“Que no Haya Duda”:
Language, Documentation Status, and Policing in Elgin, Illinois

Linguistic Barriers and Documentation Status in the Construction of Latinx Immigrants’ Perception of Suburban Policing

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Abstract

Following the election of President Trump, federal immigration policy has become increasingly punitive toward Latinx immigrants. Correspondingly, this shift in immigration policy has affected Latinx immigrants' perception of local police, which they have historically viewed as closely connected to immigration authorities. This paper seeks to better understand the dynamics between local police and immigrant communities. Specifically, this paper analyzes how Latinx immigrants interact with local police through one case study: Elgin, a suburb of Illinois. In addition to my own personal connection, Elgin was chosen as the focus of study due to its shift in demographic composition from a majority white population to a booming Latinx population.

This thesis draws on qualitative interviews with local Latinx immigrants and Elgin Police Department members. In particular, immigrant interviewees described their prior encounters with Elgin Police and their Perception of Police using preset scenarios. Guided by these interviews, this paper identifies common perceptions of police held by Latinx immigrants, the relation between Documentation Status and Language in attitudes towards policing.

The broad concern of this project is to assess interactions between community members and police officers in order to assert the importance of shifting policing practices as the demographics of a community change. Future policing practices must center community members and their lived experiences. This study finds that trust in the police is key in the reporting of crimes. This paper concludes with a series of policies that can be adopted by the Elgin Police Department in order to improve trust between the police and the community, ultimately allowing for the facilitation of a true community-based policing model.

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I. Introduction

In early April 2018, Attorney General Jeff Sessions issued a memorandum to federal prosecutors across the Southwest border, directing them to adopt a "zero tolerance policy" for immigration offenses related to illegal entry and attempted illegal entry into the United States (U.S. Department of Justice, 2021). The U.S. Department of Homeland Security (DHS) would not publicly acknowledge its separation of nearly 2,000 children from their parents or legal guardians between April 19 and May 31 until June 2018 (Kopan, 2018). Following the issuance of the "zero tolerance policy," millions of immigrants across the country were left afraid of the uncertain future for immigration policy and their communities' increasing vulnerability. Previous research suggests that Latinxs, particularly those who are undocumented, are less likely to contact the police and hold a strong fear and distrust of the police (Mirande, 1980; Roles, Moak, and ten Bensel, 2015), which is in part attributed to the perceived linkage between local law enforcement and immigration authorities (Menjivar and Bejarano, 2004). A Chicago suburb of over 100,000 residents, of which 47.4% are Latinx and 25.4% are foreign-born (U.S. Census Bureau, 2022), the city of Elgin, Illinois grappled with how to ensure that its immigrant residents did not grow more fearful and avoidant of the Elgin Police Department (EPD) in the wake of escalating punitive federal immigration policy. This paper seeks to contribute to existing literature on the relationship between law enforcement and immigrants in answering the question: how do Latinx immigrants perceive police and make decisions to contact police in the context of an American suburb?

Despite the Trump administration's anti-immigrant rhetoric and the national effort to further involve local police in immigration law enforcement in a post-9/11 America (Harris, 2006), the Elgin Police Department provides a unique and peculiar account of what

immigrant-police relations may look like under evolving sociopolitical conditions. In response to the Trump administration's "zero tolerance policy," Victor[1], the first Latino commander in the history of EPD, helped organize a town hall held in Spanish where local community members were encouraged to get to know EPD officials and ask any questions they had regarding the role of policing and their rights when detained. The town hall was held on April 19, 2018, less than two weeks after the initial "zero tolerance" DOJ memo was released. This was not the first instance in which the Police Department sought to address the concerns and anxieties of the Elgin immigrant community through conversation—holding a similar town hall, again organized with Victor's assistance, on February 28, 2017—this time in response to the arrest of over 680 undocumented people by the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), with nearly half of the arrests occurring in the Midwest and/or Chicagoland area (Danahey, 2017).

The State of Illinois has served as a sanctuary state since August 2017, when Governor Bruce Rauner signed the TRUST Act, establishing stringent limits on the degree of cooperation between local and state police and federal immigration authorities; and prohibiting local officials from inquiring about an individual's immigration status (Esparza, 2017). The City of Chicago has 40 year-old roots in the sanctuary movement, first providing a safe haven for Central Americans fleeing political repression and violence in July 1982 (Rumore, 2022). Though both the state and metropolitan area of Elgin have historically welcomed and accommodated immigrants, the suburb as a backdrop for policing was once characterized by homogenous affluent or middle class, white, U.S.-born populations. Between 1990 and 2014, a demographic transformation took place: white populations declined sharply and, in their place, poor, non-white, and foreign-born populations began to flourish (Beck, 2019). For the suburb of Elgin,

[1] *Note*: I used a pseudonym for the commander I spoke with in order to protect his privacy.

this process began even earlier in the 1980s as warehouses and manufacturing plants drove demand for inexpensive immigrant labor. In 1990, Elgin's population was 19% Latino; by 2010, this figure had grown to encompass nearly 44% of the city population (Yousef, 2012). Various studies indicate that changes in a place's demographic composition affects both aggregate arrests and racial disproportionality (Meehan and Ponder, 2002; Novak and Chamlin, 2012; Boyles, 2015). This makes the changing suburb as a setting for understanding the relationship between police and immigrant communities particularly dynamic.

As aforementioned, this paper aims to explore Latinx immigrants' perception of suburban police and relatedly, how they make decisions when contacting the police. I will begin by presenting an expansive overview of the present literature on (1) race and ethnicity in the American suburb; (2) common [mis]perceptions of police held by Latinx immigrants; (3) documentation status and trust in police; and (4) language access in policing. I designed a coded matrix utilizing 15 interviews with local Latinx immigrant community members and 5 with Elgin Police Department officers. I present an analysis of this matrix, explaining how the independent variables including *language* and *documentation status* relate to the dependent variable, *perception of police*. Here, I define *perception of police* by measures including (1) fear of deportation, (2) procedural fairness, and (3) willingness to report incidents of crime using preset scenarios. With police officers, the interviews take on a greater informational role to better capture the culture within EPD and the initiatives and outreach that may contribute to and mediate this collective perception of police. To supplement my understanding of EPD programming, along with police officers' knowledge of these initiatives, I also cite the Elgin Police Department official website[2] and the recently launched EPD Transparency Hub.[3] Finally, I

[2] Webpage link: https://www.cityofelgin.org/82/Police.
[3] Webpage link: https://epdopendata-cityofelgin.hub.arcgis.com/.

discuss the findings of the study, outline its limitations, and offer policy recommendations for analogous suburban police departments with a substantial immigrant presence.

II. Background

Elgin is ranked fourth among northeastern Illinois municipalities with the largest number of foreign-born individuals, with 28,724 foreign-born persons, constituting 26.2% of the city's total population in 2010 and remaining stable since, see **Appendix A, Figure 1** (American Community Survey, 2008-12). The suburb is situated amongst a cluster of small villages and towns, including South Elgin, Bartlett, Streamwood, West Dundee, Gilberts, Pingree Grove, and Campton Hills (see **Appendix A, Figure 2**). When Elgin's demographic composition is compared to that of these surrounding townships, Elgin emerges as the suburb with the highest immigrant population, by count. In the 2020 Census, Elgin's total population was 114,797 with 25.4% of inhabitants, approximately 29,158, being foreign-born (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017-21). Among the surrounding villages and towns, Streamwood is the suburb that comes closest to Elgin's population figures, with approximately 11,794, or 29.8% of its residents reported as foreign-born (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017-21). Most of the other local townships report less than 15% foreign-born populations; **Appendix A, Figure 3** shows that these immigrant populations, by count, range from as low as 414 to 8,015 individuals (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017-21). The City of Elgin serves as an intriguing object of analysis for this study in that it holds one of the largest populations of immigrants in the metropolitan area while remaining largely insulated, bordered by other suburbs with vastly different demographic compositions that do not display the suburban demographic transition observed across literature.

When compared to the city's total racial composition, a disparity arises between Latinx/Hispanic officers and its residents, as Latinxs represent 47.4% of the population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2022) but only 19% of the Police Department's force (Elgin Police Department Transparency Hub, 2022). Currently, the Elgin Police Department's force is made up of 76% white officers, 19% Latinx/Hispanic officers, and 5% Black officers (Elgin Police Department Transparency Hub, 2022). In terms of the gender ratio, 79% of officers identify as male and 21% as female (Elgin Police Department Transparency Hub, 2022). The Department also has unique hiring practices, including recruiting from the city's high schools, the community college, and Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) and Hispanic Serving Institutions (HSIs) across the country. Most recently, a new amendment went into effect in 2023 that has waived the 2- year/4- year college requirement, prioritizing other established qualifications such as certified multilingual speakers, 1+ years of Elgin residency, and persons certified in non-violence, mediation or de-escalation tactics for officer positions (Elgin Police Department Transparency Hub, 2023). The stated purpose behind liberalizing these requirements is to provide "for an enhanced opportunity to recruit a more diverse applicant pool and also allows the department to better compete in its efforts to recruit individuals who want to be police officers" (Elgin Police Department Transparency Hub, 2023).

This project was first conceived out of an ethnographic study of Elgin conducted in Spring 2021 in which I sought to understand how incoming immigrants decide both individually and collectively on a place to establish new roots and communities in the United States using the suburb of Elgin as a case study. I was especially interested in understanding the social networks and local immigrant-centered institutions that were established in order to form a 'safe' space for new immigrants, outside of the explicit designation of "sanctuary city." One of the institutions I

identified through this ethnographic research was the Elgin Police Department. Many of the informants I interviewed during this project expressed generally amicable feelings towards EPD compared to other police departments in neighboring suburbs. When I asked the commander I spoke with if he had any theories that might explain this attitude, he provided a multilayered answer that piqued my curiosity. He spoke about the recruiting practices that turned to the city's high schools, Elgin Community College, and HBCUs and HSIs across the country – striving to create a police force demographically representative of Elgin's citizenry. He spent most of the time talking about instances of community outreach, including the town hall he helped organize following the issuance of Trump's "zero tolerance" policy. Drawing inspiration from this original ethnography, this paper seeks to make sense of suburban Latinx immigrants' perception of the Elgin Police Department and what informs their decision to contact the police.

III. Literature Review

Race and Ethnicity in Suburban Policing

The demographic shift that took place in the American suburbs between 1990 and 2014 in which low-income, non-white, and foreign-born populations began to flourish simultaneously occurred with the rise of broken windows policing. Broken windows policing grew in popularity throughout the 1990s, when police departments across the nation began to adopt a focus toward minor infractions including public drinking, vagrancy, public urination, and loitering in order to combat "disorder" and ward off more serious violent crimes (Koehler-Hasumann, 2013; Wilson & Kelling, 1982). Numerous studies have demonstrated that historically, broken windows policing has disproportionately targeted and impacted poor and non-white individuals (DePinto et al., 2014; Fagan et al., 2010). Several competing frameworks on the presence and practice of

policing in the context of a new, non-white demographic composition have subsequently emerged, such as (1) racial threat theory, (2) benign neglect theory, and (3) race and place theory.

According to racial threat theory, policing is related to the level of threat perceived by the white population from minority, non-white groups (Liska, 1992), often deploying coercive mechanisms including segregation, policing, and prisons. Benign neglect theory posits the influx of poor, non-white people as the principal force behind the abandonment and departure of the formerly dominant white residents, leading to an overall reduction in policing and low-level arrests (Liska & Chamlin, 1984). Race and place theory hypothesizes that in predominantly white spaces, there is a large ratio of racially disproportionate arrests whereas non-white majorities produce a decline in both arrests and racial bias (Beck, 2019). Under these frameworks, "foreign-born" or "immigrant" can be used as a proxy for the minority, non-white population analyzed by these studies.

Under the current demographic composition of police departments across the country, large majorities of white, Black, and Hispanic officers concur that police and whites within their communities get along (Morin et al., 2017). However, when asked about this relationship with racial and ethnic minorities, a discrepancy emerges between Black officers and their white or Hispanic colleagues: 32% of Black officers characterize relations with Black community members as either excellent or good, compared to 60% of both white and Hispanic officers. Only 46% of Black officers believe relations between police and Hispanic community members are excellent or good, significantly lower than the 71% of Hispanic officers and 76% of white officers (Morin et al., 2017).

In the past several law enforcement policies, including the Elgin Police Department's, have centered descriptive representation throughout the force—that is, ensuring police

departments are more demographically representative of the communities they serve. A study conducted by Ba et al. (2022) examined approximately 220,000 officers nationwide and demonstrated that police officers are more likely to be White, Republican, politically active, male, and higher-income than the average civilian in their respective jurisdictions. Utilizing micro-level behavioral data from the Chicago Police Department, the study further finds that Democratic, Black, and Hispanic officers initiate fewer stops, arrests, and uses of force than their Republican and White counterparts under similar contexts (Ba et al., 2022). However, though deploying Black officers appears to reduce enforcement towards Black and Hispanic civilians, deploying Hispanic officers only reduced enforcement overall and toward Black civilians, with no measurable differences in how Hispanic officers treat Hispanic civilians (Ba et al., 2022). Previous literature on descriptive representation in broader bureaucratic government has similarly shown that race and ethnicity alone do not mediate the perception of institutions held by constituents. For example, drawing on nearly two decades of survey data from the American National Election Study, Gay (2002) shows that Black constituents place less significance on Black representation compared to White constituents on White representation. And though Black constituents feel equally represented by White or Black legislators with common policy agendas, Black constituents are more likely to contact Black representatives (Gay, 2002). Thus, racial diversity provides a reductive and incomplete account of both civilians' perception of public institutions and public institutions' treatment of minority civilians.

Common [Mis]perceptions of Police Held by Latino Immigrants

In general, minority groups are likely to hold less positive attitudes towards police when compared to their white counterparts (Peck, 2015). For Latinxs, this perception is especially complicated by other exogenous factors including immigration status, socio-cultural values,

perception of police within their country of origin, poverty, and/or language barriers (Carter, 1983; Skogan, 2005; Davis and Hendricks, 2007; Sung et al., 2016).

For Latinx immigrants, barriers to crime reporting include fear of deportation and lack of knowledge of criminal justice laws in this country (Davis et al., 2001; Menjivar and Bejarano, 2004; Vidales, 2010; Roles et al., 2015). Using interviews from a sample of nearly 70 Hispanic immigrants in the Southeast United States, Roles et al. (2015) identifies several misperceptions that were widely held by the surveyed immigrants. Approximately 86% of individuals believed they had to pay money to file a police report; 65% believe they had to prove documentation status prior to accessing police services; and 67% believe police would deport them if called on for assistance (Roles et al., 2015). It is also notable that 81.2% of survey participants reported having resided in the United States for at least 5 years (Roles et al., 2015), suggesting these confusions had not been addressed or clarified since their arrival. At least among the sampled population found in Little Rock, Arkansas, legality of police action appears to be an enduring source of uncertainty and fear for Hispanic immigrants when contacting police. Not unlike Little Rock, suburbs such as Elgin have traditionally been understudied geographical regions, especially concerning immigrant-police relations. However, this research in particular contributes to the literature by considering an understudied population that resides in a region where Latinx immigrants are densely populated.

Studies situated in more immigrant-dominant spaces have sought to trace the effect of police involvement in enforcing immigration locally (i.e., collaborating with federal immigration enforcement agencies including ICE). Between 2005 and 2007, Costa Mesa, California rose to national prominence and notoriety following the conservative city council's anti-immigrant proposals and directives, most notably Mayor Allan Mansoor's decision to make Costa Mesa one

of the first American cities to deploy its police officers in the enforcement of federal immigration policy (Wahid and Taxin, 2005). As fear mounted among the city's Latinx immigrant community, some Latinxs reported avoiding driving in Costa Mesa and even considering moving out of the city, fearing they may be detained and/or racially profiled (Delson, 2007). A natural experiment of the Costa Mesa case compared community contact with, and perception of, Costa Mesa Police Department before and after the public controversy regarding police involvement in immigration. Although no significant differences were identified in non-Latinxs "before" and "after" the controversy, Latinx respondents were more likely to disagree with statements that Costa Mesa police do "a good job" ($p = 0.003$), "try and help the community" ($p = 0.001$), and "are responsive to community concern" ($p = 0.003$) (Vidales et al., 2009). Latinxs were also significantly less likely to claim that they would report to witnessing a robbery ($p = 0.011$) or an act of vandalism ($p > 0.001$) to the police compared to before the city's growing anti-immigrant policy (Vidales et al., 2009). Similar surveys conducted in other cities such as Chicago, Houston, Los Angeles, and Phoenix have reported similar findings: 44% of surveyed Latinxs said they are less likely to contact police officers if they have been the victim of a crime because they fear that police officers will use this contact as an opportunity to inquire into their immigration status or that of people they know (Theodore and Habans, 2016).

Thus, through a wide array of factors, Latinx immigrants are frequently susceptible to a deficient understanding of the American criminal justice system and law enforcement (Davis et al., 2001), rendering this demographic vulnerable to underreporting instances of crime (Sung et al., 2016). Largely overlooked by previous research, this paper draws special attention to other variables that may be mediating this [lack of] contact with police and broader [mis]perceptions of police, notably secondary contact (i.e., oral accounts from one's social networks about

interactions with police)(Menjivar and Bejarano, 2004); length of residency in Elgin, IL compared to length of residency in the United States; voluntary encounters with police compared to police-initiated interactions (Sung et al., 2016); and attendance at community engagement events organized by the Elgin Police Department. Lastly, most of the literature focuses on interviewing either community members or law enforcement personnel in making sense of Latinx community perception of police, but rarely puts these two in conversation within a single jurisdiction, as done so in this study.

Documentation Status and Trust in Police

Previous qualitative scholarship has also found that Latinxs who are undocumented are the least likely to contact police, with many interviewees citing the linkage between local law enforcement and border patrol (Menjivar and Bejarano, 2004). In one study based in the suburb of Palisades Park, New Jersey, researchers found underreporting of crime by undocumented migrant worker (UMW) victims to be rampant: only 13 individuals (24.6%) of the 51 subjects who cited being a victim of a crime in the last year reported their victimization to the police, yielding an underreporting rate of 74.5% (Sung et al., 2016). In the aftermath of domestic policy changes, including a shift to interior immigration enforcement via collaboration between local law enforcement and ICE, the University of California, San Diego (UCSD) found that undocumented immigrants are 60.8% less likely to report witnessed crimes to police; 42.9% less likely to report victimization to police; 69.6% less likely to use public services requiring disclosure of personal contact information; and 68.3% less likely to attend public events where police may be present (Wong et al., 2019).

