially as that may explain an individual being highly anxious when pulled over or interacting with them. Police officers are important in our communities for many reasons and understanding what can help build a bond between them and ethnic minorities can help reduce crime, provide safer environments, and prevent police brutalities. Understanding Latinos/as views about police can also assist officers in knowing how to treat these individuals when interacting with them.

Future research should consider how different legal status (undocumented Latinos/as) could have an impact on their perceptions of police using the POPS subscales. The associations among undocumented Latinos/as may be higher than the sample gathered in this study. Particularly, the issues surrounding recent public policies about undocumented and monolingual Spanish speaking immigrants have a profound effect on Latinos/as perceptions of how society views immigrants (Cervantes & Córdova, 2011; Córdova & Cervantes, 2010). Latinos/as may develop a constant negative reference to their own ethnic group and believe others also view immigrants negatively (Cervantes & Córdova, 2011; Córdova & Cervantes, 2010). Latinos/as have become more vulnerable to racial profiling, thus increasing the chances of having negative interactions with police officers. Although, generalizability of the findings might be limited, this sample had a representativeness of Latinos/as similar to U.S. figures as majority of the sample included Mexican, Mexican American or Chicano (57.3%) and Puerto Rican (15.6%). The U.S. Census states that the majority of Latinos/as in the U.S. are from Mexico origin, followed by Puerto Rican. This is an important aspect of this study as our sample reflects the numbers of the general population.

#### Limitations

There are a number of limitations that should be considered within this study. For one, participants were recruited using an online based survey making it a convenience sample. POPS subscales primarily focus on the Latino/a own experiences with police. The only subscales that can be used to measure universal experiences with police regardless of race are "Anxiety of Interacting with Police and Fear of Police." Although you can ask participants who do not identify as Latino/a to answer items of the Self-

Perceptions of How Police View Latinos/as subscale, those questions are primarily focused how they view police officers treat Latinos/as in the U.S. Further exploration of that subscale would be needed to see how changing Latinos/as to a different racial/ethnic background would change responses. While this study has an exploratory factor analysis, and preliminary psychometric evidence of the properties of the Perceptions of Police Officers Scale (POPS) measure, a cross-validation study that includes a confirmatory factor analysis is needed to further establish the psychometric properties of this scale and to assess the degree of invariance across Spanish and English versions.

Furthermore, the majority of participants were collected through Amazon Mturk, which means they are more likely to be U.S. citizens. These participants were required to have access to computers and internet in order to participate in this study. The survey was not available in Spanish and could have restricted the type of individuals able to participant as they were required to know how to read English. In addition, results were centered around self-report and past recall of experiences which can prove to limit and should be taken into consideration when interpreting results. Despite my efforts to recruit undocumented Latinos/as, this sample lack that representation. That subgroup could bring a unique aspect to these variables and should be further explored as they might experience high rates of negative perceptions of a police officer due to the political climate against immigration of Latinos/as in this country. Given the cross-sectional nature of the study, I will not be able to determine causal relations among study variables.

#### Conclusion

Establishing a scale that captures perceptions of police officers among Latinos/as, allows researchers to capture quantitative information and explore the associations with

various outcome variables. This study adds the existing literature on ethnic minorities experiences with the police but especially focuses on a subgroup that has been neglected in the literature. Findings from this study help us better understand experiences of Latinos/as in the U.S. and may assist in rethinking some of the policies that surround the role of police officers in immigration initiatives. POPS may also help create a better relationship between the police and Latinos/as.

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Figure 1: Correlational Model 1

