7-18-2022

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Abstract

Objective: The Latinx immigrant youth population composes nearly a quarter of all children in the U.S. and are a high-risk group for police encounters. Based on perceptions of Latinxs as criminals, increased enforcement actions against Latinxs in the U.S., and failures of policing and police brutality in immigrants' home countries, we expected that immigrants who reported increased trauma exposure and symptoms would have more negative perceptions of police. **Method:** This study utilized data from 107 recently immigrated Latinx youth to examine how trauma exposure (Child Trauma Screen) and symptoms (Child PTSD Symptoms Scale) related to perceptions of police (Criminal Sentiments Scale-Modified). **Results:** Consistent with the proposed hypotheses, trauma symptoms evidenced a significant main effect in relation to perceptions of police, $B = .115$, $t = 2.35$; $p = .021$, such that greater trauma symptoms were associated with more negative perceptions of law enforcement. Though trauma exposure did not evidence a significant main effect in relation to perceptions of police, $B = .254$, $t = 1.46$; $p = .146$, moderation analyses indicated that trauma exposure was associated with more negative perceptions of police, $B = -.019$, $t = -2.08$; $p = .040$. However, this interaction effect indicated that when both trauma symptoms and trauma exposure were high, less negative perceptions of police were observed. **Conclusion:** The current study provides novel data on police perceptions in young Latinx immigrants. Findings highlight the need for improved community relations and culturally responsive strategies between law enforcement and communities of color.

Keywords: trauma, perceptions of police, Latinx, youth, immigrant

Trauma Exposure and Trauma Symptoms as Predictors of Police

Perceptions in Latinx Youths

Latinx immigrant youth, including those with undocumented immigration legal status, are a large group that composes nearly a quarter of all children in the U.S. (Batalova et al., 2020). Latinx immigrant youth have much higher rates of trauma than other youths (Venta & Mercado, 2019). In addition to exposure to experiences of discrimination and trauma from their own lived immigration experiences, these youth are at high risk for police encounters as a result of extensive criminalization by the legal regime, enforcement practices, and media portrayals that erroneously depict Latinx immigrants as dangerous (Arrocha, 2012; Menjívar, 2016). Indeed, recent research shows that Latinx immigrants, regardless of immigration legal status, are perceived as a threat by white individuals, (Kiehne & Cadenas, 2021). Anti-Latinx, anti-immigrant attitudes give way to ongoing legal violence against immigrants, including the heavy policing and targeting of Black and Latinx youth in schools and in the broader community (Rios, 2011; Rios & Vigil, 2017) and the over-policing and criminalization of ethnic enclaves where immigrants are likely to reside (Garcia-Hallet et al., 2020), leading to the injurious effects of immigration enforcement and criminal law enforcement on all aspects of their lives, including family, work, and schooling (Menjívar & Abrego, 2012). The aforementioned experiences may contribute to sources of trauma experienced by Latinx immigrant youth, whose psychological wellbeing and development may be compounded by incessant targeting by enforcement and abjectivity (Gonzalez & Chavez, 2012). There is an urgent need to better understand how to establish better police-community relations in Latinx communities, particularly those with a dense immigration population, and understand the role of trauma in contributing to perceptions of police. The purpose of this study was to examine how trauma exposure, trauma symptoms,

and their interaction related to perceptions of police among undocumented, Latinx youth immigrants living in the U.S.

Research has documented that immigration is not connected to increases in crime, including violent forms of crime (Green, 2016; Light & Miller, 2018). Indeed, existing research documents that immigration is, instead, weakly connected to a reduction in crime (Ousey & Kubrin, 2018) and immigrants are less likely than native born people to engage in criminal activity (Ewing et al., 2015). Yet, despite exhibiting highly law-abiding behavior, immigrants and undocumented immigrants have been increasingly targeted by law enforcement, which creates a "stigma of illegality," thus, making Latinx immigrants more vulnerable to deportation and criminalization as perpetual outlaws (Abrego, 2014; Sarabia, 2018). Indeed, Latinx men, particularly young men, are vulnerable to police violence and more likely to be killed by police than white men (Edwards et al., 2019). Research suggests that undocumented Latinx youth are aware of these negative perceptions about them, with detrimental impacts on their psychological wellbeing (Del Real, 2019). Moreover, in-depth scholarship has uncovered that Latinx immigrants' perceptions of police are influenced by multiple factors, including experiences with police and the justice system in their home countries, their social networks and their expectations about police in the U.S., and contact with U.S. immigration officials (Menjívar & Bejarano, 2004). However, the literature continues to be limited with regard to youth and the role of trauma experiences in shaping youth's attitudes toward police is unknown.