Importantly, this reluctance observed in contacting police on the basis of documentation status appears to not necessarily be exclusive to immigrants. Although 70% of surveyed undocumented immigrants believe they are less likely to contact police if they were victims of crime, 28% of US-born Latinxs shared this perspective (Theodore and Habans, 2016). This documented fear of deportation is particularly troublesome when considering other compounding variables in immigrants' access to social services. Vulnerable populations within the immigrant community include domestic violence survivors (Menjivar and Bejarano, 2004; Vidales, 2010), LGBTQ-identifying individuals (Wolff and Cokely, 2007; Gruberg, 2014), and substance users (Junko Negi, 2011; Zapata Roblyer, 2016; Joseph, 2017). Within these groups, documentation status arises as an added barrier to reporting victimization and/or calling for assistance in cases of emergencies. In cases of domestic violence, victims may fear the deportation of loved ones when an offender or other family members are undocumented, regardless of whether they are concerned about their own documentation status and deportation, potentially deterring women from reporting instances of intimate partner violence (Menjivar and Bejarano, 2004). A previous study even found that Latinx as a collective are more likely to report a robbery/burglary than they were to report instances of intimate partner violence (Davis and Henderson, 2003).

It should be noted in recent years, the extent to which documentation status affects Latinx immigrant trust in police and willingness to report crime has continued to be a key point of discourse, specifically when considering Latina women as the subject of study. Though "fear of deportation" acts as a significant predictor of Latina's perception of the procedural fairness of the criminal justice system, trust in police has been found to play an even greater role in Latina's willingness to report violent crime victimization (Messing et al. 2015). Multivariate models have demonstrated that increases in education were associated with greater confidence among Latinas

that police would not use excessive force and that courts would treat Latinos fairly (Messing et al., 2015). These findings suggest that future policymaking must (1) prioritize educational programming such as "Know Your Rights" seminars; and (2) strengthen community-police relations through interventions like community policing, community review boards of police departments, and integrating social worker practitioners in interdisciplinary teams with law enforcement (Messing et al., 2015). The role of documentation status in moderating the correlation between neighborhood disorder and trust in police/courts among Latinas has also produced complicated results: women who lived in 'desirable' neighborhoods viewed the police/courts as effective, fair, and lawful regardless of documentation status; on the other hand, undocumented women living in 'disordered' neighborhoods viewed police/courts more negatively than documented women in disordered neighborhoods (Cavanagh et a., 2020).

This review of literature on documentation status in policing is certainly not meant to dismiss nor minimize the critical role that immigration status plays in mediating Latinx immigrants' perception of police and willingness to report crime. Rather, it seeks to assess and problematize documentation status and "fear of deportation" through a holistic lens that accounts for mechanisms such as gender, neighborhood quality, and trust in police. Indeed, regardless of the tensions that have risen out of previous research, scholars nearly unanimously agree that individuals with greater "fear of deportation" report: (1) less confidence that police would not use excessive force; (2) less confidence that police would treat Latinxs fairly; (3) a lower likelihood of reporting crime; and (4) less confidence that courts (i.e., procedural fairness) would treat Latinxs fairly (Messing et al., 2015; Becerra et al., 2017).

My project seeks to build on this ongoing evaluation of documentation status and "fear of deportation" in moderating perceptions of police and willingness to report crime, particularly in

the context of an understudied geographic area with a sizable foreign-born population. Though earlier literature has set out to consider the effect of documented versus undocumented on crime reporting, my qualitative study uniquely introduces a distinction between U.S. Citizen versus Lawful Permanent Resident (LPR) versus Undocumented, while considering whether a participant is a part of a mixed-status household (i.e., their own documentation status differs from someone within their household). This is done so in order to again consider the centrality of social networks in the lives of Latinx immigrants (Menjivar and Bejarano, 2004) as well as to account for the precarious and delicate nature of LPR status. In the appraisal of mixed-status households, my paper seeks to contribute to the literature that explores how and when "fear of deportation" transfers past the individual and whether belonging to a mixed-status household shapes other perceptions of law enforcement. My study's close attention to the sub-demographic of Latina women provides an opportunity to discern how other frequently neglected variables—including engagement with community outreach events organized by the Elgin Police Department and belonging to a mixed-status household—interact with these women's perception and willingness to contact police when compared to their individual documentation status.

Language Access in Policing

One of the most salient challenges for immigrants when contacting police is language accessibility.[4] Linguistic barriers are likely to lead to misunderstanding and/or misinterpretation of police services (Skogan and Wycoff, 1987). A previous study found that Latinxs who did not speak English had minimal communication with police and were more likely to hold critical

[4] *Note*: Though this lies outside the scope of my research, in previous research I've conducted and/or work I've engaged with through past internships, I have identified state courts as another central institution within the American criminal justice system that faces significant challenges with language access. Existing barriers include limited supply of court certified interpreters, particularly in rural spaces; lack of multilingual pretrial services and documents; and low numbers of bilingual staff.

views about police within their community (Skogan and Hartnett, 1997). Recent studies have often corroborated many of these findings, as level of English proficiency continues to be negatively correlated with fear of the police among surveyed Bangladeshi immigrants residing in New York City, New York (Khondakera et al., 2017). This related fear of police is especially distressing when it impedes persons from seeking out help in the cases of emergency.

In language access, the literature has found that across the board, the more concerned people are with the severity of neighborhood problems, the more likely they are to contact the police (Skogan, 2005). However, for Latinxs who only speak Spanish, this rate is significantly lower than other demographic groups; even when a crime is considered in the highest problem category (e.g., gang violence), only just above a third of Spanish-speakers contacted the police (Skogan, 2005). Among Latina women, the implications of this reluctance to contact police are even more pronounced: a 2010 study found over 20% of Latina immigrant respondents, majority Mexican women in Southern California, reported lack of English as the primary barrier to seeking help or receiving assistance in cases of domestic violence (Vidales, 2010). Across immigrant women that speak English well, the nature of domestic violence and other traumatic incidents still makes it burdensome to communicate with officers in a language outside of their native language (Ammar et al., 2005).

According to official law enforcement officials, including police and prosecutors, the most frequently cited hardship endured by immigrants in crime reporting was language, reported by 47% of respondents (Davis et al., 2001). However, if Latinx individuals who only speak Spanish tend to have less favorable views of the police than their English-speaking counterparts (Skogan et al., 2002), this prejudice has also been reflected in attitudes held by law enforcement. Prior studies have found that a lack of proficiency in English was correlated with increased

prejudice among police officers working in immigrant communities (Skogan, 2006). Encounters with police officers in which violations of Miranda Rights have occurred have only illustrated the consequences of officers' reluctance to communicate with Limited English Proficiency (LEP) speakers. A more recent example is the 2013 civil rights lawsuit, *Padilla v. City of New York*, filed against Mayor Bloomberg and the New York City Police Department (NYPD) following numerous complaints against officer misconduct with LEP persons (Moya, 2022). The complaint featured allegations that the discrimination and disparate treatment of LEP individuals who came into contact with NYPD violated federal, state, and local law—particularly egregious in failing to provide language support to domestic violence survivors, resulting in the wrongful arrest of victims rather than perpetrators (Moya, 2022).

As compelling as previous literature and corporeal samples have been regarding the barriers of language access, it would also be reductive to claim all research on language and perceptions of police has yielded consistent findings. In fact, though new works have emerged in opposition, one study situated in Midland and Odessa, Texas found that Spanish-speaking Latinxs generally have favorable attitudes towards law enforcement and are more willing to collaborate with them in community affairs than English-speaking Latinxs (Cheurprakobkit and Bartsch, 1999). It should nevertheless be noted that Spanish-speaking Latinxs strongly agreed with the idea that "it is easier to discuss concerns with police officers who have a similar ethnic background" compared to white, Black, and English-speaking Latinx persons (Cheurprakobkit and Bartsch, 1999). In direct observations of police patrol and responses to 911 calls, language barriers did not pose serious problems in police encounters, merely involved some delays in the delivery of services, and frustrated some officers (Herbst and Walker, 2001). Thus, linguistic barriers within policing remain muddled, prompting further empirical inquiry in order to make

sense of other possibly uncharted variables informing Latinx immigrants' perception of police and their willingness to report crime.

This qualitative study, animated by prior research on language in policing, in some ways departs from other papers by considering variables such as the provision of language access services during both police-initiated and civilian-initiated contact. Additionally, participants are asked to reflect on any language accommodations previously offered by the Elgin Police Department (EPD) at community outreach events. Finally, by supplementing community member interviews with EPD officer interviews, this investigation seeks to capture both immigrant and officer perspectives in understanding the role of language access within policing.

IV. Methodology

The purpose of this paper is to make sense of the relationship between Latinx immigrants and police departments, particularly those situated in suburban spaces that are traditionally more removed from the resources available in major metropolitan areas. The research question posed is: how do Latinx immigrants perceive police and make decisions to contact police in the context of an American suburb? I define the independent variable as *language* and *documentation status* and the dependent variable as perception of police. Here, I closely define *perception of police* by measures including (1) fear of deportation, (2) procedural fairness, and (3) willingness to report incidents of crime using preset scenarios.

In order to address the research questions put forward, this paper utilizes a source triangulation approach, drawing on (1) author-conducted qualitative interviews with Latinx immigrants residing in Elgin, Illinois; (2) author-conducted qualitative interviews with Elgin Police Department (EPD) officers; and (3) secondary analysis of publicly available data from the

Elgin Police Department. I conducted a total of 15 interviews with current Latinx immigrant Elgin residents,[5] and 5 interviews with Elgin Police Department officers representing various units within the Department. I place interviews in conversation with publicly available data on the Elgin Police Department, including officer demographics, arrestee demographics from 2022, use of force suspect demographics from 2022, and records of EPDs Community Engagement and Outreach in 2022. This data was sourced from the Elgin Police Department official website,[6] the Elgin Police Department 2022 Annual Report,[7] and the newly debuted EPD Transparency Hub.[8]

Qualitative Interviews with Latinx Immigrants in Elgin, Illinois

My interviews with Latinx immigrant community members serve as my primary object of data analysis due to my profound interest in centering the perspectives of the community that is directly impacted by past, current, and future policing practices. Although I was born in Elgin, IL and spent my early childhood in the suburb, speaking directly with unfamiliar members of the community served as a truly holistic account of the evolution and current relationship between the Latinx immigrant community and the Elgin Police Department. Often, due to the sensitivity of documentation status and a deep-rooted fear of deportation, members of this community are reluctant to come forward and share their personal experiences. Thus, much policy goes uninformed by these unique and dynamic perspectives. Some Elgin residents I spoke with went above and beyond what was asked of them in the interview and provided direct suggestions and observations that will be discussed in the **Findings** section of this thesis. In many ways, these

[5] *Note*: 1 of these interviews was held with community member Yolanda who moved to South Elgin, IL in the last few years but was previously a longtime Elgin resident. For the purposes of this study, her responses were included in all data analysis except in Civilian-Initiated vs Police-Initiated Encounters with Police as the encounters she disclosed took place with South Elgin Police Department. Her case nonetheless serves as an intriguing source of comparison with neighboring municipalities and jurisdictions. Her responses on past contact with police are discussed in further detail in **Findings**.
[6] Webpage link: https://www.cityofelgin.org/82/Police.
[7] Webpage link: https://infograph.venngage.com/pl/G2rRJrlVxb8.
[8] Webpage link: https://epdopendata-cityofelgin.hub.arcgis.com/.

tangents served as some of the most intriguing bodies of data as participants cited a variety of rationales, including previous direct and secondary experiences with police; encounters with bordering police departments; and their intersecting identities.

I was fortunate enough to be able to mobilize many of my own networks within Elgin to identify and recruit potential interviewees. Since my family remains highly integrated within the community of Elgin, I asked my mother to join me in uploading a Facebook announcement in English and Spanish, requesting our Facebook friends to share the participant recruitment post within their own networks. I also asked prominent community leader and a longtime mentor of mine, Dianha Ortega-Ehreth, Executive Director of *Centro de Informacion*[9] at Elgin, to distribute a recruitment flyer, available in both English and Spanish, among *Centro* clients to invite them to participate in my thesis study. Through Dianha, I was able to connect with a few Elgin Community College affiliates that happily shared my recruitment flyer with their students. A key recruitment strategy for Latinx immigrant interviews was snowball sampling, in which I asked participants to identify and if possible, connect me with their own family members and/or friends based in Elgin who may be interested in interviewing with me.

The group of 15 Latinx immigrant respondents I engaged with in my interviews consisted of a diverse set of adults, with 14 being current residents of Elgin, Illinois and one being a woman who had lived there for a significant period of time before recently moving to nearby South Elgin, Illinois. I collected detained demographic information on all 15 participants. My study inadvertently concentrated on Latina women, with 86.7% of participants identifying as female, and 13.3% as male. The average age of participants was 46.9 years old, with the average

[9] *Note*: *Centro de Informacion* is an organization that is in contact with a large share of the city of Elgin's Latinx immigrants as the non-profit provides numerous socioeconomic services, including immigration legal assistance, food pantries, educational seminars, employment support, etc. You can learn more about *Centro de Informacion* here: https://centrodeinformacion.org/.

length of Elgin residence being 22.1 years—signaling an inclusion of longtime Elgin inhabitants. The average length of USA residence was 25.2 years, indicating that many participants had lived outside of Elgin while in the United States. All participants were native Spanish speakers, and 20% spoke no English; 40% identified their English proficiency as "Beginner"; 26.7% reported their English at an "Intermediate" level; and 13.3% described themselves as "Fluent" in English. 53.3% of participants identified as Undocumented, 20% as Lawful Permanent Residents (LPRs), and 26.7% as U.S. Citizens. 73.3% of respondents lived in a "Mixed Status Household"[10] and 26.7% did not. 73.3% of participants reported they had an affiliation with EPD, whether through a family member or friend, whereas 26.7% indicated they held no such affiliation with EPD. Although interview respondents came from a broad range of recruitment sources, the constraints of a small sample (n = 15), a non-representative sample by gender, the longtime Elgin and USA residence, and snowball sampling suggests the findings in this paper should not be considered as wholly representative of the average Latinx immigrant residing in Elgin, Illinois. See **Table 1** below for a comprehensive breakdown of surveyed Latinx immigrant demographics.

[10] *Note*: Here, I define Mixed Status Household as a family whose members include people with different citizenship or immigration statuses, including Undocumented, Lawful Permanent Resident (LPR), and U.S. Citizen.

Table 1: Demographics of Latinx Immigrant Community Member Interviews

Demographics	*n*	(%)	Mean
n	15		
Gender:			
Male	2	13.3	
Female	13	86.7	
Age:			46.9
25-34 years	2	13.3	
35-44 years	5	33.3	
45-54 years	5	33.3	
55-64 years	1	6.7	
65+ years	2	13.3	
Language:			
Native Spanish	15	100	
English Fluent	2	13.3	
English Intermediate	4	26.7	
English Beginner	6	40	
No English	3	20	
Elgin Residence:			22.1
<5 years	1	6.7	
5-9 years	1	6.7	
10-14 years	2	13.3	
15-19 years	2	13.3	
20-24 years	3	20	
25-29 years	2	13.3	
30+ years	4	26.7	
Total USA Residence:			25.2
<5 years	0	0	
5-9 years	0	0	
10-14 years	0	0	
15-19 years	4	26.7	
20-24 years	4	26.7	
25-29 years	2	13.3	
30+ years	5	33.3	
Documentation Status:			
Undocumented	8	53.3	
Legal Permanent Resident (LPR)	3	20	
U.S. Citizen	4	26.7	
Mixed Status Household:			
Yes	11	73.3	
No	4	26.7	
EPD Affiliation:			
Yes	4	26.7	
No	11	73.3	

Community member interviews were divided into 5 subsections: (1) Demographics, (2) Civilian-Initiated Elgin Police Encounters,[11] (3) Police-Initiated Encounters, (4) EPD Programming, (4) On Word of Mouth / Secondary Exposure, (5) Perception of Police. In subsections (2) and (3), questions focused on the number of encounters, the number of police officers present, the demographics of officer(s), the language spoken during the encounter, the outcome, and the overall demeanor of officers in each category of contact. These questions primarily seek to understand respondents' previous experiences, whether positive or negative, with the Elgin Police Department since March 2020 (the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic) and what subsequent attitudes each community member developed on EPD. Questions related to EPD programming primarily seek to discern rates of participation in EPD-organized community engagement among Latinx immigrants, as well as how this group perceives these events in terms of language accessibility and the demography of fellow attendees. Secondary Exposure questions set out to account for the central role that social networks play in the lives of Latinx immigrants according to both the literature (Menjivar and Bejarano, 2004) and my personal experiences. Finally, subsection (5) measures Perception of Police using *Fear of Deportation*, *Procedural Fairness*, and *Willingness to Report Crime* as its constituent variables. Averages across these 3 measures are calculated and used as a means of standardizing and drawing comparisons between different intra-groups, for example those that engage in EPD-organized community events versus respondents that do not.

Of the 15 interviews I conducted with Latinx immigrant community members, 13 of these were held remotely via direct phone calls and 2 in-person at the participant's residence, upon their request. Community member interviews ranged in duration, lasting between 30-60

[11] *Note*: For the purposes of this study, I use "Civilian-Initiated Encounters" interchangeably with Voluntary Encounters.

minutes. All interviews were audio recorded, upon the approval of each participant. I received IRB approval (Protocol No. IRB23-037) for this interview process and provided all participants with a verbal waiver of consent and description of my project prior to beginning the interview. In this script, I highlight the confidential nature of my study, paying special attention to questions relating to immigration status. All quotes from participants included in this paper have been de-identified and assigned a pseudonym for the purposes of analyzing individual participant profiles. As aforementioned, although the same interview guide (see **Appendix B**)[12] was used for all interviews with Latinx immigrant community members, a number of participants departed from this guide and shared additional experiences, concerns, and suggestions. I took extensive notes during all interviews and transcribed recorded interviews in which participants digress from the interview guide. Drawing on these notes and transcriptions, I was able to organize qualifiable data (e.g., demographics, number of encounters with EPD, and perception of police scores) in a centralized database, generating various tables to render patterns and deviations alike within the group I spoke with. In my final qualitative analysis, I discuss these tables alongside various direct anecdotes provided by participants.