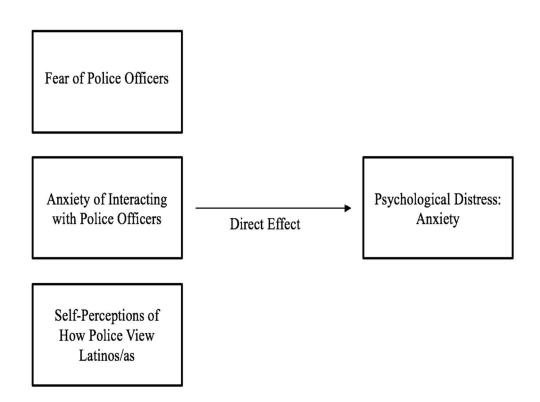


Figure 2: Correlational Model 2

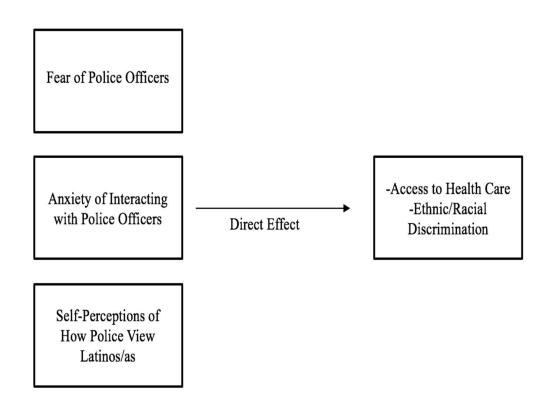


Figure 3: Impact of ICE

Activities on immigrant health. Conceptual Framework by Hacker & colleges (2011).