To our knowledge, no research to date has examined how trauma history (i.e., pre-migration, during migration, and post-migration) might relate to perceptions of police among undocumented Latinx youth—the purpose of the current study. Over the last 10 years, there has been rapid growth in rates of Latinx youth and family migration from Mexico and Central

America (U.S. Customs & Border Patrol, 2020). In particular, the U.S./Mexico border has seen

high increases in the number of unaccompanied immigrant minors—typically older adolescents

entering the U.S. by themselves from El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Mexico with the

aim of being reunited with a guardian who is already residing in the U.S. (U.S. Customs &

Border Patrol, 2020). These migrant youth are distinct from previous groups with regard to their

high rates of trauma exposure and symptom endorsement (Venta, 2019). Among recently

immigrated, undocumented Latinx children and adolescents, most have been exposed to 3-4

traumatic events, with startling levels of exposure to community violence (39% among children

and 64% among adolescents), and 60% exhibit clinically significant symptoms of posttraumatic

stress disorder (PTSD; Venta & Mercado, 2019).

Trauma symptoms among undocumented Latinx immigrant youth have profound, cross-

cutting effects on health, with trauma symptoms significantly associated with mental and

physical health, broadly, as well as role limitations in schooling, family, and social life; lower

self-esteem; increased behavior problems; and impairment in family activities (Mercado et al.,

2019). In their countries of origin, crisis levels of trauma exposure and symptoms in Latinx

immigrant youth are largely driven by exposure to community violence in regions where law

enforcement capability is limited by state weaknesses, where criminal activity perpetrated by

gangs and cartels is high, and where police corruption may exacerbate rather than prevent

community traumatization (Wolf, 2016). Further, policing entities in Latin America are often

indistinguishable from military forces, and perceptions of police as agents of political corruption

and experiences of repressive and violent policing are common (Cao & Zhao, 2005). Data

published in 2009 indicate that El Salvador ranks first among Latin American and Caribbean

nations for the public's endorsement of abuse by police during the last twelve months when

controlling for individual characteristics (Cruz, 2009). Police misconduct was more commonly reported by young Latinxs, males, and those who lived in urban settings (Cruz, 2009). A commonly cited reason for migration among Latinx youth is to escape threats and violence from criminal entities in their home countries (DeBrabrander & Venta, under review; Perreira & Ornelas, 2013), suggesting that young, Latinx migrants have likely experienced policing failures in their home countries prior to migration.

Study's Goals and Hypotheses

Trauma has profound effects on social and emotional development, interrupts health development, and impacts academic achievement, having devastating long term consequences if unaddressed (National Traumatic Stress Network, 2021). Against this background, the aim of this study was to examine how trauma exposure, trauma symptoms, and their interaction related to perceptions of police among undocumented, Latinx youth immigrants living in the U.S. We hypothesized that (Hypothesis 1; H1) trauma exposure and (Hypothesis 2; H2) trauma symptoms would demonstrate significant main effects in relation to perceptions of police, such that both individuals who had been exposed to trauma and those who were currently demonstrating higher trauma symptoms would have more negative perceptions of U.S. police. (Hypothesis 3; H3) We also anticipated a significant interactive effect such that perceptions of police would be even more negative when both trauma exposure and symptoms were present.

Method

Participants

Data for this study were drawn from a subset of the first wave of data-collection in a broader, longitudinal study (Venta et al., 2019) endeavoring to examine the mental health of recently immigrated high school students. Specifically, students who were Latinx ($n = 112$) were

selected from the overall sample ($N = 130$), which also included non-Latinx immigrant students. Participants were recruited from a public high school specifically for recently immigrated adolescents in the Southwestern U.S. Data from the school indicate that the student body was primarily Latinx (92.0%) and served grades 9-12. The modal number of self-reported years spent living in the U.S. was approximately two at the time of data collection. Youth reported hailing from El Salvador (26.0%), Honduras (16.4%), and Guatemala (43.8%). Approximately 90% indicated they were undocumented. The overwhelming majority of students were English Language Learners (93.0%) and received Free and Reduced-Price Lunch (78.0%); a minority of students earned satisfactory marks on the annual benchmark exams in reading (5.6% in 2015) and math (50.0% in 2015). From the broader study, all participants who identified as Latinx were selected for this study. A total of 112 youths in grades 9, 10, 11, or 12 comprise the present sample. The ages of the participants ranged from 15 to 25 years old, with an average age of 19.81 ($SD = 2.08$). Participants self-reported demographics: 40.2% of participants were girls and 59.8% of participants were boys, with the racial breakdown as follows: 38.8% white, 6.1% black, 4.1% mixed race, 51% marked "other" (e.g., indigenous, Moreno/a, Guatemalan, Salvadorian), and 17.8% chose not to answer.