Qualitative Interviews with Elgin Police Department Officers

Interviews with police officers largely served an informational role to better capture the culture within EPD and the initiatives and outreach that may contribute to and to some extent mediate this collective perception of police held by Latinx immigrants living in Elgin. In past ethnographic work I have conducted in Elgin, I have had the opportunity to interview

[12] *Note*: Community member interview guides were drafted in both English and Spanish due to accommodate the demographic under study. The police officer interview guide is only available in English as all officers were fluent in English.

Commander Victor,[13] the first Latino commander in EPD history. I originally planned to continue to rely on him as my primary informant and recruiting link within EPD, but since we spoke Victor has left Elgin PD and now serves as Chief of Police at Peoria Police Department. Once again with the assistance of Dianha, I was able to reach Maria D. Borrero, who works with the Community Relations and Crime Prevention Unit within EPD. Maria was able to connect me with 5 EPD officers that expressed interest in meeting with me.

I collected detailed demographic information on all 5 participating police officers. All officers identified as male, which I anticipated due to the Department's gender ratio at the end of 2022, when only 20% of sworn officers were female (Elgin Police Department, 2022). The average age of participating officers was 38.4 years old. Among surveyed EPD officers, the average years of service as an officer was 15.4 years, with 14.5 years being the average years of service with Elgin Police Department. All officers were native or fluent English speakers, and 40% spoke no Spanish, 40% identified their Spanish proficiency as "Beginner," and 20% reported Spanish as their first language. Within the sample, all officers were U.S. citizens, and 20% belonged to a "Mixed Status Household" while 80% did not. Again, due to the limitations of a small sample (n = 5), a lack of EPD women's perspectives, and the longtime service in law enforcement both within and outside the Elgin Department indicate that the findings in this paper should not be taken as representative of the average Elgin Police Department officer. See **Table 2** below for a comprehensive breakdown of surveyed officer demographics.

[13] *Note*: As was the case with community member interviews, I have assigned all surveyed police officers a pseudonym in order to protect their privacy and confidentiality. Only those that served as non-interviewed informants for purposes of recruitment e.g., Dianha Ortega-Ehreth and Maria D. Borrero, are exempt from anonymity.

Table 2: Demographics of Elgin Police Department Officer Interviews

Demographics	*n*	(%)	Mean
n	5		
Gender:			
Male	5	100	
Female	0	0	
Age:			38.4
25-34 years	2	40	
35-44 years	2	40	
45-54 years	1	20	
55+ years	0	0	
Language:			
Native or Fluent English	5	100	
Native or Fluent Spanish	1	20	
Spanish Advanced	0	0	
Spanish Beginner	2	40	
No Spanish	2	40	
Years as Police Officer:			15.4
<5 years	0	0	
5-9 years	1	20	
10-14 years	2	40	
15-19 years	0	0	
20+ years	2	40	
Years with EPD:			14.5
<5 years	0	0	
5-9 years	0	0	
10-14 years	0	0	
15-19 years	4	26.7	
20+ years	4	26.7	
Documentation Status:			
U.S. Citizen	5	100	
Mixed Status Household:			
Yes	1	20	
No	4	80	

Interviews with Elgin Police Department officers were separated into 3 subsections: (1) Demographics, (2) EPD Initiatives and Outreach, and (3) Latinx Immigrant Community Perception. In subsection (2), questions are meant to understand how each officer and his respective unit engage with the Elgin community, as well as what role each officer assumes in these events. I am also interested in gauging how each officer regards the success of these initiatives and the intended audiences. Here, it was particularly intriguing to observe what civilian officers were most inclined to discuss in terms of community impact. In subsection (3), I ask participants to describe the relationship between the Department and the Latinx immigrant community. Importantly, I ask them to consider the potential differences in this relationship between EPD and any other police departments they have either worked or lived under. Officers are lastly asked to elaborate on what they believe the role of police within Elgin is and whether this view is one that would be shared by others within EPD and the broader Elgin community.

Of the 5 interviews I conducted with Elgin Police Department officers, 3 of these interviews took place in-person at the police station located at 151 Douglas Ave, Elgin, IL 60120. The remaining 2 interviews were conducted remotely via FaceTime and direct phone call. Officer interviews also ranged in duration, typically lasting between 30-50 minutes. With the verbal consent of each officer, all interviews were audio recorded. As with community member interviews, I received IRB approval (Protocol No. IRB23-037) for this process and provided all participants with a verbal waiver of consent and description of my project prior to beginning the interview. In this script, I highlight the confidential nature of my study, in the case of officers, their status as EPD employees being especially emphasized. All quotes from participating officers included in this paper have been de-identified and assigned a pseudonym for the purposes of discussing any individual's insights. Although the same interview guide (see

Appendix C)[14] was used for all interviews with officers, participants' answers all varied due to the semi-structured nature of the questions and their individual unit assignment. I took extensive notes during all interviews and transcribed all recorded officer interviews. Drawing on these notes and transcriptions, I was able to organize qualifiable data (e.g., demographics) in a centralized database, generating a table to examine demographic patterns and deviations alike within the group I spoke with. In my final qualitative analysis, I integrate this table with various direct anecdotes provided by participants as well as supplementary EPD publicly available data.

Secondary Analysis of EPD Publicly Available Data

To support my qualitative interviews with Latinx immigrant community members and Elgin Police Department officers, I present publicly available data on EPD, including officer demographics, arrestee demographics from 2022, use of force suspect demographics from 2022, and records of EPDs Community Engagement and Outreach in 2022. By particularly prefacing officer interviews with this secondary data, responses from police officers and community members are further contextualized and serve as additional forms of validation for individual perceptions. For example, if officers describe the Department's efforts in community engagement as earnest and effective, it is useful to know the number of community programs held each year, the targeted audiences, and if available, turnout at such events.

Relying on this triangulation of methods, this paper seeks to critically and holistically examine the relationship between Latinx immigrants and the Elgin Police Department, taking note of its strengths, weaknesses, and points of complexity. By grounding analysis in community and police perspectives, as well as quantitative data, this research can serve to inform future

[14] *Note*: Community member interview guides were drafted in both English and Spanish due to accommodate the demographic under study. The police officer interview guide is only available in English as all officers were fluent in English.

policing and community organizing efforts, pushing Elgin leaders to consider the compounding effects of documentation status and language on Latinx immigrants' perception of law enforcement and the mechanisms behind their decisions to contact suburban police. In this paper, I argue that variation in the independent variables Language and Documentation Status affect the dependent variable Perception of Police, and have the capacity to magnify each other.

V. Findings

Latinx Immigrant Community Member Interviews

Across 15 interviews held with Latinx immigrant community members residing in Elgin, Illinois, several factors surfaced as potential predictors of individual perceptions of police and willingness to report crime. Below, a foundational analysis of the original independent variables of interest—*Language* and *Documentation Status*—is presented. Following the establishment of this baseline, an analysis of secondary variables, namely past contact with Elgin Police Department, participation in EPD community engagement, and secondary negative encounters with EPD, will be provided. These results demonstrate that the relationship between Latinx immigrants and law enforcement is complex and intricate, transcending the individual and relying on various external factors.

a. Aggregate Perception of Police among Surveyed Latinx Immigrants

For the purposes of this paper, Perception of Police is estimated using 3 items: *Fear of Deportation*, *Procedural Fairness*, and *Willingness to Report Crime*. In general, the sampled population ($n = 15$) reported an average score of $\mu = 3.2$ to the question: "Regardless of your own immigration status, how much do you worry that you, a family member, or a close friend

could be deported when in contact with EPD?" The scale provided for the question defined 1 = Not much at all and 4 = A lot, indicating that on average, surveyed Latinx Immigrants had "Some" *Fear of Deportation* when in contact with the Elgin Police Department.

The subsection on *Procedural Fairness* asked participants to evaluate their confidence in both police and courts within their community. On average, across these 3 questions, respondents had a score of $\mu = 2.84$. Given the form of the questions, "How much confidence do you have that X?", the mean of $\mu = 2.84$ suggests that Latinx immigrants' confidence in Elgin's *Procedural Fairness* is located between "Not much" and "Some."

The most exhaustive set of questions was reserved for the measure of *Willingness to Report Crime*, containing a total of 13 questions, with 7 positioning the respondent as a victim of crime and 6 as a witness to a crime. For these questions, the scale used was slightly modified: 1 = Definitely Not and 4 = Definitely Would. Overall, the sample had an average score of $\mu = 3.09$, denoting an inclination to report crime to the Elgin Police Department as 3 = "Probably Would." There were 2 scenarios in which respondents seemed to nearly unanimously agree they would be willing to report the incident, yielding an average $\mu = 3.73$ in both cases.

> Scenario 1: If you were the victim of a robbery, would you report this to EPD?
>
> Scenario 2: If you were the victim of domestic violence, would you report this to EPD?

The scenario that seemed to decisively incur the least desire to contact police among participants was the following: "If there was a noise disturbance in your neighborhood, would you report this to EPD?" The question had an average response of $\mu = 2.13$, near the marker "Probably not." For a more detailed examination of respondent answers to questions about Perception of Police, please refer to **Table 3** below.

Table 3: Latinx Immigrant Community Member Responses to 'Perception of Police' Questions

	n				
Question	1	2	3	4	Mean
Fear of Deportation:					
Regardless of your own immigration status, how much do you worry that you, a family member, or a close friend could be deported when in contact with EPD?	3	1	1	10	3.2
Procedural Fairness:					*2.84*
How much confidence do you have that the police in your community will not use excessive force on suspects?	2	3	7	3	2.73
How much confidence do you have that police in your community will treat Latino immigrants fairly?	1	2	10	2	2.87
How much confidence do you have that the courts in your community will treat Latino immigrants fairly?	0	5	6	4	2.93
Willingness to Report Crime:					*3.09*
If you were the <u>victim</u> of a non-injury related traffic violation, would you report this to EPD?	2	0	2	11	3.47
If you were the victim of harassment by telephone and/or electronic communications, would you report this to EPD?	2	2	3	8	3.13
If you were the victim of criminal damage, would you report this to EPD?	1	1	2	11	3.53
If you were the victim of a hate crime, would you report this to EPD?	1	0	3	11	3.6
If you were the victim of a robbery, would you report this to EPD?	0	1	2	12	3.73
If you were the victim of domestic violence, would you report this to EPD?	1	0	1	13	3.73
If there was a noise disturbance in your neighborhood, would you report this to EPD?	7	2	3	3	2.13
If you witnessed a non-injury related traffic violation, would you report this to EPD?	7	1	2	5	2.33
If you witnessed domestic violence, would you report this to EPD?	4	3	1	7	2.73
If you witnessed a robbery, would you report this to EPD?	2	1	4	8	3.2
If you witnessed a hate crime, would you report this to EPD?	4	0	4	7	2.93
If you witnessed harassment by telephone and/or electronic communications, would you report this to EPD?	4	2	5	4	2.6
If you witnessed criminal damage, would you report this to EPD?	3	1	4	7	3

Notes: For questions related to fear of deportation and procedural fairness, 1 = Not much at all and 4 = A lot. For questions related to willingness to report crime, 1 = Definitely not and 4 = Definitely would.

b. Comparing Perception of Police with Variation in English Proficiency

One of the most salient challenges that immigrants confront when in contact with police and other public-serving institutions is language access due to limited English proficiency. Surveyed Latinx immigrants were asked to describe their English skills using the following: (1) No English, (2) Beginner English, (3) Intermediate English, and (4) Fluent English. All participants (n = 15) described themselves as native Spanish speakers, with 20% reporting no English; 40% identifying their English proficiency as "Beginner"; 26.7% as "Intermediate" English; and 13.3% as "Fluent" English speakers. A comprehensive comparison of participants' Perception of Police according to variation in Language (i.e., English Proficiency) is provided below in **Table 4**.

Table 4: Comparing Perception of Police Among Surveyed Latinx Immigrants Based on English Proficiency

Perception of Police	μ_n	No English	Beginner	Intermediate	Fluent
n		3	6	4	2
%		20	40	26.7	13.3
FoD Mean[1]	$\mu_n = 3.2$	4	3	2.75	3.5
PF Mean[2]	$\mu_n = 2.84$	3.67	2.72	2.5	2.67
WRC Mean[3]	$\mu_n = 3.09$	3.44	3.04	2.6	3.69

Notes: [1]FoD signifies Fear of Documentation. [2]PF signifies Procedural Fairness. [3]WRC signifies Willingness to Report Crime.

In terms of *Fear of Deportation*, the highest average among the identified groups based on command over the English language was found in the non-English speakers. This group reported an average of μ = 4.00, or "A lot" when qualifying their *Fear of Deportation* regardless of their own immigration status. The group with the lowest average fear was Intermediate English speakers, with an average of μ = 2.75. One of the most remarkably unexpected findings was that *Fear of Deportation* was not lowest among Fluent English speakers—who were both US Citizens and not part of a Mixed Status Household. This finding warrants additional

exploration of secondary variables of interest, including prior contact with police and secondary negative encounters. For example, one of these fluent English speakers was community member Cristina, who described an encounter she had with the Elgin Police Department many years ago, though she could not recall an approximate date:

> "In the past, I did call for domestic violence... and I was taken care of. Then I had to make a report because I felt harassed... When I made the domestic violence report, I was under threat from my ex-husband. I was so afraid of that man... They [the police] accused me that I had him hidden here... They would come by all the time to knock on my door. I told them, 'I don't know where he is.' Sometimes I looked out and there was always a policeman there on the other street, as if watching me. I felt like I was in a situation of 'harassment.'[15] On one occasion, I left home to go to work and [the police] stopped me and told me 'you are arrested.' And I asked him, 'Why are you arresting me?' He told me something about a light. And I said, 'Why are you arresting me? Give me a ticket.' ... They handcuffed me and took me to the station... They let me go, there was no problem, it was only an excuse. And that is how they would treat me... They kept bothering me and I had to go make a report and ask for a meeting with the Chief of Police. I explained the situation: that I called because I was experiencing domestic violence. And they [the police] are now harassing me and accusing me that I know where he [my ex-husband] is... I called because I needed help and now I feel the opposite... I feel 'harassed.' It was then he placed an order that they [officers] no longer go to my house to bother me ... That was it, but it was a battle with them. After, well, people don't want to ask for help and then feel more afraid themselves, rather than safe from the person who is hurting them…"[16]

Although EPD officers never inquired about her immigration status during these encounters, Cristina still described feeling increasingly threatened by the constant harassment of officers following her filing of a domestic violence report. In the interview, she went on to describe the Chief of Police as apologetic and understanding, and even shared that one of the patrol officers that had consistently bothered her before the Chief's order earnestly apologized for his conduct. Cristina's answers to questions on Perceptions of Police revealed that she had greater *Fear of Deportation* ($\mu = 4$), lower confidence in *Procedural Fairness* ($\mu = 2.67$), and a higher *Willingness to Report Crime* ($\mu = 3.38$) than the sample averages. This suggests that this encounter with EPD may have shaped the general fear and confidence she feels towards the

[15] *Note*: 'Harassment' and 'harassed' are both in quotation marks in this excerpt since Cristina explicitly used these English terms, even though the rest of her interview was in Spanish.
[16] *Note*: This quote was transcribed and translated by the author, who is a native Spanish speaker. All subsequent quotes that underwent translation will also be denoted with a footnote.

institution of police, though her higher *Willingness to Report Crime* also cannot go understated. Whether this positive response to crime reporting is attributable to her status as a fluent English speaker and US Citizen or to the Chief and police officer she interacted with following her complaint, Cristina's experiences underscore the importance of accountability within policing in seeking to establish and restore trust between community members and law enforcement.

Regarding *Procedural Fairness* in local police and courts, participants with the highest confidence were Non-English speakers, with an average of $\mu = 3.67$. It is interesting to note that of these Non-English speakers, the mean age was 55.7 years old, nearly a decade older than the sample average of 46.9 years old. The lowest confidence level in *Procedural Fairness* was held by Intermediate English speakers, at $\mu = 2.5$. This particular group was bound together by two common traits: all 4 were Latina women, and all 4 were part of Mixed Status Households. This leaves open the possibility that at least within this set of respondents, the influence of Documentation Status, as defined by both individual and household status, supersedes the effect of their English language proficiency.

The highest *Willingness to Report Crime (WRC)*, as expected, was found among the Fluent English speakers, with an overall mean of $\mu = 3.69$. Not far behind, yet vastly different in level of English proficiency, the Non-English speaking group averaged out at $\mu = 3.44$. Again, here it may be relevant to consider the fact that the typical age of Non-English speaking participants was nearly 10 years older than the sample at large. The lowest *Willingness to Report Crime* came from Intermediate English speakers, with an average score of $\mu = 2.6$. One caveat that should be accounted for is that this group includes an outlier in the sample: Yolanda, who by far had the lowest *Willingness to Report Crime* across the sample, $\mu = 1.08$. Yolanda explicitly attributed this to her prior first-hand and second-hand negative experiences with various police

departments, including: Elgin Police Department, South Elgin Police Department, and Hoffman Estates Police Department. A discussion of the most recent of these encounters will be included later in this section when reviewing secondary variables of interest. When Yolanda's *WRC* is removed from the set, the mean among Intermediate English speakers is $\mu = 3.1$, making Beginner English speakers the group with lowest *Willingness to Report Crime* at $\mu = 3.04$, more consistent with initial speculation that Non-English speakers are the least likely to report crime.

c. Comparing Perception of Police with Variation in Documentation

As previously demonstrated, there is a substantial record of Undocumented immigrants' unwillingness to come into contact with police. The literature suggests that fear based on documentation status is not exclusive to immigrants, but affects U.S.-born Latinxs as well (Theodore and Habans, 2016). Thus, this qualitative study set out to consider Documentation Status using a two-tiered conception of the independent variable. Its constitutive parts included individual Documentation Status and belonging to a Mixed Status Household–that is, residing in a home in which one or more of the other inhabitants hold a different immigration status than the respondent. Moreover, I measure Documentation Status beyond the reductive rendering of Documented vs Undocumented and draw comparisons across the groups: U.S. Citizens, Lawful Permanent Residents (LPRs), and Undocumented persons. Through this approach, the precarious nature of LPR status[17] and the centrality of social networks for Latinx immigrants is considered when assessing Perception of Police. Among the 15 respondents, 53.3% identified as Undocumented, 20% as Lawful Permanent Residents (LPRs), and 26.7% as U.S. Citizens. 73.3%

[17] *Note*: Here, I am referring to the fact that LPRs are able to become deportable under certain circumstances and as a result, do not enjoy the same degree of security as U.S. Citizens. Something that lies outside of the scope of my study but might be interesting to keep in mind is the fact that LPRs are also unable to vote for public officials. It may be worth exploring how this lack of input in policy making may contribute to LPRs willingness to come into contact with public institutions such as police.

of respondents lived in a "Mixed Status Household" and 26.7% did not. An analysis of participants' Perception of Police according to variation in the first component, Individual Documentation Status, is provided below in **Table 5**.