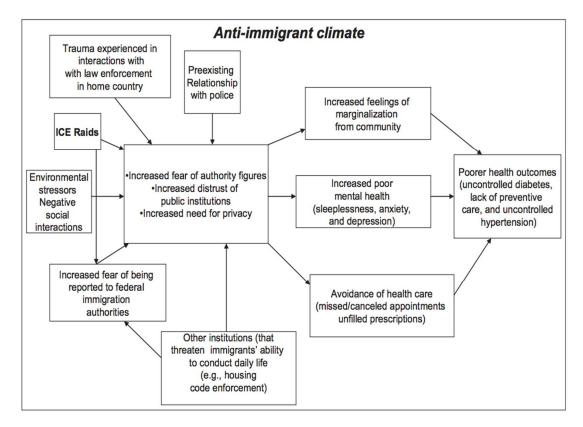


Figure 4: Moderation Model 1

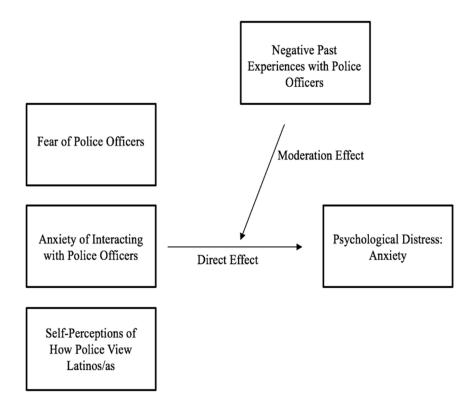


Figure 5: Moderation Model 2

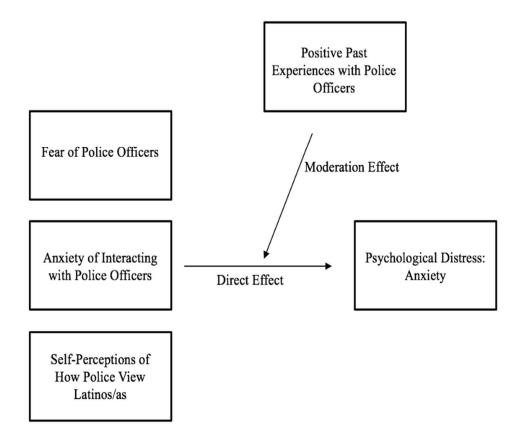


Figure 6: Final Structure Model

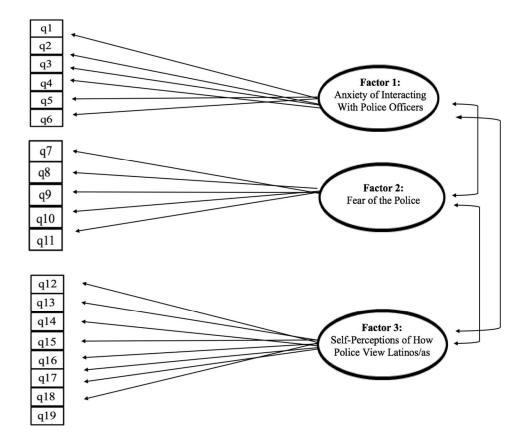
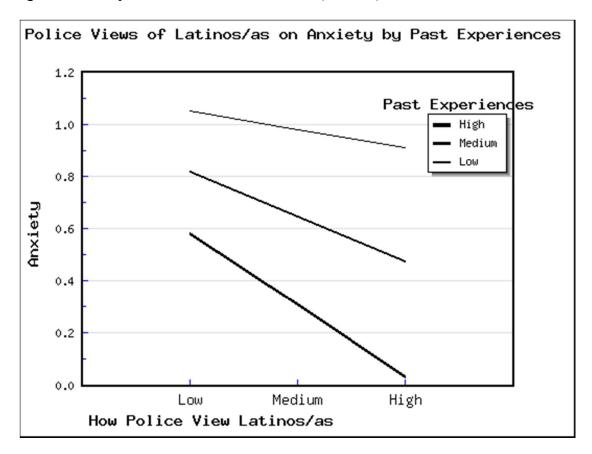


Figure 7: Moderation Graph

Self-Perceptions of How Police View Latinos(as) Associated with Anxiety Moderated by Negative Past Experiences With Police Officers (N = 288)



# **TABLES**

Table 1: Factor loadings and communalities based on a principle components analysis with oblimin rotation for 26 items from Perceptions of Police Officers Scale (POPS) with dropped items (N =288)

	F	actor Lo	ading	
	1	2	3	4
Hypothesized Factor 1 – Self-Perceptions of How Police View Latinos/as (SHPL); $\alpha$	=0.93			
I feel that police officers do NOT treat Latinos/as with respect.	86	03	.03	05
I feel that police officers treat Latinos/as like criminals.	79	.05	.04	11
I feel that police officers are rude to Latinos/as.	78	.04	.07	10
feel that police officers do NOT care about the rights of Latinos/as.	78	0.1	.00	04
feel that police officers believe Latinos/as do NOT contribute to this country.	77	.04	.00	02
feel that police officers treat Latinos/as fairly. R	68	10	.00	.31
feel that police officers care about the well-being of Latinos/as. R	61	.09	06	.26
feel that police officers are likely to assume that Latinos/a are criminals.	53	.18	.17	21
feel that police officers are likely to assume I do not have proper	38	.29	.09	27
documentation.				
Hypothesized Factor 2 – Fear of Police Officers (FPO); $\alpha = 0.95$				
am afraid police officers will physically hurt me.	04	.91	07	.07
am afraid that a police officer might hurt me.	05	.87	03	.07
am afraid that a police officer will arrest me even although I am innocent.	01	.81	.12	07
I am afraid police officers will accuse me of a crime I did not commit.	02	.78	.09	04
I am afraid that police officers might take advantage of me.	10	.72	.07	04
am afraid a police officer will stop me.	.01	.46	.46	04
I am scared that police officers will target me, because I am Latino/a.	35	.45	.15	26
I have difficulty breathing when I have to talk to a police officer.	06	.41	.25	07
am scared that police officers will treat me unfairly because I am Latino/a.	38	.37	.17	29
I am not afraid of police officers. R	08	.26	.27	.07
Hypothesize Factor 3 – Anxiety of Interacting with Police Officers (AIPO); $\alpha$ =0.92				
feel nervous when I have to explain myself to a police officer.	01	13	.97	00
feel anxious when a police officer stops me and talks to me.	.03	.00	.89	07
feel nervous when I have to talk with a police officer.	07	03	.87	00
am worried that when talking to a police officer, I will have a negative	06	.15	.70	04
experience.				
find interacting with police officers stressful.	11	.10	.69	.12
feel anxious having to report a crime to police officers.	.02	.13	.66	.25
do NOT panic when I have to talk with a police officer. R	08	.26	.27	.04
Eigen values	15.18	1.88	1.05	1.00
% of variance	58.41	6.08	3.11	2.05

<sup>\*</sup> Response options range from (1) "Strongly Disagree" to (4) "Strongly Agree" *Note:* Factor loadings over .30 appear in bold. **R** represents reverse coded items. Italized items represent items that were dropped due to crossloadings or there was not a factor loading over than .50