Procedures

Institutional Review Board and School District approvals were sought and obtained prior to data collection. Data collection took place in 2017-2018. A Certificate of Confidentiality from the National Institutes of Health was also obtained. Consent procedures varied by age. For minors, informed consent was obtained from caregivers via letters, followed by adolescent consent or assent (depending on the student's age) in person. Adult participants provided consent prior to participation with ample time to confer with a caregiver if they wished to do so.

Adolescents completed self-report measures in private; the lead author and/or bilingual, graduate student research assistants were available for assistance. Youth were compensated with a $30 gift card for their time.

Measures

Demographics

A demographic questionnaire was developed for this study to probe self-reported gender, age, and ethnicity/race. These variables were considered for inclusion as covariates in moderation analyses. Additionally, the aforementioned immigration history variables (i.e., country of origin, time since arrival, and documentation status) were also collected through this questionnaire.

Attitudes Toward Police

The Criminal Sentiments Scale-Modified (CSS-M; Shields & Simourd, 1991) is a self-report instrument that measures antisocial attitudes, values, and beliefs using 41 items grouped into five subscales: Attitudes Toward the Law, Attitudes Toward the Court, Attitudes Toward the Police, Tolerance for Law Violations, and Identification with Criminal Others. For the current study, a previously published Spanish translation of this instrument was utilized (Martínez & Andres-Pueyo, 2015). Consistent with the aims of the present study, we used the seven-item Attitudes Towards the Police subscale. Sample items from this scale include: "The police are honest," "A cop is a friend to people in need," and "The police are as crooked as the people they arrest (reversed)." Items are rated on a three-point Likert-type scale ranging from 0 (*agree*) to 2 (*disagree*). Higher scores on this scale indicate more negative attitudes towards police. Convergent validity for the Spanish version of the CSSM was established in adults by Martínez and Andrés-Pueyo (2015) and in adolescents by Muñoz and Venta (2021), who documented

significant relations between the CSSM and an established violence risk assessment instrument and externalizing behavior questionnaire. In the current study, internal consistency for this scale was adequate with Cronbach's alpha of .76.

Trauma Exposure

The Child Trauma Screen (UCLA PTSD; Pynoos et al., 1998) contains 15 items answered dichotomously as *yes* or *no* for lifetime exposure to trauma events. An existing Spanish translation of this instrument was utilized in the current study to assess trauma exposure prior to arrival in the U.S. and responses were collected via self-report (Jaycox, 1998). Sample items include questions regarding community violence, abuse, and witnessed violence. Item exposures are summed to reflect higher exposure to trauma; cut-off values in Latinx immigrant youth have not been established. Internal consistency was not computed for this scale given that trauma exposures are not assumed to represent a single construct. Concurrent validity with caregiver report of trauma symptoms was documented by Marshall and Venta (2021). Trauma exposure in this sample was high, with 87.4% indicating experiencing any traumatic event and, more specifically, 59.5% of the sample endorsing seeing someone in the community get slapped, punched, or beat up; 56.8% endorsing a serious accident or injury; and 50.5% experiencing a natural disaster like a flood, tornado, hurricane, earthquake, or fire.

Trauma Symptoms

The Child PTSD Symptoms Scale (CPSS; Foa et al., 2001) is a measure of trauma symptoms based on DSM-IV criteria for PTSD. Respondents report on their experience of 17 symptoms of PTSD on a frequency scale from 0 (*not at all*) to 3 (*5 or more times a week*). Sample items on this scale include: "Having bad dreams or nightmares," "Having trouble falling or staying asleep," "Feeling irritable or having fits or anger," and "Being overly careful

(checking to see who is around you)." Items are summed to form a total score indicating both

quantity and severity of symptoms; cut-off values have not been established in Latinx immigrant

youth. The current study utilized a previously translated version of the CPSS for self-report in

Spanish (Gudiño & Rindlaub, 2014). Convergent validity for this scale, administered to Spanish-

speaking students, was supported with significant relations with violence exposure (Gudiño &

Rindlaub, 2014). Moreover, convergent validity with trauma exposure and concurrent validity

with youth report of symptoms were documented by Marshall and Venta (2021). Internal

consistency in this study was good, with Cronbach's alpha of .91.