Table 5: Comparing Perception of Police Among Surveyed Latinx Immigrants Based on Individual Documentation Status

Perception of Police	μ_n	Undocumented	LPR	U.S. Citizen	Documented
n		8	3	4	7
%		53.3	20	26.7	46.7
FoD Mean[1]	$\mu_n = 3.2$	3.25	2.33	3.75	3.14
PF Mean[2]	$\mu_n = 2.84$	2.92	2.67	2.84	2.76
WRC Mean[3]	$\mu_n = 3.09$	2.79	3.1	3.69	3.44

Notes: [1]FoD signifies Fear of Documentation. [2]PF signifies Procedural Fairness. [3]WRC signifies Willingness to Report Crime.

When accounting for variation in Documentation Status by solely relying on the binary of Undocumented vs Documented, Undocumented Latinx immigrants have greater *Fear of Deportation* (μ = 3.25); greater confidence in *Procedural Fairness* (μ = 2.92); and lower *Willingness to Report Crime* (μ = 2.79) than both their Undocumented counterparts and the general sample of participants.

When this is further scrutinized using the differentiation U.S. Citizen vs LPR vs Undocumented, the group with the strongest *Fear of Deportation* is strangely enough U.S. Citizens (μ = 3.75), then followed by Undocumented individuals (μ = 3.25). Confidence in *Procedural Fairness* is still highest amongst Undocumented respondents (μ = 2.92).[18] Similarly, lowest *Willingness to Report Crime* continues to be maintained by Undocumented persons (μ = 2.79). By introducing the categories of U.S. Citizen vs LPR vs Undocumented, Perception of Police according to *Fear of Deportation* is problematized, revealing the surprising outcome of

[18] *Note*: This particular finding where Undocumented respondents continue to score highest in their confidence in Procedural Fairness remains perplexing and is not adequately answered by this research. In order to better understand these results, further empirical inquiry is necessitated. This study should in particular focus on elucidating individuals' experiences with local courts, since question 2(c), confidence in courts, had the highest reported confidence across the sample (μ = 2.93).

U.S. Citizens as the subgroup with the highest *Fear of Deportation* (μ = 3.75), rather than the originally envisioned Undocumented participants. In order to make sense of this finding, it is imperative that the variable Documentation Status continues to be challenged in its binary form. Thus, I introduce a comparison of Perception of Police informed by both individual Documentation Status and Mixed Status Households, as seen below in **Table 6**.

Table 6: Comparing Perception of Police Among Surveyed Latinx Immigrants Based on Documentation Status

Documentation Status, MS/NMS[1]	*n*	%	FoD Mean[2]	PF Mean[3]	WRC Mean[4]
μ_n			μ_n = 3.2	μ_n = 2.84	μ_n = 3.09
Undocumented, MS	*7*	46.7	3.14	2.86	2.8
Undocumented NMS	*1*	6.7	4	3.33	2.62
LPR, MS	*3*	20	2.33	2.67	3.1
LPR, NMS	*0*	0	—	—	—
U.S. Citizen, MS	*1*	6.7	4	3.67	3.77
U.S. Citizen, NMS	*3*	20	3.67	2.56	3.67
Documented, MS	*4*	26.7	2.75	2.92	3.27
Documented, NMS	*3*	20	2.33	2.67	3.1

Notes: [1]The designation MS stands for Mixed Status Household, whereas NMS means No Mixed Status Household. [2]FoD signifies Fear of Documentation. [3]PF signifies Procedural Fairness. [4]WRC signifies Willingness to Report Crime.

When Documentation Status is analyzed through both measures of individual Documentation Status and Mixed Status (MS) Households, Latinx immigrants' reliance on social networks is forefronted and more clearly understood in relation to their Perception of Police. *Fear of Deportation* is most pronounced in (1) Undocumented persons not residing Mixed Status Households (NMS), that is, a household with only Undocumented immigrants (μ = 4); and (2) U.S. Citizens residing in Mixed Status Households, that is, others in their household are not U.S. Citizens (μ = 4). Lowest *Fear of Deportation* is reported by Lawful Permanent Residents (LPRs) residing in Mixed Status Households (μ = 2.33) and Documented[19] individuals not residing in Mixed Status Households. It should be noted that of the 3 interview respondents that were

[19] *Note*: I use "Documented" to identify both U.S. Citizens and Lawful Permanent Residents (LPR).

categorized as LPRs residing in Mixed Status households, 2 of them lived in households in which all other members were either LPRs or U.S. Citizens.

Under this scale of comparison, trust in *Procedural Fairness* is highest among surveyed U.S. Citizens in Mixed Status Households ($\mu = 3.67$), and lowest across LPRs living in Mixed Status Households ($\mu = 2.67$) and Documented persons not residing in Mixed Status Households ($\mu = 2.67$). Considering the constraints of a small sample, it is difficult to conclusively determine what drove the broad discrepancy in confidence in *Procedural Fairnes*s between U.S. Citizens in MS and LPRs in MS. Avenues worth exploring are the presumed security of holding U.S. Citizenship compared to U.S. residency, and education levels, too, since it is likely that knowledge of the American criminal justice system plays a role in mediating this relationship.

Lastly, again consistent with previous findings, lowest *Willingness to Report Crim*e is concentrated among Undocumented persons, with those not residing in Mixed Status Households (i.e., all inhabitants in the household are Undocumented) having an average of $\mu = 2.62$. Undocumented respondents living in Mixed Status Households followed closely behind, with an average of $\mu = 2.8$. Highest *Willingness to Report Crime* was found in U.S. Citizens, with those living in Mixed Status Households leading the two subgroups ($\mu = 3.77$). It is relevant to note that this interviewee, Rocio, described her household as all U.S. Citizens with the exception of one of her daughters who is awaiting her biometrics appointment before finalizing her Lawful Permanent Resident (LPR) status.

A few lessons can be learned from seeking to understand Perception of Police via Language and Documentation Status. First and foremost, a household's immigration status seems to be the most precise predictor of *Fear of Deportation* in terms of the independent variable, Documentation Status. The presence of any Undocumented members, even if the subject

themself is not undocumented, is taken as a risk by participants and illustrates the centrality of social networks and family within the Latinx immigrant community in Elgin, Illinois. Additionally, non-English speakers account for the greatest *Fear of Documentation* among examined linguistic groups. Confidence in *Procedural Fairness* remains muddled when relying on either Language or Documentation Status as determinants, and merits closer examination of factors outside the scope of this study, including education levels. Finally, across the board, *Willingness to Report Crime (WRC)* was lowest among non-English speakers and Undocumented persons, particularly those residing in households with all Undocumented members. *WRC* was found to be highest in Fluent English speakers and U.S. Citizens. The following subsection will outline other secondary factors that were tracked in the study and the ensuing Perception of Police observed in their variation.

d. Perception of Police Across Secondary Variables of Interest

There are three primary secondary variables of interest examined by this study: types of contact with the Elgin Police Department since March 2020, participation in community engagement events organized by EPD, and secondary negative encounters.

Encounters with the Department were categorized as either Civilian- or Police-Initiated Contact. Questions were modeled with the purpose of having participants recall the officers' demographic information, the language spoken, and the demeanors of officers in each category of contact. In total, interview responses reported 3 instances of Civilian-Initiated Contact and 11 instances of Police-Initiated Contact since March 2020. Refer to **Table 7** below for general information on participants' contact with the Elgin Police Department.

Table 7: Civilian-Initiated vs Police-Initiated Encounters in Elgin, IL Among Surveyed Latinx Immigrant Community Members

Type of Contact	Frequency	Negative	Positive	Interpreter offered, if not fluent in English[2]	English	Spanish	Inquired about Documentation Status	Threat
Civilian-Initiated Contact								
Reported crime, disturbance, or suspicious activity	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Reported emergency that was NOT a crime	1	0	1	Yes, 1	1	0	0	0
Requested NON-EMERGENCY assistance	2	0	2	Yes, 1	2	0	0	0
Other	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	**3**	**0**	**3**		**3**	**0**	**0**	**0**
Police-Initiated Contact								
Traffic accident	1	0	1	NA[1]	1	0	0	0
Pulled over while driving a motor vehicle	3	1	2	No, 2	3	0	0	0
Passenger in a motor vehicle that was pulled over	5	1	4	Yes, 4; No, 1	2	3	0	1
Stopped while standing, walking, or sitting in a public space	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Other	2	0	2	Yes, 2	1	1	0	0
Total	**11**	**2**	**9**		**7**	**4**	**0**	**1**

Notes: [1]Lucia, who is fluent in English, was not offered an interpreter. [2]In Civilian-Initiated Contact, an interpreter was offered ***100%*** of the time (2/2) that the civilian was not a fluent English speaker; in Police-Initiated Contact, an interpreter was offered ***66.7%*** of the time (6/9) that the civilian was not a fluent English speaker. In total, EPD staff offered interpreter services ***72.7%*** of the time (8/11) that a civilian was not fluent in English.

The demeanor of EPD officers in Civilian-Initiated Contact were always described positively. However, in cases of Police-Initiated Contact, 2 of the 11 occasions were described negatively by surveyed Latinx immigrants. In Civilian-Initiated Contact, an interpreter was offered 100% of the time (2/2) that the civilian was not a fluent English speaker; in Police-Initiated Contact, an interpreter was offered 66.7% of the time (6/9) that the civilian was not a fluent English speaker. As a whole, EPD officers offered interpreter services 72.7% of the time (8/11) that a civilian was not fluent in English. Although EPD officers never inquired about documentation status, regardless of type of contact, there was one occasion reported by a female community member in which she felt threatened by the officer she interacted with.

In the 3 Civilian-Initiated encounters, 2 Latina immigrant women, Mariana and Lucia, voluntarily contacted the Elgin Police Department for assistance. Mariana, who contacted police twice since 2020 cited needing help once when she was in a car accident and again in tracking

down her husband's criminal record in preparation for his immigration interview for Adjustment of Status.[20] Lucia contacted EPD when she had questions regarding the protocol for paying citation fines post-COVID. These women's profiles reveal they are documented, with Mariana being a Lawful Permanent Resident (LPR) residing in a Mixed Status Household and Lucia being a U.S. Citizen that does not live in a Mixed Status Household. Mariana described her English proficiency as "Intermediate," and Lucia is a Fluent English speaker. Their average Perception of Police scores diverge from each other, with Mariana generally expressing lower *Fear of Deportation* ($\mu = 2$), less confidence in *Procedural Fairness* ($\mu = 2.33$), and a significantly reduced *Willingness to Report Crime* ($\mu = 2.77$) compared to both Lucia and the broader sample. A full analysis of their individual profiles and descriptions of these voluntary encounters can be found in **Table 8**.

Table 8: Participant Profiles in Civilian-Initiated Encounters and Perception of Police

Demographic	μ_n	Mariana	Lucia
Frequency		2	1
Description of Officer(s) Demeanor		Friendly, Helpful, Communicative	Nice
Documentation Status		LPR	U.S. Citizen
Mixed Status		Yes	No
English Proficiency		Intermediate	Fluent
FoD Mean[2]	$\mu_n = 3.2$	2	3
PF Mean[3]	$\mu_n = 2.84$	2.33	2.67
WRC Mean[4]	$\mu_n = 3.09$	2.77	4

Notes: [1]All participants have been assigned a pseudonym in order to protect identity and confidentiality. [2]FoD signifies Fear of Documentation. [3]PF signifies Procedural Fairness. [4]WRC signifies Willingness to Report Crime.

While both Mariana and Lucia expressed favorable feelings regarding the demeanors of EPD officers, another community member, Yolanda, described an encounter she had with a

[20] *Note*: Her husband has since obtained LPR status.

neighboring police department in which she was left feeling disregarded and even unsafe. Yolanda, who after being a longtime Elgin resident moved to nearby South Elgin in early 2020, made the decision to call on the South Elgin Police Department (SEPD) when, while on a walk around her neighborhood, a Puerto Rican man approached her and began to verbally harass her and her daughter after their family dog had urinated in his front lawn. The man kicked her dog and began to aggressively shout at her, calling her a "fu**ing Mexican" and when she picked up her dog as a way to protect him from the man, the man grew angrier and physically pushed her aside. He even insulted her daughter and called her a "fat Mexican." Another neighbor who witnessed the interaction intervened and the man responded by threatening Yolanda and the bystander: "come nearby because I have something for you." After SEPD officers arrived, they arrested the man. Yolanda explained she had an initial virtual meeting shortly after the incident and was told that within 3 to 4 months, she'd receive information about a court date:

> "I went in person [to the station] and they said no…that they would call me when it was time for my court date. To date, there has been no call. They asked me if I wanted to press charges, and I said obviously yes, because, for one, he hit my dog without motive. Another, he pushed me. And, he insulted my daughter. I told them I was afraid of the man, but they just said to stay away from his house…they called me, I think a year later, to ask me what language the man had used when he attacked me…That was it, they have never called me. You would think they closed the case…Later on, a few women in my neighborhood came to me and told me if I needed witnesses for court, they would do it because he had harassed them too. They told me to be careful, that the man did not know where I lived but that he was looking for me. He had slashed their tires before…I never heard back."[21]

Yolanda's story clearly highlights the need for communication and follow-up between police departments and Latinx immigrants in order to feel heard, rather than dismissed as was her experience. Considering she explicitly told law enforcement officials she was afraid and that her neighbors had had similar experiences with the same offender, this lack of urgency on their part was especially devastating to Yolanda's Perception of Police. Her interview responses signaled

[21] *Note*: This quote was transcribed and translated by the author, who is a native Spanish speaker.

that she had much higher *Fear of Deportation* (μ = 4), lower confidence in *Procedural Fairness* (μ = 2), and served as the clear outlier in *Willingness to Report Crime* (μ = 1.08). Thus, this encounter marked by police apathy and neglect, spanning across several points in time and different officers, likely either eroded her former Perception of Police or reinforced her lack of trust in law enforcement. Importantly, though this encounter took place with a department outside of the Elgin Police Department, this distrust in police transferred over onto EPD and should be taken as a cautionary account of the far-reaching consequences of such conduct.

In contrast to Civilian-Initiated encounters, Police-Initiated Contact had a much higher frequency, reported a total of 11 times across 7 interviewees. Since this sample of participants was not self-selected as is the case in Civilian- Initiated Contact, the demographics throughout this group were more diverse. Every category of both documentation status and English proficiency level was represented. The same was true of average Perception of Police scores among these Latinx immigrants. Reasons for contact ranged from being pulled over while driving a motor vehicle; to being a passenger in a motor vehicle that was pulled over; to a School Resource Officer (SRO) bringing a truant child home. A complete overview of these 7 individual profiles and descriptions of these Police-Initiated encounters can be found in **Table 9**.

Table 9: Participant Profiles in Police-Initiated Encounters and Perception of Police

Demographic	μ_n	Mariana	Raquel	Eva	Maya	Luisa	Lucia	Blanca
Frequency		2	1	1	1	1	2	4
Description of Officer(s) Demeanor		Unjust, Unwiling to Listen	Polite	Polite	Trustworthy, Respectful, Nice	Professional	Professional	Cordial, Angry[5]
Documentation Status		LPR	LPR	Undocumented	Undocumented	LPR	U.S. Citizen	Undocumented
Mixed Status		Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
English Proficiency		Intermediate	Intermediate	Beginner	Beginner	Intermediate	Fluent	No English
FoD Mean[2]	$\mu_n = 3.2$	2	1	4	4	4	3	4
PF Mean[3]	$\mu_n = 2.84$	2.33	3.33	2	2.67	2.33	2.67	3.33
WRC Mean[4]	$\mu_n = 3.09$	2.77	3.77	3.08	2.38	2.77	4	2.62

Notes: [1]All participants have been assigned a pseudonym in order to protect identity and confidentiality. [2]FoD signifies Fear of Documentation. [3]PF signifies Procedural Fairness. [4]WRC signifies Willingness to Report Crime. [5]In one of the four Police-Initiated Encounters Blanca described, a police officer became angry when Blanca and her husband were unable to understand her in English, which frightened Blanca.

Two Police-Initiated interactions that are of interest to this particular study are the cases of Maya and Blanca, two community members that share in common their Undocumented status and a low command over the English language—Maya describing herself as a "Beginner" English speaker, while Blanca stating she spoke no English.

Maya has only encountered Elgin PD personnel once since March 2020, when her daughter's friend became involved in an EPD investigation and an officer requested to speak with her daughter at their home. She described the officer's demeanor as "trustworthy, respectful, and nice," and commented on how the officer went out of his way to make her feel comfortable, offering her an interpreter multiple times.

On the other hand, Blanca experienced the highest frequency of Police-Initiated Contact within the sample, always as a passenger while her husband drove their family car. She uniquely had both positive and negative experiences with EPD officers since March 2020. Throughout her interview, Blanca spoke very thoughtfully about her interactions with police, explaining that since she does not know how to drive, does not speak English, and is Undocumented, she rarely comes into contact with police of her own accord. Instead, all of this interaction takes place through her husband, who has been pulled over 4 times since 2020. Usually, these stops are meant to be helpful, for example, once an officer only stopped the car to let them know one of their tires was low on air and expressed concern that they were at risk of being in a car accident. Blanca recounted how she's dealt with all kinds of officers, and generally the experiences are good as EPD officers will cordially offer her and her non-English speaking husband interpreter services. However, Bianca described one occasion in which they encountered a female officer that yelled at them for being unable to understand what she was saying:

> "Well, look, it's always different behavior with police…Once he [my husband] was stopped by a female officer, and the truth is, she was 'muy así.'[22] She yelled, and I don't know… we didn't understand her which made her very angry… I felt afraid since I don't have papers."[23]

Blanca and Maya's responses to Perception of Police reveal that although both women retain maximum levels of *Fear of Deportation* ($\mu = 4$), Maya's single positive interaction with EPD did not prevent her from reporting lower levels of confidence in *Procedural Fairness* ($\mu = 2.67$) and lower *Willingness to Report Crime* ($\mu = 2.38$) when measured against both Blanca and the general sample. Since both women were part of households that were home to more than one Undocumented member, this raises the question: does frequency (i.e., consistency) of positive encounters play a role in shaping Latinx immigrants' attitudes towards police? Apart from frequency, the only other major recorded difference between the women's profiles was their age: Maya is 34 years old and Blanca is 58 years old, which should also be considered when seeking to understand what drove the gap between their Perception of Police.