Table 2: Summary of Final Exploratory Factor Analysis Results for Perceptions of Police Officers Scale (POPS) (N = 288)

		Factor	Loadings
Items:19	Perceptions	Anxiety of	Fear of Police
	of How	Interacting	Officers
	Police View	with Police	
	Latinos/as	Officers	5 items
		6 items	
	8 items		
I feel that police officers	.91	01	.06
do NOT treat Latinos/as with			
respect.			
I feel that police officers are rude to	.86	03	00
Latinos/as.			
I feel that police officers treat	.85	02	01
Latinos/as like criminals.			
I feel that police officers	.83	.02	09
do NOT care about the rights of			
Latinos/as.			
I feel that police officers believe	.80	02	03
Latinos/as do NOT contribute to			
this country.			
I feel that police officers treat	.64	.00	.07
Latinos/as fairly. <b>Reverse Coded</b>	•••	.00	,
I feel that police officers are likely	.59	15	13
to assume that Latinos/a are		.10	.10
criminals.			
I feel that police officers care about	.55	.05	12
the well-being of Latinos/as.		.00	•
Reverse Coded			
I feel nervous when I have to	.00	97	.11
explain myself to a police officer.	.00	•51	.11
I feel anxious when a police officer	03	89	00
stops me and talks to me.	.03	•02	.00
I feel nervous when I have to talk	.06	87	.02
with a police officer.	.00	•07	.02
I find interacting with police	.09	70	11
officers stressful.	.07	•70	.11
I feel anxious having to report a	05	68	14
crime to police officers.	.02	.00	,11
I am worried that when talking to a	.08	68	15
police officer, I will have a	.00	-,00	.10
negative experience.			
negative experience.			

				_
I am afraid police officers will	00	.05	95	
physically hurt me.				
I am afraid that a police officer	.01	.00	<b>87</b>	
might hurt me.				
I am afraid that a police officer will	.02	11	<b>79</b>	
arrest me even although I am				
innocent.				
I am afraid police officers will	.04	09	76	
accuse me of a crime I did not				
commit.				
I am afraid that police officers	.10	07	74	
might take advantage of me.				
Eigenvalues	11.43	1.39	.78	
% of variance	60.17	7.36	4.11	

Note: Factor loadings over .50 appear in bold.

Table 3:
Descriptive statistics for the three Perceptions of Police Officers (POPS) factors (N =288)

	No. of items	M(SD)	Skewness	Kurtosis	Alpha
Self-Perceptions of How Police View	8	2.46 (.73)	-0.18	-0.63	.93
Latinos/as Anxiety of Interacting	6	2.56 (.82)	-0.32	-0.59	.94
with Police Fear of Police Officers	5	2.21 (.89)	0.18	-0.88	.95

Table 4: Correlation Table

Correlations, Means, and Standard Deviations of Study Variables (N = 288)