Data Analytic Plan

Preliminary analyses examined relations between demographic variables (i.e., age,

gender, race/ethnicity) and the Attitudes Towards the Police subscale to determine demographic

variables that should be included in multivariate analyses as covariates. Univariate multiple

imputation with 10 imputations was conducted in Stata/MP 17.0 to impute data for 7 participants

missing only the CPSS given that the assumption of Missing Completely at Random was met

(*Little's MCAR test: X^2 (2) = 463, p = .793*). Participants with missing data on more than one key

study variable were excluded from analyses in a listwise fashion; moderation analyses used

surveys from 107 participants with imputed, complete data. The main analyses consisted of

testing moderation on the imputed dataset using the *mibeta* estimate in Stata/MP 17.0. This

involved examining the main effects of two predictor variables (trauma exposure and PTSD

symptoms) on the outcome variable (Attitudes Towards the Police subscale). Analyses also

included probing the interaction (i.e., moderation effect) of both predictor variables on the

outcome variable. Covariates identified in preliminary analyses were included. A priori power

analyses conducted using G*Power 3.1.9.6 for a regression model with four predictors (i.e., one

covariate as well as the hypothesized effects), alpha set to .05, power set to .8, and medium effect

size indicated a total sample size of 85.

Results

Bivariate Analyses

Bivariate relations between demographic variables and the Attitudes Towards the Police

subscale were examined in order to select covariates. Age was significantly associated with the

Attitudes Towards the Police subscale, $r = .22$, $p = .03$, such that older participants had more

negative attitudes towards police. Thus, age was included as a covariate in multivariate analyses.

No significant gender difference in the Attitudes Towards the Police subscale was noted, $t = -$

1.15, $p = .252$, and therefore gender was excluded from subsequent analyses. Likewise, analyses

of variance did not suggest a significant relation between race/ethnicity with the Attitudes

Towards the Police subscale, $F (3, 93) = 1.75$ $p = .162$, and it was therefore not included as a

covariate in multivariate analyses. At the bivariate level, Pearson correlations between the

Attitudes Towards the Police subscale and trauma symptoms, $r = .09$, $p = .358$, and trauma

exposure, $r = .06$ $p = .540$, were non-significant. Descriptive statistics are reported in Table 1.

Main Analyses: Probing Moderation Effects

We hypothesized that individuals who had been exposed to (H1) trauma and those who

were currently demonstrating higher (H2) trauma symptoms would have more negative

perceptions of U.S. police. We also anticipated a significant (H3) interaction effect such that

perceptions of police would be even more negative when both trauma exposure and symptoms

were present. In order to test for hypothesized main and interaction effects, a moderation model

was computed in which the Attitudes Towards the Police subscale served as the dependent

variable, with trauma exposure, trauma symptoms, and the interaction of these two variables

acting as predictor variables. Age was entered as a covariate. Results of the model are presented

in Table 2 and indicated that the overall model was statistically significant and explained 6% of

the variance. Results also suggest a significant main effect of trauma symptoms, such that

increased trauma symptoms, generally, were associated with more negative perceptions of

police. However, this effect evidenced a significant interaction with trauma exposure (Figure 1),

such that when trauma exposure was low, increased trauma symptoms were associated with more

negative perceptions of police. However, when trauma exposure was high, increased trauma

symptoms were associated with less negative perceptions of police. Hence, increasing trauma

exposure was positively associated with negative perceptions of police only when trauma

symptoms were low (i.e., 1SD below the mean), not when trauma symptoms were at mean or

higher (i.e., 1SD above the mean) levels.