Another narrative worth mentioning was presented by community member, Lucia. She detailed a story that took place eight or nine years ago in which she was gratuitously stopped by an officer representing a neighboring suburb, the Carpentersville Department:

> "People aren't as afraid as they used to be, you know?...I think that in Elgin, it's a little more…subtle. The police will be here, they don't ask you for that [immigration status]. A long time ago, I did get stopped in Carpentersville…I did not run a stoplight. I did not pass a stop sign, nothing. But I just got stopped. I had my windows down, and they heard the music, the Spanish radio, actually. And they asked me where I was going, and I said…I'm going home, in Elgin. I said, do you mind if I pull my driver's license? And they asked me if I had any documentation. And I just said, could you please be very specific of what type of documentation you want and what's the reason you stopped me?...So, I'm gonna say that never would have happened in Elgin. I could be wrong, but, you know…that one time that I went to Carpentersville…"

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[22] *Note*: I kept this phrase in Spanish because I did not want to take away from its connotation. "Muy así" directly translates into "very like that" and implies that the officer behaved in a way that was universally understood to be at best, unprofessional and rude, and at worst, a disagreeable, antipathic person.

[23] *Note*: This quote was transcribed and translated by the author, who is a native Spanish speaker.

Opposed to Yolanda, whose negative Civilian-Initiated encounter with another police department led her to conclude that Elgin Police Department would act in a similar manner, it seems that Lucia's negative Police-Initiated contact with a different police department strengthened her impression of EPD as invariably fair. Though her confidence in *Procedural Fairness* was still relatively low to the rest of the sampled population ($\mu = 2.67$), on average Lucia had less *Fear of Deportation* ($\mu = 3$) and scored particularly high in *Willingness to Report Crime* ($\mu = 4$). Of course, even Lucia acknowledged that her positionality as a Fluent English-speaking U.S. Citizen means her insights might be skewed towards naivety, and yet, her negative experience with an external department suggests that as was the case with Yolanda, these experiences go on to directly inform Latinx immigrants' understandings of individual and collective police departments as a whole.

One of the most unexplored secondary variables of interest measured in this study was participation in Community Engagement events organized by the Elgin Police Department. Questions related to EPD programming set out to determine how Latinx immigrants appraise these events in terms of language accessibility and the demography of fellow attendees, as well as how engaged individuals perceived police when compared to their disengaged counterparts. The profiles of engaged individuals included 2 Fluent English speakers, 1 Intermediate English speaker, and 1 Beginner English speaker. Regarding immigration status breakdown, there were 2 U.S. Citizens, 1 Lawful Permanent Resident (LPR), and 1 Undocumented person in attendance. Half of engaged individuals reported residing in a Mixed Status Household while the other half did not. On average, engaged Latinx immigrants reported a higher degree of *Fear of Deportation* ($\mu = 3.25$), lower confidence in *Procedural Fairness* ($\mu = 2.59$), but paradoxically, a higher

Willingness to Report Crime (μ = 3.13) than disengaged participants. See **Table 10** below for a comprehensive summary of engaged vs. non-engaged profiles.

Table 10: Comparing EPD Community Engagement Among Surveyed Latinx Immigrants and Perception of Police

Demographic	μ_n	Engaged	Non-Engaged
n		4	11
Language:			
Native Spanish		4	11
English Fluent		2	0
English Intermediate		1	4
English Beginner		1	4
No English		0	3
Documentation Status:			
Undocumented		1	7
Legal Permanent Resident (LPR)		1	2
U.S. Citizen		2	2
Mixed Status Household:			
Yes		2	9
No		2	2
FoD Mean[1]	$\mu_n = 3.2$	3.25	3.18
PF Mean[2]	$\mu_n = 2.84$	2.59	2.94
WRC Mean[3]	$\mu_n = 3.09$	3.13	3.07

Notes: [1]FoD signifies Fear of Documentation. [2]PF signifies Procedural Fairness. [3]WRC signifies Willingness to Report Crime.

The final secondary variable surveyed in this project was the influence of secondary negative encounters with the Elgin Police Department and its role in constructing Perception of Police. Of the 15 interviewees, 4 reported having heard of a negative encounter with EPD from either a family member or close friend. The biographical composition was nearly identical to that of EPD engaged individuals, with the exception of age distribution. However, Perception of Police scores reflect a divergence in attitudes among respondents. On average, Latinx immigrants who disclosed others' negative encounters with EPD reported lower *Fear of*

Deportation (μ = 2.5), lower confidence in *Procedural Fairness* (μ = 2.42), and a significantly lower *Willingness to Report Crime* (μ = 2.73) than both, respondents who had not had secondary negative contact and the broader sample. See **Table 11** below for summarized aggregate profiles across these two groups.

Table 11: Comparing Secondary Negative Encounters Among Surveyed Latinx Immigrants and Perception of Police

Demographic	μ_n	Answered "Yes"	Answered "No"
n		4	11
Language:			
Native Spanish		4	11
English Fluent		2	0
English Intermediate		1	4
English Beginner		1	4
No English		0	3
Documentation Status:			
Undocumented		1	7
Legal Permanent Resident (LPR)		1	2
U.S. Citizen		2	2
Mixed Status Household:			
Yes		2	9
No		2	2
FoD Mean[1]	$\mu_n = 3.2$	2.5	3.45
PF Mean[2]	$\mu_n = 2.84$	2.42	3
WRC Mean[3]	$\mu_n = 3.09$	2.73	3.22

Notes: [1]FoD signifies Fear of Documentation. [2]PF signifies Procedural Fairness. [3]WRC signifies Willingness to Report Crime.

Besides Alba, Yolanda's sister, who cited Yolanda's interaction with the previously referenced South Elgin Police Department, it was Yolanda herself who shared arguably the most grievous secondary encounter with police. She described how one of her sons has been thrown to the ground when he's been pulled over by officers while driving. She specifically discussed a time about 8 years ago when her son, his girlfriend, and the rest of Yolanda's family had

purchased VIP tickets to a concert at the formerly Sears Centre (in 2023 known as the NOW Arena) located in Hoffman Estates, Illinois. When Yolanda and her daughter first approached security at the entrance, Yolanda explained that she had tickets but that she needed a minute to step aside and wait for her husband, who had the tickets and was already inside.

> "Then he started yelling at me in the face saying 'I already told you that everything is sold out!' And then my son saw and said, 'Don't be screaming in my mother's face. We're telling you we have the tickets, let us in.' Then he [the security guard] started yelling obscenities, 'What the f**k? You don't tell me what to do.' ... So then he pushed my son and I tried to protect my son... I asked to speak to a supervisor, but they didn't give me a chance to explain what happened before they arrived... about 7 or 8 police officers started pushing my son on the wall, they started beating him... beating him and wanting to handcuff him. And they didn't even ask us for an explanation... I stepped in... I thought they were going to kill him, because they were like flies with my son... They arrested him and took him to the station... They left him beaten and I had to take him to the hospital when he got out."[24]

Yolanda's anecdote holds several implications regarding secondary exposure with police and its role in mediating subsequent perceptions of law enforcement. As previously seen, though this contact took place outside of Elgin PD jurisdiction, it endured as an example that Yolanda thought back to when she was asked to consider her outlook on the police's ability to serve and protect civilians. The encounter, while partly her own, mostly involved her son, who was the victim of police violence and an abuse of use of force by the hand of officers employed by the Hoffman Estates Police Department. Due to her physical and emotional proximity to the victim of the encounter, Yolanda was strongly affected and went on to label these officers as "racist" and extremely "dangerous." Again, this is mirrored in her scores across the Perception of Police scale utilized in this study: she reported maximum *Fear of Deportation* ($\mu = 4$), low confidence in *Procedural Fairness* ($\mu = 2$), and held the lowest *Willingness to Report Crime* ($\mu = 1.08$) of all 15 interviewees. For questions relating to willingness to report domestic violence or hate crime victimization, she stated she would "1 = Definitely Not." This was particularly worrying, especially considering she has previously experienced domestic violence with her ex-husband

[24] *Note*: This quote was transcribed and translated by the author, who is a native Spanish speaker.

over 15 years ago, and that the literature demonstrates that domestic violence survivors are likely to experience revictimization (Hirschel and Hutchison, 2003). Yolanda's past experiences with police has made her distrustful of law enforcement as a whole and has directly rendered her into an exceptionally vulnerable class of Latinx immigrant, cut off from institutional, public-serving resources and safeguards.

Elgin Police Department Public Access Data

Before considering findings from the interviews held with Elgin Police Department officers, it is important to understand the context and background of this department, and why it first emerged as a site of study in this thesis. This section will contain basic information relating to officer demographic makeup; arrestee demographics; suspect demographics in the deployment of use of force; and a general list of EPD-organized community events and with some details, where available.

a. Officer Demographics

Drawn up against the city's total racial composition, a gap is seen between Latinx/Hispanic officers and its residents, as Latinxs represent 47.4% of the population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2022) but only 19% of the Police Department's force (Elgin Police Department Transparency Hub, 2022). Currently, the Elgin Police Department's force is made up of 79% male officers and 21% female officers (Elgin Police Department Transparency Hub, 2022). In terms of the racial and ethnic ratio, 76% of officers identify as white, 19% as Latinx/Hispanic, and 5% as Black (Elgin Police Department Transparency Hub, 2022). Further details on the breakdown of ranks according to race and ethnicity can be found below in **Figure 1**.

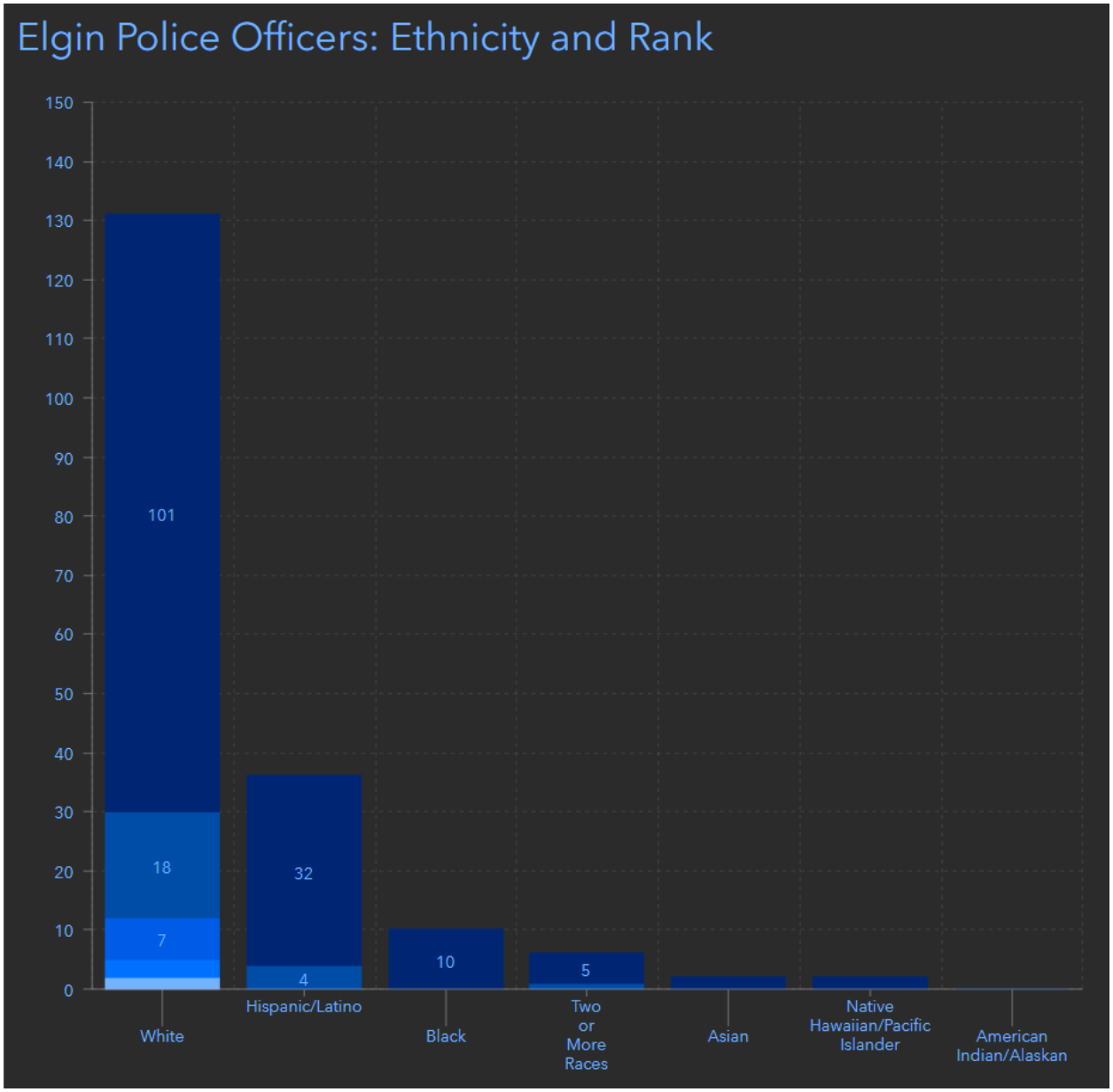

Figure 1: EPD Rank by Ethnicity (Elgin Police Department Transparency Hub, 2022).

The darkest blue bar denotes the rank of Officer, the following shade marking Sergeants, then Lieutenants, then Commanders, then Chief/Deputy Chief. By count, the highest concentration of officers are found among white (n = 101) and Hispanic/Latinx (n = 32) members; when accounting for percentage, the highest proportion of Officer assignments is held by Black, Asian, and Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander individuals, with 100% of each ethnic

category serving as Officers. Notably, roles of leadership are nearly unanimously held by white EPD officials, with the exception of 4 Hispanic/Latinx Sergeants and 1 Multi-racial Sergeant.[25] A further gendered dissection of ranks according to race and ethnicity is provided in **Figure 2**.

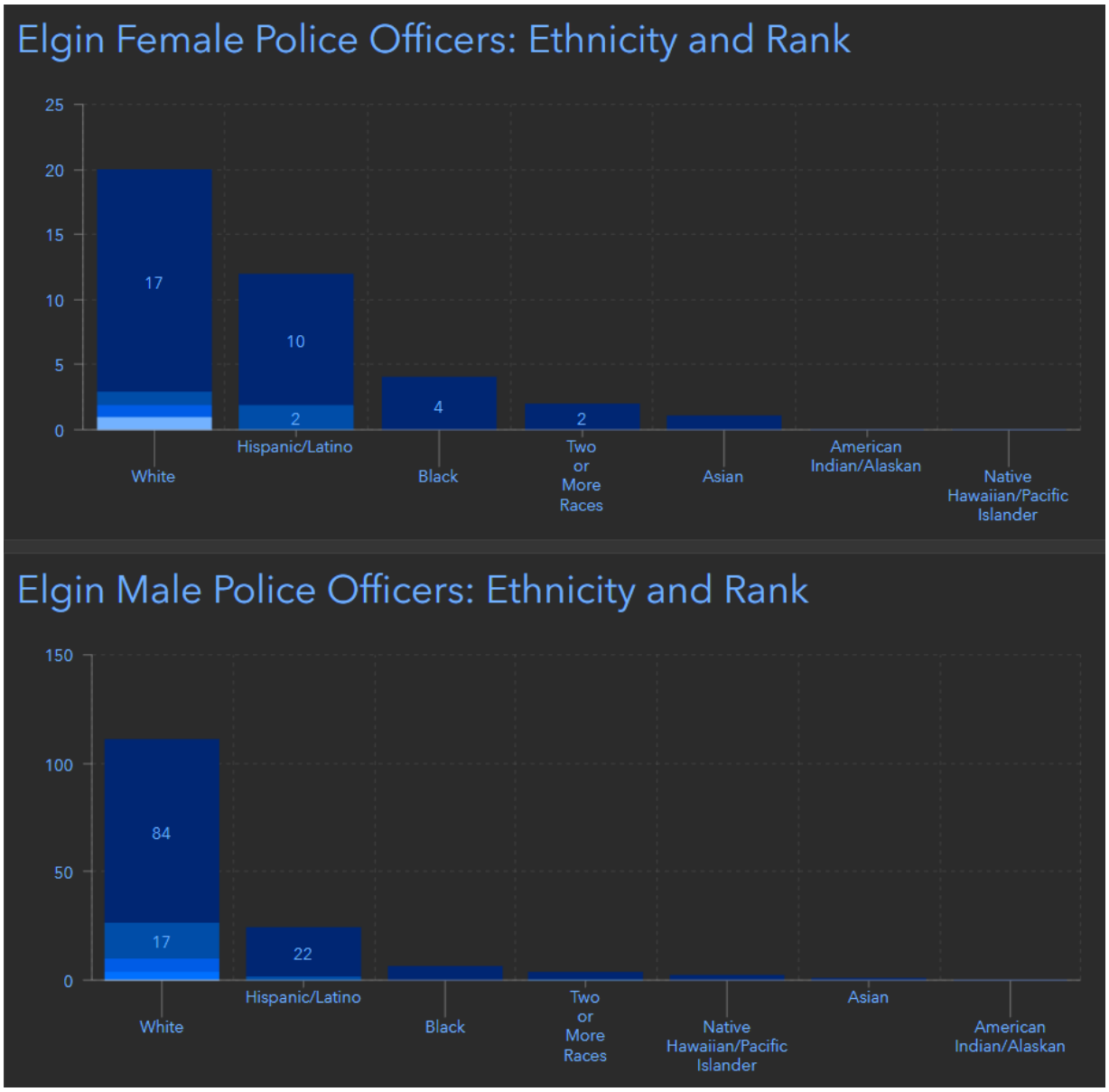

Figure 2: EPD Rank by Gender and Ethnicity (Elgin Police Department Transparency Hub, 2022).

[25] *Note*: According to the Elgin Police Department Transparency Hub, the gender of the cited 1 Multi-racial Sergeant in **Figure 1** is unclear.