		-	2	3	4	S	9	7	<b>∞</b>	6	10	=	12	13	14	15	16	17 M	SO
	1. Sex	,																1.4	
5	<ol><li>Immigrated to the U.S.</li></ol>	07	ı															1.8	39
3	3. Educational Level	.02	ij.	:														5.6	1.4
4.	4. Generational Status	90:-	**64.	.10	1													3.2	1.7
9	Household Income	.05	03	.17**	9.	03	ı											4.2	1.6
7	Access to Health Care	02	.12*	.17**	.12*	03	.14*	ı										2.1	.92
∞i	<ol><li>Anxiety Symptoms</li></ol>	90:-	00:	40.	.02	-08	**61.	10	ı									.73	.87
6	9. Depressive Symptoms	.01	02	07	03	10	.23**	Ŧ,	**91.	ī								.81	9. 2
10.	10. Ethnic/Racial Discrimination	-00	02	00:	90:-	03	12*	-08	**85:	.53**	1							.87	.81
11.	11. Negative Experiences w/ Police	.14*	-00	00.	90:-	17**	-08	-08	.45**	.41**	.62**	ı						.57	88.
12.	12. Positive Experiences w/ Police	-08	00:-	03	01	10:	.16**	60:	.32**	.26**	.4]**	52**	ı					2.9	62.
13.	13. Global Perceptions of Police	01	01	0	.00	90.	12*	17**	.32**	.29**	**64.	.441**	.56**	1				2.3	97.
14.	14. Fear of Police	.00	03	.00	03	.05	-00	17**	41**	.35**	.52**	.456**	.52**	.72**	ı			2.2	76.
15.	15. Anxiety of Interacting w/ Police	<u>4</u> 0:	02	.00	00.	03	12*	20**	.47**	.43**	.42**	.42**	.57**	.63**	**99.	1		2.5	.82
16.	<ol><li>Fear of Police Officers</li></ol>	.12*	90:-	00	03	00.	13*	18**	.43**	.38**	.51**	.53**	.62**	**19	.82**	***	ı	2.2	68.
17.	17. Negative Perceptions of Police	02	05	.05	04	60.	12*	19**	.36**	.33**	.52**	**94.	.57**	**6L'	.74**	*/9:	.75**	2.4	73
-	11 - Lomela 2 - Malo: 2																		

 $^{1}1 = \text{Female, } 2 = \text{Male; }^{2}$ \* p < .05, \*\* p < .01

Table 4: Hierarchical Regression Models: Anxiety of Interacting with Police Officers Predicting Anxiety Symptoms (N = 283)

	β	$R^2$	$R^2$	F	Df
	,		Chang	Change	v
			e		
Model 1: Anxiety of Interacting with Police	47**	.23*	.23**	43.61**	281
Positive Past Experiences with Police	.03				
Anxiety x Positive	09	.24	.007	30.12	
Model 2: Fear of Police Officers	42**	.20	.20**	37.12**	281
Positive Past Experiences with Police	04				
Fear x Positive	05	.21	.002	25.00	
Model 3: Negative Self-Perceptions of Police	27**	.15	.15**	25.78**	
Positive Past Experiences with Police	.17*				
Perceptions x Positive	.01	.15	.00	17.15	
Model 4: Anxiety of Interacting with Police	35**	.30**	.30	62.33**	281
Negative Experiences with Police	30**				
Anxiety x Negative	007	.30	.00	41.41	
Model 5: Fear of Police Officers	29**	.26**	.26	50.84**	281
Negative Experiences with Police	29**				
Fear x Negative	00	.25	.00	33.78	
Model 6: Negative Self-Perceptions of Police	14*	.23**	.23**	44.63**	281
Negative Experiences with Police	49**				
Perceptions x Negative	16*	.24*	.01*	31.82	

<sup>.\*</sup>p < .05, \*\*p < .01

Table 5: Summary of Final Exploratory Factor Analysis Results for Ethnic/Racial Discrimination (N = 288)

Factor Loadings		
Items:19	1	2
	1	2
Have you been treated unfairly by teachers,	.73	13
principals, or other staff at school?		
Have others thought you couldn't do things or handle a job?	.71	23
Have others threatened to hurt you (ex: said they would hit you)?	.75	.30
Have others actually hurt you or tried to hurt you (ex: kicked or hit you)?	.72	.36
Have policemen or security officers been unfair to you?	.68	.16
Have others threatened to damage your property?	.76	.41
Have others actually damaged your property?	.64	.43
Have others made you feel like an outsider who doesn't fit in because of your dress, speech, or other characteristics related to your ethnicity?	.72	30
Have you been treated unfairly by co- workers or classmates?	.82	26
Have others hinted that you are dishonest or can't be trusted?	.79	.10
Have people been nice to you to your face, but said bad things about you behind your back?	.75	.30
Have people who speak a different language made you feel like an outsider?	.62	22
Have others ignored you or not paid attention to you?	.74	32
Has your boss or supervisor been unfair to you?	.72	15
Have others hinted that you must not be clean?	.78	.18
Have people not trusted you?	.76	04
Has it been hinted that you must be lazy?	.80	.01
Eigenvalues	9.73	1.48
% of variance	5.08	6.62

Note: Factor loadings over .32 appear