Discussion

This study utilized data from recently immigrated Latinx high school students to examine

how trauma exposure and symptoms relate to perceptions of police. Based on perceptions of

Latinxs as criminals, increased enforcement actions against Latinxs in the U.S., and failures of

policing and police brutality in immigrants' home countries (Cruz, 2009; Goodman, 2020;

Menjívar, 2016), we expected that immigrants who reported increased exposure to (H1) trauma

and (H2) trauma symptoms would have more negative perceptions of police, with the most

negative perceptions reported by those with (H3) both previous trauma exposure and current

trauma symptoms. Our hypotheses were partly supported. Consistent with our hypotheses

regarding main effects, (H2) trauma symptoms evidenced a significant main effect in relation to

perceptions of police such that a greater number of trauma symptoms were associated with more

negative perceptions of police. Though trauma exposure was not directly related to perceptions

of police (H1), trauma exposure was indeed associated with more negative perceptions of police when trauma symptoms were low (H3). These findings, while in need of replication, suggest that perhaps police and authorities are involved in the systemic traumatization of Latinx communities, as is suggested by high rates of endorsed abuse by police in Latin America (Cruz, 2009).

However, in contrast to our moderation hypothesis, a paradoxical effect emerged such that when (H3) both trauma symptoms and trauma exposure were high, less negative perceptions of police were observed. One explanation for this finding is that the high exposure and high symptoms group is the most vulnerable in our sample of young Latinx immigrants and that their migration was possibly motivated by experiences in their home countries that were particularly intolerable, perhaps due to acutely high levels of community and gang violence. In their home regions, police violence, corruption, and repression may have been particularly pronounced, contributing to their traumatization, and explaining their more positive views of police in the U.S.— U.S. police may simply seem better and less threatening by contrast. This explanation of our findings is in line with research suggesting that immigrants may place higher trust in host-country institutions due to a "frame of reference effect," which tends to be strongest amongst recently immigrated individuals (Röder & Mühlau, 2012).

Moreover, another possible explanation is that the youth who had experienced higher levels of trauma may have had genuinely positive, helpful interactions with police in the U.S. This in line with other studies that suggest that recent immigrant youth may experience less violence in the U.S. than they did in their home countries, resulting in less contact with police in the neighborhood where they have settled, due to the protective factors associated with living in neighborhoods with high concentration of immigrants (Wright & Benson, 2010). Research also

suggests that decreases in violence among recently immigrated youth may be related to the

benefits of experiencing structured routines in U.S. schools, which support immigrants to use

their time in learning and other activities that tend to be associated with decreases in violence

(Peguero, 2013). These explanations for the paradoxical effect observed in this study may inform

future research on this topic.

Limitations

This study fills an important gap in the literature to further understanding the association

between trauma and perceptions of police among Latinx immigrant youth. Yet, this study is not

without limitations. First, all variables were operationalized through self-report measures.

Though measures that have been previously published and subjected to psychometric analyses

with Spanish speakers were selected, the use of self-report means that findings may have been

subject to shared method variance and other self-report biases such as inaccuracies in the recall

of trauma exposure or symptoms. Relatedly, the current study was designed and began prior to

the publication of a DSM 5 version of the CPSS in Spanish. Second, our self-report measures did

not include some variables that are essential for future research. That is, we did not have

information about immigrants' or their families' previous experiences with police, nor about

their perceptions of police in their home countries. The trauma exposure instrument used did not

probe the perpetrator of traumatic events and, therefore, we are unable to determine whether

trauma exposure reflects victimization by police to some extent. Our available data do not allow

examination of whether the trauma symptoms endorsed are associated with police violence or

some other traumatic event. Further, we did not assess whether endorsed traumatic events

occurred prior to or during migration. Third, our measures were not temporally arranged in a

way that would allow any interpretation of the direction of effects. More specifically, while we

believe that trauma exposure and symptoms likely drive perceptions of police, the data do not measure these variables across time and, thus, it could instead be that individuals who possessed more negative perceptions of police at the outset experienced more traumatic events in their history. Finally, generalizability of our findings is limited by the fact that our sample was drawn from a single school and underpowered to detect a small effect (Shieh, 2010).