As anticipated, white men assume most leadership positions within the Elgin Police Department, though white women are represented by at least 1 individual in each of the available ranks. In fact, the current EPD Chief of Police is Ana Lalley, a 26-year veteran of the Elgin Police Department (City of Elgin, 2023). The 4 Hispanic/Latinx Sergeants are evenly shared gender-wise, with 2 women and 2 men.

b. Arrestee Demographics

According to the Elgin Police Department's 2022 Annual Report,[26] Elgin officers arrested 2,144 persons last year, with over 1,600 of the apprehended identified as males. Based on race and ethnicity, the 3 most arrested demographics included Hispanics (n = 1,010), African Americans (n = 564), and Caucasians (n = 516). In the most recent census, Hispanics accounted for 47.4% of Elgin's population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2022), which is uniquely paralleled in arrest records: 1,010 arrests out of 2,144 yielding a proportion of 47.1% Hispanic arrestees. For African Americans, the same cannot be said. Constituting 5.2% of the total population, African Americans are overrepresented in arrests at 26.3%. For the non-Hispanic white population, despite comprising 39.0% of the city's population, this group only made up 24.1% of 2022 arrests. Nationwide, Hispanic adults are incarcerated at a rate that is 2.9 times higher than that of White adults (Vorpahl, 2021) and are often overrepresented in arrests, yet in Elgin, this does not seem to be the case—at least within policing prior to facing trial and sentencing, the city's Latinx population is accurately reflected among arrests. Below, **Figure 3** provides a more detailed racial and ethnic breakdown of 2022 arrest data.

[26] Webpage link: https://infograph.venngage.com/pl/G2rRJrlVxb8.

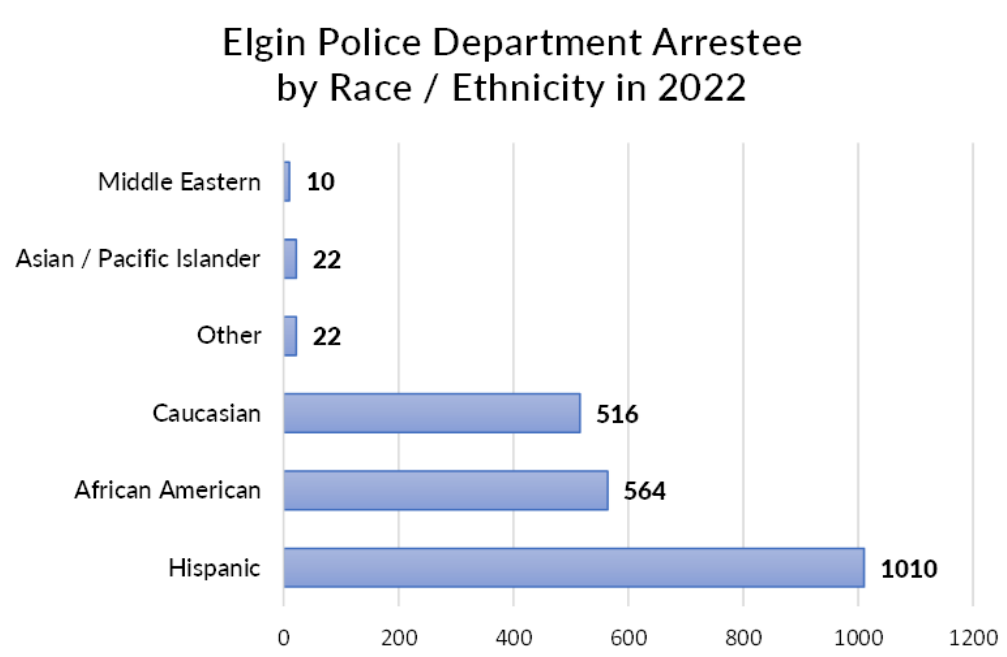

Figure 3: EPD Arrestees by Race / Ethnicity in 2022 (Elgin Police Department Annual Report, 2022).

c. Use of Force Suspect Demographics

Suspect demographics in reported cases of Use of Force are also relevant in seeking to make sense of the Elgin Police Department's relationship with Latinx immigrants. The Elgin PD Transparency Hub indicates that 104 incidents of Use of Force were reported in 2022. Of these incidents, Hispanics again take the lead by representing 47 of these occasions, or 45.2%. African Americans follow by being the suspects in 35 of these instances, or 33.7%. White persons accounted for 19 Uses of Force, a proportion of approximately 18.3%. As seen in arrestee data, while Hispanics are not disproportionately affected by Use of Force, African American civilians are overrepresented in this population. See **Figure 4** for a complete racial/ethnic analysis of Use of Force by the Elgin Police Department in 2022.

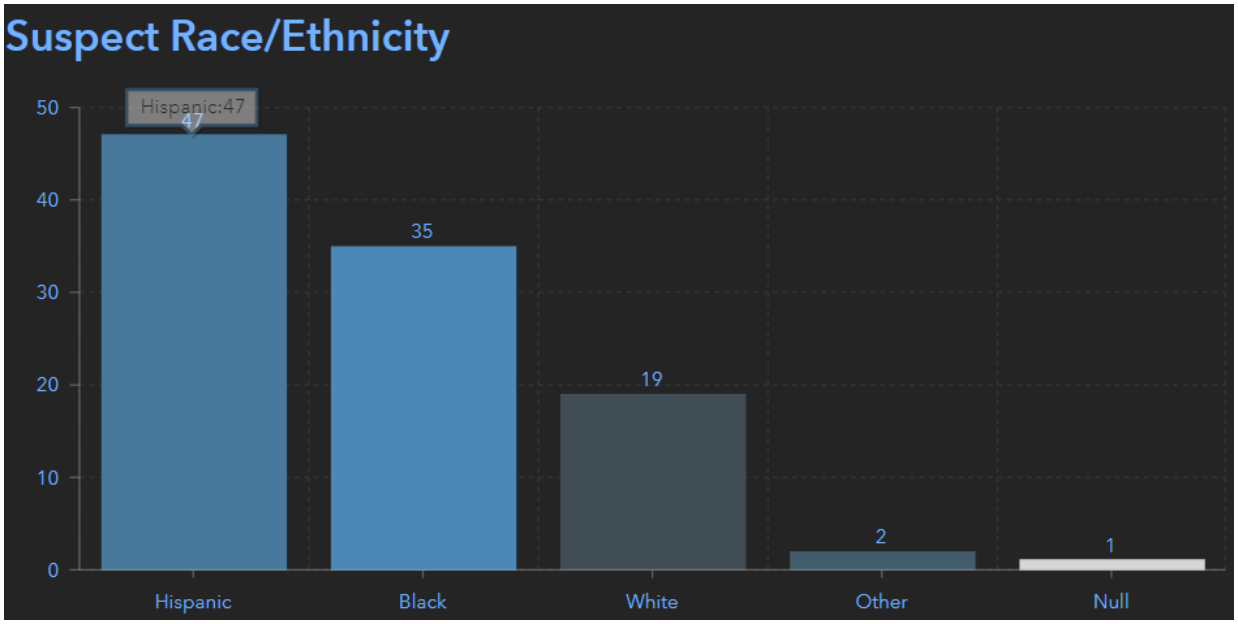

Figure 4: EPD Suspect Race / Ethnicity in 2022 Incidents of Use of Force (Elgin Police Department Transparency Hub, 2022).

d. Community Engagement and Outreach

The Elgin Police Department's 2022 Annual Report dedicates a lengthy portion of its departmental evaluation on community programming, titled "Community Engagement and Outreach." Different initiatives are highlighted, with over 70 community events listed. An in-depth of Elgin PD-led community projects is reserved for the subsection on *Elgin Police Department Officer Interview*s. For the purposes of this study, **Table 12** below offers a brief general description of 6 major events held in 2022 that were given special attention in the report, several of which explicitly target and involve the Latinx community in Elgin.

Table 12: Comparing Perception of Police Among Surveyed Latinx Immigrants Based on Documentation Status

Event Title	Description
Concha with a Cop	Held in partnership with the Gail Borden Public Library Hispanic Services, this serves as an alternative to Coffee with a Cop. Bilingual support was available for community members to interact with officers.
Quinceañera	Held in July 2022 at Senior Services Associates in downtown Elgin, this event featured a Fashion Show, performances from Grupo de Danze Quetzali, a contest, and food.
Latinas in Law Enforcement Scholarship Luncheon	Women in law enforcement across IL came together and EPD was one of the sponsors. The event collected $15,000 in scholarship funds for current and future women in law enforcement.
Día de Muertos: A Celebration of Life	Elgin community members were invited to learn more about the Day of the Dead cultural tradition while having access to over 25 local resources for seniors and their families. There was a Community Altar, food and drink, and nearly 500 people attended.
Kids United	Running for its third consecutive year, the program culminated in a National Night Out family picnic. Kids United held field trips to Elgin Lanes bowling, Epic Air, Marcus Theatre, Chicago Fire, and Hurricane Harbor, among others. Field trip attendance average 42 students/event.
EPD Elves	With the support of donations from Meijer, Elgin Police Benevolent & Protective Association, and Citizens Police Academy Alumni Association, 57 families participated in this year's shopping spree with EPD volunteers.

Notes: These events/descriptions were sourced from the Elgin Police Department 2022 Annual Report.

Elgin Police Department Officer Interviews

As evinced in prior literature, rarely are qualitative findings sourced from community members placed in conversation with police perspectives, and while it is certainly imperative to center these community perspectives — in spaces like Elgin, where police and community often bleed into one another, this boundary is disrupted and warrants further examination. Since police officers constituted a much narrower group of subjects of study, interviews followed a semi-structured form, allowing analysis to be showcased in more of a narrative fashion than that of community members. The officers that were willing to meet with me and participate in the study represented four units within the Elgin Police Department: the Crime Free Housing Unit, the Technical Investigations Unit, the Resident Officer Program of Elgin (ROPE), and the

Collaborative Crisis Services Unit. Police interviews were roughly divided into 3 parts: (1) Demographics, (2) EPD Initiatives and Outreach, and (3) Latinx Immigrant Community Perception. EPD qualitative findings will be presented in a similar order, beginning with an overview of officers' experiences with Community Engagement and Outreach, and concluding with a discussion of the complex relationship between Elgin PD and Latinx immigrants, according to surveyed Elgin police officers.

a. EPD Community Engagement and Outreach

After taking note of each officer's demographic data, all interviews opened with the broad question, "What kind of community outreach programming is generally organized by the Elgin Police Department?" Several of the officers' first instinct was to laugh, not in ridicule, but rather as if incredulous that they could begin to do justice to the dozens of events administered by the Department each year. I modified my question slightly after the first couple of interviews, and asked them to tell me more about specifically what they personally have been involved with, or perhaps what their friends within the Department participated in. Each officer gravitated towards different initiatives with distinct target audiences. Below is a cursory outline of different programs[27] listed by the 5 officers:

1. Fish with an Officer	***2.*** ROPE Christmas Party	***3.*** Citizens' Police Academy	***4.*** Security through Surveillance	***5.*** Taco 'Bout It With A Cop
6. ROPE Camp	***7.*** Ice Cream Cart	***8.*** Autism Acceptance	***9.*** Easter Egg Hunt	***10.*** National Night Out
11. EPD Soccer Tournament	***12.*** Senior Luncheons	***13.*** Kids United	***14.*** Special Olympics	

[27] *Note*: Some of these may not be the official titles of these programs, and instead may only be referenced in this way colloquially by the officers I spoke with.

When officers were asked to describe who the primary audiences of these events were, various groups were identified, though one officer was hesitant to name any individual group and settled for conceding that many of the Department's programs did seek out children—the most popular reported demographic among the sampled officers when describing attendees at community engagement events. Another group mentioned was property owners and businesses, as given by an officer who worked in Technical Investigations and participated in Security through Surveillance, a seminar-based program in which community members are invited to learn about how this unit uses cameras to prevent and solve crimes. The three-hour training also teaches attendees how to use these cameras in their own residential and business properties.

Interviews with police officers revealed a common thread among the perceived purpose of community engagement and outreach: to cultivate deep-seeded trust and relationship with the community in order for residents to feel comfortable collaborating with and coming to EPD with questions, concerns, reports, and general advice. Some statements shared by officers worth highlighting relating to the far-reaching implications of community engagement include the following.

> Officer Steve: "The other big thing is like, we want to build that trust with the community. So families get an interaction with us as police officers at this event, you know, they may not have come from a situation or from…their other country or their other city…wherever they come from, they may not have had the best interaction with police prior. So it's building that trust with them, so that they can see us and, you know, get to know us and realize that if they need something, that's who's coming to help them: it's people that they've met before, people they've interacted with before. And building that trust, like helps us solve cases left and right. I mean, so many cases get solved with…witness info, or, you know, somebody comes forward with information that they heard…Those things don't happen in communities where that trust doesn't exist between them and the police…So I think that's probably one of the other huge things is these families get to know us and like, Alright, maybe I'm not comfortable talking to the patrol officer that comes to my house on a call, but I'll tell them 'hey, I know officer so and so, can we can we talk to them?' And I know that there's officers that I work with that have been dragged into interviews or whatnot, you know, major cases, because they know these witnesses and these victims… they help break that case open because of that relationship they have with those families."[28]

[28] *Note*: As was the case with community members, ALL officers I consulted with and quote have been assigned a pseudonym and do NOT reflect the identity of any officer affiliated with the Elgin Police Department.

> Officer Raul, who is Latino and a son of an immigrant himself, works closely with Elgin youth enrolled in the EPD Soccer Tournament and similarly expressed, "They [kids] don't see me in a negative way. I've had a couple parents reach out to me and ask questions about anything…you know, some stuff and areas that they wanted to clear up with me like, 'Hey, this is what happened here. What do you think? What are our options?'...Oftentimes, they feel more comfortable doing that and making calls to speak to me, because they've already seen me interact with their kid…. They can put a face to a name and their question, which they initially might be hesitant to come in here to speak to a stranger about it…But knowing that they can pick up the phone and call me and ask for assistance tells me that I definitely reached my goal."

> Officer Nick: "The objective for… all those community events I talked about is establishing that relationship, where if someone is a victim, if someone is a witness, they're comfortable with us, because I gave them ice cream one time or I played soccer with their kid, or they knew that the officer they spoke with was not just a uniform…They're a person."

One officer in particular that provided a somewhat unparalleled perspective was Officer Jacob who works under the Collaborative Crisis Unit. He describes his unit as unique in that the entirety of their work is founded upon relationship-building with the community in order to better serve them. A large part of his time is spent in Pre-Arrest Diversion, now known as Kane County Collaborative Diversion, which in the officer's own words, is a "harm-reduction model" that seeks to have "less and safer encounters [between]...people who fall in those categories [substance use disorder, mental illness, and/or homelessness] and the law." Elgin was the first in the state to implement the program but jurisdictions across Kane County have since imported it.

b. Perception of Relationship between Latinx Immigrants and EPD

Given the demographics of both the sample and Elgin PD as a whole (i.e., predominantly white and male), the question of what words or phrases they would use to characterize the relationship between the Department and Latinx immigrants is especially intriguing. In general, the words and phrases used were positive. This characterization was built on phrases such as:

> "Always improving…a push to hire more officers that reflect our [city] demographics means more improvement." - *Officer Steve*

> "Good, as soon as something starts…it doesn't take long to make it available in Spanish." - *Officer Dean*

> "Very good, and getting better." - *Officer Nick*

"Definitely better than other communities." - *Officer Jacob*

"Not perfect, but gotten better." - *Officer Raul*

Since some officers qualified this relationship by citing improvements across time and/or relativity to other departments they have observed, it is relevant to consider what factors officers attributed these discrepancies to. All surveyed officers unanimously agreed that Elgin's relationship with its Latinx immigrants was on average, better than other departments. Variables that were mentioned included EPD's greater number of technologies and resources; its consistent and year-long approach to community engagement (not OSAM)[29]; and altogether treating its citizens with respect and taking the time to thoroughly address all issues confronted. Officer Jacob, in part due to his line of work with the Collaborative Crisis Unit, often comes into contact with "Tent City," known as an area in Elgin where a large homeless population resides and many of these individuals are also substance users. He provided an example of what he understood to be true collaboration between police and residents:

> "There's a group…an area called Tent City, where a decent number of our chronic homeless live, and we don't just go down there, like if Patrol gets a call, they go down there, obviously. But we all in our unit…we know all of them…they trust ust, they know us. We don't just walk in there and just kind of go, 'Hey, what's going on today? How you guys doing?' We don't do that. Because they don't like that. They don't want that. They want us to text them. I don't care if they're doing illegal stuff. Usually, they just don't want the intrusion. They don't like the reaction that they feel when they see the police coming in. Once they see it's us…honestly they kind of back down a little bit. They're fine…But they want us to give them a heads up. So like, we know that so we'll text them and say, 'Hey, we're going to come down with some workers who want to bring Narcan and just refill some Narcan. Are you guys cool with that'? And they'll say, 'Yes,'... when you engage with groups like that, and learn how to engage with them the way they would prefer…that's truly community engagement."

Lastly, despite the overall positive depiction of the relationship between the Elgin Police Department and Latinx immigrants, I pushed interviewees to reflect on possible barriers, both institutional and individual, that could work to strain this relationship. Responses generally fell

[29] *Note*: OSAM, courtesy of Officer Jacob, describes the idea of engaging the community through "only smoke and mirrors," that is, conducting no real substantive work for the community and opting for performative advocacy. He differentiates EPD from other departments by explaining they do not reduce engagement to purely OSAM.

under two categories: material and historical. Material barriers that were cited by officers were usually related to resources (as seen in smaller departments) and language barriers. For example, Officer Nick said he assumed that if the department halted hiring of diverse applicants that were racially and ethnically reflective of the city's population, this would likely cause distrust to rise among civilians. These material issues were treated as compounding variables to the challenges posed by the historical role that police had assumed. Three officers in particular, provided accounts of how in some ways, it was these barriers that proved to be more insurmountable and difficult to overcome, since word of mouth and social networks are so central to the lives of Latinx immigrants.