Future Research Directions

A number of other important findings emerged from the associations founds in this study. First, no evidence of a relation between race and perceptions of police emerged. This finding may indicate a sort of "spillover effect." Indeed, in the extant literature, a spillover effect explains that anti-immigrant enforcement negatively impacts not only immigrant children, but also their friends and peers who have lawful status (Aranda et al., 2014; Sabo & Lee, 2015). In the same way, perhaps the increased police enforcement that affects people of color in the U.S. has spilled-over to racially white Latinx immigrants (making up 38.8% of the sample in this study). Future research may explicitly examine hypotheses regarding spillover effects. Additionally, immigrant enforcement has minoritized and marginalized immigrants in the U.S. (Androff et al., 2011; Menjívar et al., 2018), and fear of deportation has generalized to negative perceptions of police, including perceptions of unfairness towards Latinxs and concerns regarding excessive force (Becerra et al., 2017; Messing et al., 2015). Immigration enforcement agencies are thus being increasingly perceived to target immigrants in a similar way in which racialized policing targets Black Americans (Ewing et al., 2015; Provine, 2013), possibly explaining the lack of racial differences on how Latinx immigrant youth see the police. That is, when it comes to perceptions of law enforcement, Latinx ethnicity may supersede racial categories. Future research may examine the perceptions of police and other immigration

enforcement agencies in relation to how trauma symptoms, as well as on experiences of marginalization by immigrant youth. Lastly, another interesting finding is that increasing age was significantly associated with more negative perceptions of police, suggesting that perhaps older Latinx youths have developed higher critical consciousness as they witness more and more police abuse as they age—an important avenue for future research. From a developmental standpoint, trauma may have impacted their cognitive and emotional development. Future research may ask directly about youths' experiences with police in their countries of origin and in the U.S. to discern the nature of their experiences with police as well as the location and context of their trauma experiences. Furthermore, future research may attempt to discern youths' experiences with police officers compared to immigration enforcement officials to understand if youth differentiate between the two.

Clinical & Policy Implications

Though our findings are certainly in need of future research, they preliminarily point to an opportunity for enhanced police-community relations with young, Latinx immigrants. Indeed, police may be able to forge inroads of collaboration with Latinx communities by establishing community ties that enhance perceptions of neighborhood order and felt security among the most highly traumatized subset of Latinx immigrants. Such opportunities for collaboration could be thwarted by policies that blur lines between police and immigration enforcement agents given that immigrants have highly negative perceptions of the latter (Hacker et al., 2011; Vargas et al., 2017). Indeed, Arizona SB1070, the law that allowed police to behave as immigration agents in that state, has produced policing practices that have been traumatic to children (Orozco & López, 2015; Santos et al., 2013). Extending these findings, it is possible that those policing practices would be particularly detrimental to traumatized communities for instance by exacerbating the

negative perceptions of police reported by those that experienced trauma exposure or currently

experience trauma symptoms and eroding the positive perceptions of police noted among the

most traumatized in our sample. In contrast, a way of weakening the links between trauma and

negative perceptions of police noted in our study may be to reverse policies that entangle the

police and immigration enforcement—an idea that warrants future research to bolster policy

implications.

Our findings have important clinical implications. There is a pressing need for the

development and provision of context-sensitive mental health interventions to address trauma

among Latinx immigrant youth and families, including trauma that stems from negative police

encounters. Identifying ways to support the mental health of Latinx immigrant youth and

families that can be made available through alternative sources of delivery, such as through

collaboration with advocacy agencies and faith-based organizations, may provide valuable

avenues to facilitate access to treatment and create safe spaces (Parra-Cardona et al., 2021). In

Latinx communities, faith-based organizations such as churches or temples, are a valuable entry

point for formal mental health services and provide a wide range of helpful resources that can

contribute to the wellbeing of their members (Bolger & Prickett, 2021). In the provision of

services to Latinx immigrant youth and families, an important consideration is provision of

services that are trauma-informed and that incorporate empowerment and strength-based

approaches into treatment (Consoli et al., 2016). Empowerment and strength-based approaches

can be particularly valuable when working with immigrant communities given their focus on

building resilience amidst adversity (Consoli et al., 2016). In addition, assisting Latinx

immigrant youth and families with participation in support groups and community-based

organizations can open doors to important sources of information and resources that can be

empowering (Consoli et al., 2016). Also essential is that service providers and law enforcement officials (i.e., police) develop a knowledge base to understand the immigrant's context and culture, become cognizant of the multiple systemic and institutions difficulties faced by Latinx immigrant youth, and develop training and skills aimed at building trust, increasing positive interactions with the police, and reducing risk of further harm.

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics for Key Study Variables

Variable	*Min*	*Max*	*M*	*SD*
Trauma Symptoms	0	46	15.11	10.77
Trauma Exposure	0	13	4.02	2.90
Attitudes Towards Police	0	13	3.82	2.85
Covariate: Age	15	25	19.81	2.08

Note. The possible range for trauma exposure was 0- 15, for trauma symptoms was 0-51 and for attitudes towards police was 0-14.

Table 2

Multivariate Model with Attitudes Towards Police as the Dependent Variable (N = 107)

Predictor	Coefficient	SE	β	t	p
Trauma Symptoms	.115	.05	.43	2.35	.021
Trauma Exposure	.254	.17	.26	1.46	.146
Trauma Symptoms * Trauma Exposure	-.019	.01	-.55	-2.08	.040
Covariate: Age	.268	.14	.19	1.98	.050

Note. Model level statistics: R^2 = .10, Adjusted R^2 = .06, $F(4, 100)$ = 2.71, p = .034.

Figure 1

Interaction Between Trauma Exposure and Symptoms in Relation to Attitudes Towards the
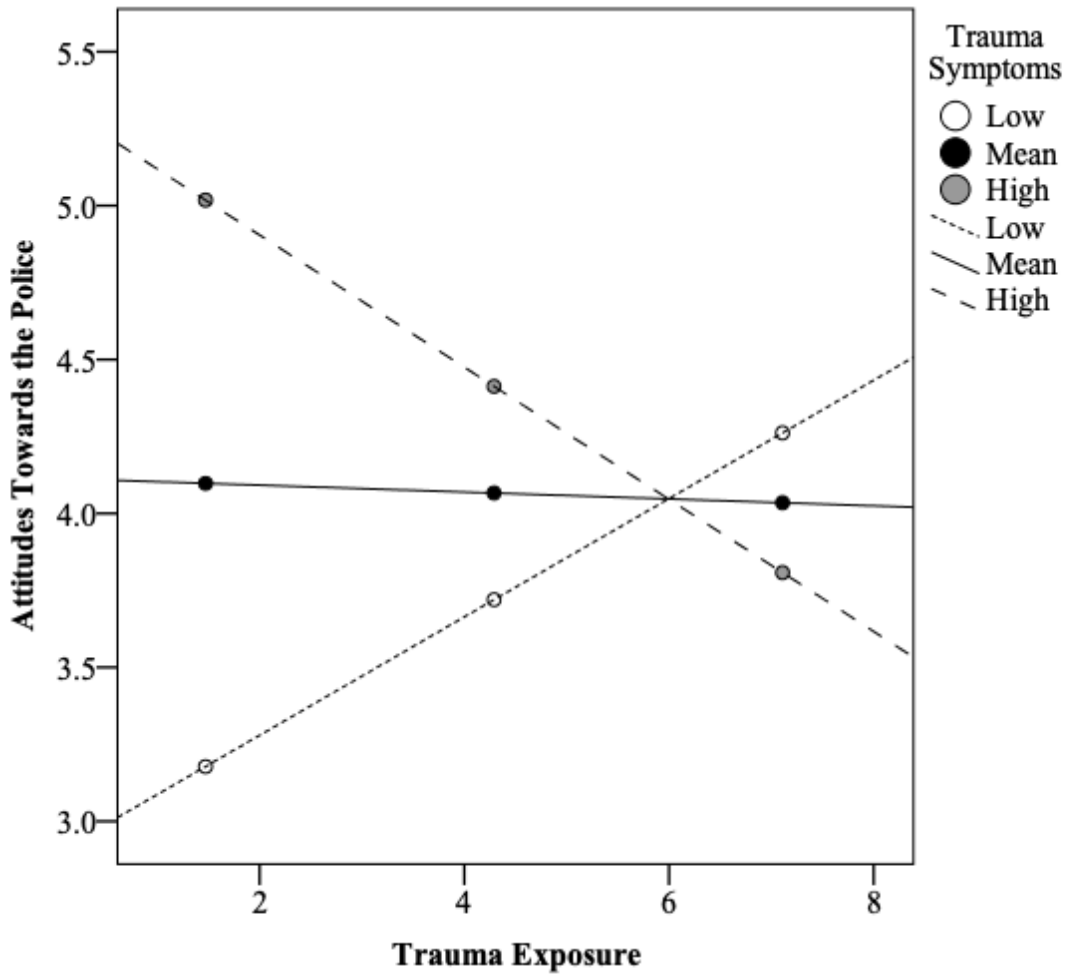
Police

Note. Circles indicate mean attitudes towards the police at discrete rates of trauma exposure whereas lines signify interpolation between data points for illustrative purposes.

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