Officer Raul and Officer Jacob both cited how law enforcement's former, and for some jurisdictions, current, collaboration with "La Migra,"[30] has left a deep and enduring impression on Latinx communities throughout the United States. Officer Raul specifically described how given his background, he has first-hand and lived experience of how Latinxs' interactions with law enforcement in their home countries, as well as within the United States, often endure and follow them when they immigrate to this country:

> "Fifteen, twenty years ago…ICE was very much involved [in policing]...I think that for the Hispanic community…the distrust begins, unfortunately, begins in Hispanics' individual place of birth, because mostly, I can't think of any Hispanic country where that country and its people trust the police. So whether it's negative interactions in your home country, or negative interactions in the US, specifically Elgin, Illinois, the distrust is there. So those are things that they carry…Me personally, you know, I tell them, I can't change what happened to you or your experience you had, but what I can say is that we don't operate like that anymore. We won't stop you and arrest you for not having a license. Those things don't happen anymore."

Officer Dean has been able to intimately witness how policing has shifted in the last few decades through an older family member, who was an officer at a time when being Black within law enforcement was rare and exceedingly difficult. Similar to Officer Raul, he discussed his

[30] *Note*: Officer Jacob, who has often come into contact with Latinx immigrant populations in the past, colloquially referred to U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) as "La Migra," as it is known by among many Latinx circles.

own perception of how these past experiences, even when secondary and not your own, do play an active role in shaping Perception of Police.

> "I mean, there's kind of no way of ignoring that [history of policing]. I'm one of the instructors for our Fair and Impartial Policing training that we do. And part of, you know, the fair and impartial presentation that we do is kind of a reminder to folks, 'hey, there's a reason that certain groups…may deem the police in less than favorable light. And here's some of the reasons why.' And then we go back through some of the history of law enforcement, and how law enforcement interacted with different minority communities. So some of that barrier could be family history. Some, I mean, you know… we may have done like, great…you know, in the past 25 years… Well, people have relatives and family members who are older than 25 years old, and stories get passed down…So if something happened at the police department thirty, thirty-five, forty years ago, but you hear that from a member of your family…Someone you love, someone that means something to you: that may hold more water than… some outreach here."

Overall, by triangulating interviews with officers from the Elgin Police Department with community member experiences and publicly available quantitative data on EPD, a more complete account of the relationship between police and Latinx immigrants in Elgin, Illinois has been presented. Importantly, all surveyed officers appear to understand the importance of a department that is reflective, at least descriptively, of the community it serves. For immigrant-dominant spaces in particular, this means ensuring that language resources are available in order to appear more approachable to those that may not be comfortable in addressing their concerns in English. Another notable finding throughout interviews with EPD officials was that there seems to be a consensus in the gravity of engaging in substantive conversations and relationship-building with community members. This is necessary in order to avoid falling into the trap of OSAM that keeps officers at a distance and prevents them from building rapport, particularly among communities with heightened vulnerability, such as immigrants. In closing, the fact that three officers—Jacob, Raul, and Dean— drew on the historical precedence of policing within marginalized communities indicates that in order to develop and restore trust within the Latinx community, these stories of the past must not go unacknowledged in future policymaking.

VI. Limitations and Future Research

Despite the fact that this study was situated in a space I was well-acquainted with and was able to mobilize several connections in the recruitment of participants, there were various limitations that should preface all conclusions and policy recommendations. The small scale of total respondents ($n = 20$) suggests that the demographic profiles and Perception of Police scores should not be accepted as wholly representative of the Latinx immigrant community in Elgin, Illinois. This is particularly true for Latino men, as Latina women were overrepresented in this sample of Latinx immigrants. Other subgroups that necessitate further study include younger immigrants, as the average age among the sample was 46.9 years old. Due to the use of snowball sampling, it would be useful to return to this study with a more randomly selected group of subjects. However, as a result of the role that social networks play in Latinx immigrants' lives, snowball sampling did provide an intriguing close look into how some individuals' secondary encounters with police directly informed their perceptions, as seen in the case of two sisters, Yolanda and Alba.

Furthermore, new questions were raised over the course of this project. From Officer Raul, we began to glean how experiences in immigrants' countries of origin can mediate their understanding of police universally, even in an American context. It would be useful to diversify the sample in terms of countries of origin, as all respondents in this research identified as Mexican. In doing so, we could measure perception of police in their respective places of origin and compare these scores to their perceptions of American law enforcement. Finally, in designing compelling new strategies and policies related to local policing, it would be worthwhile to replicate this study in other suburban spaces to more accurately portray the mechanisms driving Latinx immigrants' perception of police.

VII. Policy Recommendations

Drawing on this study's findings, I propose three major policies in order to build and restore trust within the Latinx immigrant community residing in the suburb of Elgin, Illinois. I rely on community members in particular to guide the interests represented in these policies, but use interviews with EPD officers as secondary informants.

The first of these recommendations is for the Elgin Police Department to continue its investment and earnest efforts in the hiring of a demographically representative police force across the board. This should encompass all units within the Department and all roles. Currently, perhaps the most neglected aspect here is the lack of diversity within leadership roles as most of these positions are still held by white male officials. Given the new 2023 Amendment that liberalizes some of the entry requirements, this may become easier over the course of the following years and should remain closely monitored. However, it would be useful to also consider incentivizing current staff to further immerse themselves in the community through learning Spanish. On the one hand, this would instill a greater sense of understanding when in contact with non-English speakers that struggle to communicate with officers. But most importantly, this could serve as an added measure of substantive community engagement, which is important considering engaged community members expressed a higher *Willingness to Report Crime* ($\mu = 3.13$) than disengaged participants ($\mu = 3.07$), and officers continued to underscore the centrality of continuous relationship building with community members. This pilot program could come in the form of hosting weekly seminars where officers interested in learning Spanish would have the opportunity to sit in a classroom and receive instruction by a native Spanish speaker, ideally a fellow community member. Every month or so, the class could invite Latinx immigrants across Elgin to join them and help them practice their Spanish—uniquely placing

officers in the role of student and Latinx immigrants as teachers. A natural sort of camaraderie could unite these groups as immigrant attendees would become accustomed to seeing the same set of officers each month and would witness first-hand their dedication to mastering the language.

In this vein, prioritizing this form of authentic engagement—particularly as invoked by Officer Jacob's anecdote regarding Tent City—is critical in developing trust amongst the Elgin Latinx immigrant community. The Elgin Police Department should continue to respect individual and collective autonomy, and should treat all of its constituents with the utmost respect and dignity. To presume understanding or knowledge of this community only serves to further estrange them. Whenever involved in Civilian-Initiated contact especially, it is imperative that Latinx immigrants feel heard by officers, as seen in how Yolanda's Perception of Police scores suffered due to both her own direct contact with police officers and her secondary encounters via her son. Regardless of the fact that she was Documented and reported Intermediate English, these experiences superseded all others' effects and should be thoughtfully considered in future policymaking. Perhaps the most important effect of higher frequency of positive contact is the social networks that have the capacity to amplify this effect. The same way one positive experience could be relayed to 5 other people that never even came into contact with police, one negative encounter could prove devastating within a single social network.

This magnifying ability of secondary contact to "hold more water than… some outreach here," as described by Officer Dean, also implies that centering accountability in the drafting of new narratives for policing should remain central in Elgin. Cristina, a surveyed community member, provided insight into how trust in police could be restored even in cases as egregious as hers (i.e., harassment from officers following the filing of a domestic violence claim) merely by

the officers' actions to accept responsibility for their inappropriate conduct and issue an apology. This commitment to assume accountability is necessary in order to begin to repair an institution with centuries of unjust treatment of marginalized groups, including Latinx immigrants. Considering that cooperation with federal immigration enforcement agencies was not too long ago a practice of local law enforcement, added measures should be taken to confront this history and truly demonstrate a dedication to restoring an alliance with these community members.

VIII. Conclusions

In light of demographic transition in suburban spaces, including Elgin, Illinois, it is imperative that public-serving institutions such as the police, continue to adequately serve and protect these communities. With this shift, comes a necessary recentering of voices and community leaders in order to faithfully represent new experiences. For Latinx immigrants, this has meant contending with the fear of contacting police on the basis of their individual, and as seen in this study, their household's collective Documentation Status. Moreover, linguistic barriers such as Limited English Proficiency and insufficient resources from institutions serve to amplify this widespread uncertainty. Police officers interviewed in this study described their role within Elgin as "Protect[ing] and Serv[ing]," (Officer Steve) and "Caretaker" (Dean). In order to ensure this role holds true for vulnerable groups such as Latinx immigrants, it is essential we remain receptive to the concerns and doubts expressed by these historically unheard communities.

> "Uno como inmigrante debe sentirse seguro siendo inmigrante o no inmigrante con un policía, porque se supone que ellos son la seguridad. Que no haya duda acerca de llamarle a un policía cuando necesite ayuda."[31] - *Maya, Resident of Elgin, Illinois*

[31] *Translation*: "As an immigrant, you should feel safe being an immigrant or a non-immigrant with a police officer, because they are supposed to represent security. Let there be no doubt about calling a police officer when you need help."

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X. Appendix A

FIGURE 1

Table 2. Top 25 northeastern Illinois municipalities with the largest number of foreign-born individuals, by count

RANK	MUNICIPALITY	TOTAL POPULATION	FOREIGN BORN	PERCENT FOREIGN BORN
1	Chicago	2,702,471	572,416	21.2%
2	Aurora	196,569	49,927	25.4%
3	Cicero	83,756	35,667	42.6%
4	Elgin	109,513	28,724	26.2%
5	Waukegan	88,982	27,871	31.3%
6	Skokie	64,588	26,540	41.1%
7	Naperville	142,143	24,042	16.9%
8	Joliet	147,098	21,922	14.9%
9	Schaumburg	74,276	19,076	25.7%
10	Mount Prospect	54,144	17,304	32.0%
11	Des Plaines	58,302	16,642	28.5%
12	Bolingbrook	73,383	16,294	22.2%
13	Wheeling	37,575	15,788	42.0%
14	Hoffman Estates	52,066	15,522	29.8%
15	Palatine	68,338	15,184	22.2%
16	Berwyn	56,376	14,161	25.1%
17	Hanover Park	37,990	13,888	36.6%
18	Arlington Heights	75,221	13,657	18.2%
19	Evanston	74,619	13,274	17.8%
20	Niles	29,720	13,136	44.2%
21	Addison	36,977	12,748	34.5%
22	Streamwood	40,201	11,809	29.4%
23	Glendale Heights	34,159	11,745	34.4%
24	Buffalo Grove	41,667	11,155	26.8%
25	Carpentersville	37,758	10,757	28.5%

Source: American Community Survey 2008-12.

FIGURE 2

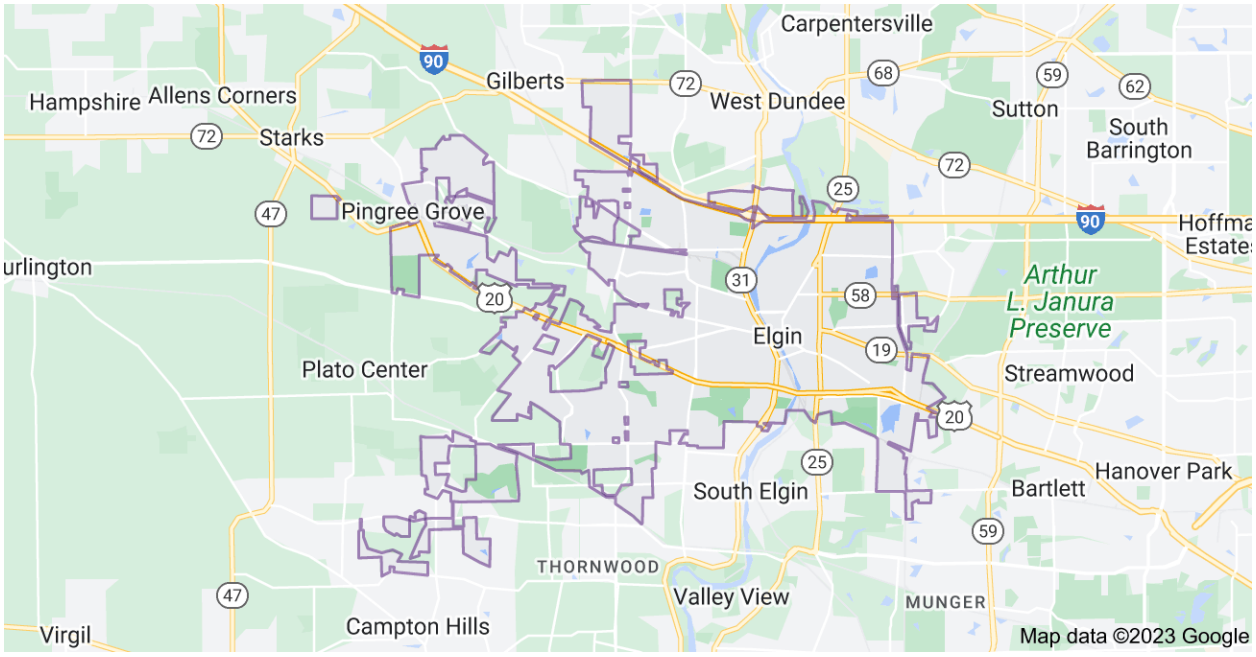

FIGURE 3

Table

All Topics	West Dundee village, Illinois	Streamwood village, Illinois	Bartlett village, Illinois	South Elgin village, Illinois	Elgin city, Illinois
Foreign born persons, percent, 2017-2021	**10.6%**	**29.8%**	**19.5%**	**14.7%**	**25.4%**
PEOPLE					
Population					
Population Estimates, July 1 2021, (V2021)	7,784	38,651	40,539	23,917	113,911
Population estimates base, April 1, 2020, (V2021)	7,683	39,519	41,164	23,867	114,809
Population, percent change - April 1, 2020 (estimates base) to July 1, 2021, (V2021)	1.3%	-2.2%	-1.5%	0.2%	-0.8%
Population, Census, April 1, 2020	7,686	39,577	41,105	23,865	114,797
Population, Census, April 1, 2010	7,331	39,858	41,208	21,985	108,188

Table

All Topics	Campton Hills village, Illinois	Pingree Grove village, Illinois	Gilberts village, Illinois	Elgin city, Illinois
Foreign born persons, percent, 2017-2021	**3.8%**	**14.4%**	**14.0%**	**25.4%**
PEOPLE				
Population				
Population Estimates, July 1 2021, (V2021)	10,836	10,725	8,349	113,911
Population estimates base, April 1, 2020, (V2021)	10,872	10,358	8,360	114,809
Population, percent change - April 1, 2020 (estimates base) to July 1, 2021, (V2021)	-0.3%	3.5%	-0.1%	-0.8%
Population, Census, April 1, 2020	10,885	10,365	8,366	114,797
Population, Census, April 1, 2010	11,131	4,532	6,879	108,188

XI. Appendix B: Immigrant Community Member Interview Questions ENGL

Demographic Screening I

1. Gender
2. Age
3. Spoken languages and respective levels of understanding
4. Are you an immigrant?
    a. What is your country of origin?
5. How long have you resided in Elgin, Illinois? (No minimum, but contact questions will be restricted to post COVID-19 pandemic i.e., March 2020 – Present)

On Voluntary Elgin Police Encounters

1. Have you reported any kind of CRIME, disturbance, or suspicious activity to the Elgin Police since March 2020 (the beginning of the COVID-19 crisis)?
    a. How many times have you made such reports and voluntarily came into contact with Elgin PD?
    b. In these encounters, how many officers were present?
    c. Was the police officer male or female?
    d. Was the police officer of Hispanic or Latino origin?
    e. What race or races was the police officer? You may select more than one.
        i. White
        ii. Black or African American
        iii. American Indian or Alaska Native
        iv. Asian
        v. Native Hawaii or Other Pacific Islander
        vi. Don't know
    f. What language did the officer(s) you interacted with speak?
        i. If the officer only spoke English and you are a non-English speaker, was an interpreter provided? If not, how did you communicate?
2. Have you reported an EMERGENCY that was NOT a crime to the Elgin Police since March 2020 (the beginning of the COVID-19 crisis)? These could include medical emergencies, or a traffic violation you may have witnessed but were not involved in.
    a. How many times have you made such reports and voluntarily came into contact with Elgin PD?
    b. In these encounters, how many officers were present?
    c. Was the police officer male or female?
    d. Was the police officer of Hispanic or Latino origin?
    e. What race or races was the police officer? You may select more than one.
        i. White
        ii. Black or African American
        iii. American Indian or Alaska Native
        iv. Asian
        v. Native Hawaii or Other Pacific Islander
        vi. Don't know
    f. What language did the officer(s) you interacted with speak?

        i. If the officer only spoke English and you are a non-English speaker, was an interpreter provided? If not, how did you communicate?
3. Have you contacted or approached the Elgin Police since March 2020 (the beginning of the COVID-19 crisis) for NON-EMERGENCY assistance, including asking directions, custody enforcement, court orders, etc.?
    a. How many times have you voluntarily came into contact with Elgin PD for non-emergency assistance?
    b. In these encounters, how many officers were present?
    c. Was the police officer male or female?
    d. Was the police officer of Hispanic or Latino origin?
    e. What race or races was the police officer? You may select more than one.
        i. White
        ii. Black or African American
        iii. American Indian or Alaska Native
        iv. Asian
        v. Native Hawaii or Other Pacific Islander
        vi. Don't know
    f. What language did the officer(s) you interacted with speak?
        i. If the officer only spoke English and you are a non-English speaker, was an interpreter provided? If not, how did you communicate?
4. Since March 2020 (the beginning of the COVID-19 crisis), have you contacted and/or approached the Elgin Police on an occasion you have not disclosed thus far?
    a. In these encounters, how many officers were present?
    b. Was the police officer male or female?
    c. Was the police officer of Hispanic or Latino origin?
    d. What race or races was the police officer? You may select more than one.
        i. White
        ii. Black or African American
        iii. American Indian or Alaska Native
        iv. Asian
        v. Native Hawaii or Other Pacific Islander
        vi. Don't know
    e. What language did the officer(s) you interacted with speak?
        i. If the officer only spoke English and you are a non-English speaker, was an interpreter provided? If not, how did you communicate?
5. In VOLUNTARY encounters with the Elgin Police Department since March 2020 (the beginning of the COVID-19 crisis), how would you describe the demeanor of officers?
    a. In voluntary encounters, have officers ever inquired about your documentation status?
    b. In voluntary encounters, have you ever been threatened by an officer?
        i. If so, were you threatened on the basis of your immigration status?

<u>On Police-Initiated Contact</u>

1. Since March 2020 (the beginning of the COVID-19 crisis), have you been in a traffic accident in which the Elgin Police came to the scene?
    a. How many times did this occur since March 2020?

   b. In these encounters, how many officers were present?
   c. Was the police officer male or female?
   d. Was the police officer of Hispanic or Latino origin?
   e. What race or races was the police officer? You may select more than one.
      i. White
      ii. Black or African American
      iii. American Indian or Alaska Native
      iv. Asian
      v. Native Hawaii or Other Pacific Islander
      vi. Don't know
   f. What language did the officer(s) you interacted with speak?
      i. If the officer only spoke English and you are a non-English speaker, was an interpreter provided? If not, how did you communicate?
   g. What was the outcome of this encounter? This could include arrest, citation, detention, no charges filed, charges dismissed, jail, probation etc.
2. Since March 2020 (the beginning of the COVID-19 crisis), have you been pulled over by the Elgin Police while driving a motor vehicle NOT including any driving violations captured by camera and ticketed via mail?
   a. How many times did this occur since March 2020?
   b. In these encounters, how many officers were present?
   c. Was the police officer male or female?
   d. Was the police officer of Hispanic or Latino origin?
   e. What race or races was the police officer? You may select more than one.
      i. White
      ii. Black or African American
      iii. American Indian or Alaska Native
      iv. Asian
      v. Native Hawaii or Other Pacific Islander
      vi. Don't know
   f. What language did the officer(s) you interacted with speak?
      i. If the officer only spoke English and you are a non-English speaker, was an interpreter provided? If not, how did you communicate?
   g. What was the outcome of this encounter? This could include arrest, citation, detention, no charges filed, charges dismissed, jail, probation etc.
3. Since March 2020 (the beginning of the COVID-19 crisis), have you been a passenger in a motor vehicle that was pulled over by the Elgin Police while someone else was driving?
   a. How many times did this occur since March 2020?
   b. In these encounters, how many officers were present?
   c. Was the police officer male or female?
   d. Was the police officer of Hispanic or Latino origin?
   e. What race or races was the police officer? You may select more than one.
      i. White
      ii. Black or African American
      iii. American Indian or Alaska Native
      iv. Asian
      v. Native Hawaii or Other Pacific Islander

        vi. Don't know
    f. What language did the officer(s) you interacted with speak?
        i. If the officer only spoke English and you are a non-English speaker, was an interpreter provided? If not, how did you communicate?
    g. What was the outcome of this encounter? This could include arrest, citation, detention, no charges filed, charges dismissed, jail, probation etc.
4. Since March 2020 (the beginning of the COVID-19 crisis), have you been stopped by the Elgin Police while standing, walking, or sitting in a public place or sitting in a parked vehicle? This could include being stopped because the police were looking for information, were asking about a crime or disturbance, suspected you of something, or some other reason.
    a. How many times did this occur since March 2020?
    b. In these encounters, how many officers were present?
    c. Was the police officer male or female?
    d. Was the police officer of Hispanic or Latino origin?
    e. What race or races was the police officer? You may select more than one.
        i. White
        ii. Black or African American
        iii. American Indian or Alaska Native
        iv. Asian
        v. Native Hawaii or Other Pacific Islander
        vi. Don't know
    f. What language did the officer(s) you interacted with speak?
        i. If the officer only spoke English and you are a non-English speaker, was an interpreter provided? If not, how did you communicate?
    g. What was the outcome of this encounter? This could include arrest, citation, detention, no charges filed, charges dismissed, jail, probation etc.
5. Since March 2020 (the beginning of the COVID-19 crisis), have you been contacted and/or approached by the Elgin Police in an incident you have not disclosed thus far?
    a. In these encounters, how many officers were present?
    b. Was the police officer male or female?
    c. Was the police officer of Hispanic or Latino origin?
    d. What race or races was the police officer? You may select more than one.
        i. White
        ii. Black or African American
        iii. American Indian or Alaska Native
        iv. Asian
        v. Native Hawaii or Other Pacific Islander
        vi. Don't know
    e. What language did the officer(s) you interacted with speak?
        i. If the officer only spoke English and you are a non-English speaker, was an interpreter provided? If not, how did you communicate?
    f. What was the outcome of this encounter? This could include arrest, citation, detention, no charges filed, charges dismissed, jail, probation etc.

6. In POLICE-INITIATED encounters with the Elgin Police Department since March 2020 (the beginning of the COVID-19 crisis), how would you describe the demeanor of officers?
    a. In police-initiated encounters, have EPD officers inquired about your documentation status?
    b. In police-initiated encounters, have you ever been threatened by an officer?
        i. If so, were you threatened on the basis of your immigration status?

<u>On EPD Programming</u>

1. Have you ever been invited to attend an EPD community outreach event?
2. Have you ever attended any community outreach events organized by EPD?
    a. What language was spoken at the event? Were any accommodations available?
    b. Describe the demographics of attendees to the best of your ability, including age, race, and gender.
    c. Describe the demographics of the police officers in attendance to the best of your ability, including age, race, and gender.

<u>On Word of Mouth / Secondary Exposure</u>

1. Are any of your family members or friends affiliated with the Elgin Police Department?
2. Has a friend or family member ever disclosed a negative encounter with an EPD officer?
    a. Did this individual feel threatened by the officer?
        i. Was this threat on the basis of their documentation status?
        ii. Was this encounter reported to EPD or another organization?

As I mentioned at the beginning of this interview, all answers will remain entirely confidential, meaning no personal identifiable information will be disclosed outside of this study. I will not share any of your information without your consent, and will use a pseudonym in the case that I reference any of your responses. The following questions are sensitive as they relate to your documentation status. This information is important for the purposes of my study as I seek to understand how documentation status and language specifically affect immigrants' perception of police. Can you provide verbal acknowledgement of this confidentiality agreement and are you willing to proceed with this interview?

<u>Demographic Screening II: Documentation Status</u>

1. Documentation status (note if this status has changed)
2. Are you part of a mixed-status household/family?

<u>Perception of Police</u>

1. Fear of Deportation
    a. Regardless of your own immigration status, how much do you worry that you, a family member, or a close friend could be deported when in contact with EPD?
        i. 1 = Not much at all, 2 = Not much, 3 = Some, 4 = A lot
2. Procedural Fairness
    a. How much confidence do you have that the police in your community will not use excessive force on suspects?
        i. 1 = Not much at all, 2 = Not much, 3 = Some, 4 = A lot

b. How much confidence do you have that police in your community will treat Latino immigrants fairly?
    i. 1 = Not much at all, 2 = Not much, 3 = Some, 4 = A lot
c. How much confidence do you have that the courts in your community will treat Latino immigrants fairly?
    i. 1 = Not much at all, 2 = Not much, 3 = Some, 4 = A lot

3. Willing to Report Incidents of Crime
    a. If you were the *victim* of a non-injury related traffic violation (e.g., hit-and-run where no one sustained injuries), would you report this to EPD?
        i. 1 = Definitely not, 2 = Probably not, 3 = Probably would, 4 = Definitely would
            1. If not, who would you contact, if anyone at all?
                a. 1 = Nobody, 2 = Household member, 3 = Friend, 4 = Community leader or organization, 5 = Other
    b. If you were the *victim* of harassment by telephone and/or electronic communications, would you report this to EPD?
        i. 1 = Definitely not, 2 = Probably not, 3 = Probably would, 4 = Definitely would
            1. If not, who would you contact, if anyone at all?
                a. 1 = Nobody, 2 = Household member, 3 = Friend, 4 = Community leader or organization, 5 = Other
    c. If you were the *victim* of criminal damage (i.e., knowingly damaging property and/or vehicle of another without their consent), would you report this to EPD?
        i. 1 = Definitely not, 2 = Probably not, 3 = Probably would, 4 = Definitely would
            1. If not, who would you contact, if anyone at all?
                a. 1 = Nobody, 2 = Household member, 3 = Friend, 4 = Community leader or organization, 5 = Other
    d. If you were the *victim* of a hate crime (i.e., targeted because of your membership of a particular social group or racial demographic, e.g., aggravated battery), would you report this to EPD?
        i. 1 = Definitely not, 2 = Probably not, 3 = Probably would, 4 = Definitely would
            1. If not, who would you contact, if anyone at all?
                a. 1 = Nobody, 2 = Household member, 3 = Friend, 4 = Community leader or organization, 5 = Other
    e. If you were the *victim* of a robbery (i.e., property was taken from a person or business by the use of force or threat of the use of force), would you report this to EPD?
        i. 1 = Definitely not, 2 = Probably not, 3 = Probably would, 4 = Definitely would
            1. If not, who would you contact, if anyone at all?
                a. 1 = Nobody, 2 = Household member, 3 = Friend, 4 = Community leader or organization, 5 = Other
    f. If you were the *victim* of domestic violence, would you report this to EPD?

i. 1 = Definitely not, 2 = Probably not, 3 = Probably would, 4 = Definitely would
    1. If not, who would you contact, if anyone at all?
        a. 1 = Nobody, 2 = Household member, 3 = Friend, 4 = Community leader or organization, 5 = Other

g. If there was a noise disturbance in your neighborhood, would you report this to EPD?
    i. 1 = Definitely not, 2 = Probably not, 3 = Probably would, 4 = Definitely would
        1. If not, who would you contact, if anyone at all?
            a. 1 = Nobody, 2 = Household member, 3 = Friend, 4 = Community leader or organization, 5 = Other

h. If you *witnessed or were made aware* of a non-injury related traffic violation (e.g., running a red light, speeding, driving under the influence), would you report this to EPD?
    i. 1 = Definitely not, 2 = Probably not, 3 = Probably would, 4 = Definitely would
        1. If not, who would you contact, if anyone at all?
            a. 1 = Nobody, 2 = Household member, 3 = Friend, 4 = Community leader or organization, 5 = Other

i. If you *witnessed or were made aware* of domestic violence, would you report this to EPD?
    i. 1 = Definitely not, 2 = Probably not, 3 = Probably would, 4 = Definitely would
        1. If not, who would you contact, if anyone at all?
            a. 1 = Nobody, 2 = Household member, 3 = Friend, 4 = Community leader or organization, 5 = Other

j. If you *witnessed or were made aware* of a robbery (i.e., property was taken from a person or business by the use of force or threat of the use of force), would you report this to EPD?
    i. 1 = Definitely not, 2 = Probably not, 3 = Probably would, 4 = Definitely would
        1. If not, who would you contact, if anyone at all?
            a. 1 = Nobody, 2 = Household member, 3 = Friend, 4 = Community leader or organization, 5 = Other

k. If you *witnessed or were made aware* of a hate crime (i.e., targeted because of membership of a particular social group or racial demographic, e.g., aggravated battery), would you report this to EPD?
    i. 1 = Definitely not, 2 = Probably not, 3 = Probably would, 4 = Definitely would
        1. If not, who would you contact, if anyone at all?
            a. 1 = Nobody, 2 = Household member, 3 = Friend, 4 = Community leader or organization, 5 = Other

l. If you *witnessed or were made aware* of harassment by telephone and/or electronic communications, would you report this to EPD?

i. 1 = Definitely not, 2 = Probably not, 3 = Probably would, 4 = Definitely would
    1. If not, who would you contact, if anyone at all?
        a. 1 = Nobody, 2 = Household member, 3 = Friend, 4 = Community leader or organization, 5 = Other

m. If you *witnessed or were made aware* of criminal damage (i.e., knowingly damaging property and/or vehicle of another without their consent), would you report this to EPD?
    i. 1 = Definitely not, 2 = Probably not, 3 = Probably would, 4 = Definitely would
        1. If not, who would you contact, if anyone at all?
            a. 1 = Nobody, 2 = Household member, 3 = Friend, 4 = Community leader or organization, 5 = Other

FIGURE 5: Immigrant Community Member Interview Questions SPAN

Datos demográficos I

1. Género
2. Edad
3. Idiomas hablados y respectivos niveles de comprensión
4. ¿Es un inmigrante?
    a. ¿Cuál es su país de origen?
5. ¿Cuánto tiempo ha vivido en Elgin, Illinois? (No hay mínimo, pero las preguntas de contacto estarán limitadas a después de la pandemia de COVID-19, es decir, de marzo de 2020 al presente)

Sobre encuentros voluntarios con la policía de Elgin

1. ¿Ha denunciado algún tipo de DELITO, perturbación o actividad sospechosa a la policía de Elgin desde marzo de 2020 (el comienzo de la crisis de COVID-19)?
    a. ¿Cuántas veces ha hecho tales reportes y se ha puesto en contacto voluntariamente con la policía de Elgin?
    b. En estos encuentros, ¿cuántos oficiales estuvieron presentes?
    c. ¿El oficial de policía era hombre o mujer?
    d. ¿El oficial de policía era de origen hispano o latino?
    e. ¿De qué raza o razas era el policía? Puede elegir más de uno.
        i. Blanco
        ii. negro o afroamericano
        iii. Indio americano o nativo de Alaska
        iv. asiático
        v. Nativo de Hawái u otra isla del Pacífico
        vi. no sé
    f. ¿Qué idioma hablaban los oficiales con los que hablo?
        i. Si el oficial solo hablaba inglés y usted no habla inglés, ¿le ofrecieron un intérprete? Si no, ¿cómo se comunicó?
2. ¿Ha reportado una EMERGENCIA que NO fue un delito a la policía de Elgin desde marzo de 2020 (el comienzo de la crisis del COVID-19)? Estos podrían incluir

emergencias médicas o una violación de tráfico que haya visto pero en el que no estuvo involucrado.

a. ¿Cuántas veces ha hecho tales reportes y se ha puesto en contacto voluntariamente con la policía de Elgin?
b. En estos encuentros, ¿cuántos oficiales estuvieron presentes?
c. ¿El oficial de policía era hombre o mujer?
d. ¿El oficial de policía era de origen hispano o latino?
e. ¿De qué raza o razas era el policía? Puede elegir más de uno.
    i. Blanco
    ii. negro o afroamericano
    iii. Indio americano o nativo de Alaska
    iv. asiático
    v. Nativo de Hawái u otra isla del Pacífico
    vi. no sé
f. ¿Qué idioma hablaban los oficiales con los que hablo?
    i. Si el oficial solo hablaba inglés y usted no habla inglés, ¿le ofrecieron un intérprete? Si no, ¿cómo se comunicó?

3. ¿Ha contactado o se ha acercado a la Policía de Elgin desde marzo de 2020 (el comienzo de la crisis de COVID-19) para asistencia que NO ES DE EMERGENCIA, incluyendo pedir direcciones, cumplimiento de custodia, órdenes judiciales, etc.?
    a. ¿Cuántas veces se ha puesto en contacto voluntariamente con el Departamento de Policía de Elgin para recibir asistencia que no sea de emergencia?
    b. En estos encuentros, ¿cuántos oficiales estuvieron presentes?
    c. ¿El oficial de policía era hombre o mujer?
    d. ¿El oficial de policía era de origen hispano o latino?
    e. ¿De qué raza o razas era el policía? Puede elegir más de uno.
        i. Blanco
        ii. negro o afroamericano
        iii. Indio americano o nativo de Alaska
        iv. asiático
        v. Nativo de Hawái u otra isla del Pacífico
        vi. no sé
    f. ¿Qué idioma hablaban los oficiales con los que hablo?
        i. Si el oficial solo hablaba inglés y usted no habla inglés, ¿le ofrecieron un intérprete? Si no, ¿cómo se comunicó?
4. Desde marzo de 2020 (inicio de la crisis del COVID-19), ¿ha contactado y/o se ha acercado a la policía de Elgin en una ocasión que no haya revelado hasta ahora?
    a. En estos encuentros, ¿cuántos oficiales estuvieron presentes?
    b. ¿El oficial de policía era hombre o mujer?
    c. ¿El oficial de policía era de origen hispano o latino?
    d. ¿De qué raza o razas era el policía? Puede elegir más de uno.
        i. Blanco
        ii. negro o afroamericano
        iii. Indio americano o nativo de Alaska
        iv. asiático
        v. Nativo de Hawái u otra isla del Pacífico

vi. no sé

e. ¿Qué idioma hablaban los oficiales con los que hablo?
    i. Si el oficial solo hablaba inglés y usted no habla inglés, ¿le ofrecieron un intérprete? Si no, ¿cómo se comunicó?

5. En encuentros VOLUNTARIOS con el Departamento de Policía de Elgin desde marzo de 2020 (el comienzo de la crisis de COVID-19), ¿cómo describiría el comportamiento de los oficiales?
    a. En encuentros voluntarios, ¿alguna vez los oficiales han preguntado sobre su estatus migratorio?
    b. En encuentros voluntarios, ¿alguna vez ha sido amenazado por un oficial?
        i. Si es así, ¿fue amenazado con su estatus migratorio?

<u>Sobre el contacto iniciado por la policía</u>

1. Desde marzo de 2020 (inicio de la crisis del COVID-19), ¿ha estado en un accidente de tráfico en el que la policía de Elgin vino a la escena?
    a. ¿Cuántas veces pasó esto desde marzo de 2020?
    b. En estos encuentros, ¿cuántos oficiales estuvieron presentes?
    c. ¿El oficial de policía era hombre o mujer?
    d. ¿El oficial de policía era de origen hispano o latino?
    e. ¿De qué raza o razas era el policía? Puede elegir más de uno.
        i. Blanco
        ii. negro o afroamericano
        iii. Indio americano o nativo de Alaska
        iv. asiático
        v. Nativo de Hawái u otra isla del Pacífico
        vi. no sé
    f. ¿Qué idioma hablaban los oficiales con los que hablo?
        i. Si el oficial solo hablaba inglés y usted no habla inglés, ¿le ofrecieron un intérprete? Si no, ¿cómo se comunicó?
    g. ¿Cuál fue el resultado de este encuentro? Esto podría incluir arresto, citación, detención, ausencia de cargos, desestimación de cargos, cárcel, libertad condicional, etc.
2. Desde marzo de 2020 (inicio de la crisis del COVID-19), ha sido detenido por la policía de Elgin mientras conduce un vehículo motorizado SIN incluir infracciones de manejo capturadas por cámara y multadas por correo?
    a. ¿Cuántas veces pasó esto desde marzo de 2020?
    b. En estos encuentros, ¿cuántos oficiales estuvieron presentes?
    c. ¿El oficial de policía era hombre o mujer?
    d. ¿El oficial de policía era de origen hispano o latino?
    e. ¿De qué raza o razas era el policía? Puede elegir más de uno.
        i. Blanco
        ii. negro o afroamericano
        iii. Indio americano o nativo de Alaska
        iv. asiático
        v. Nativo de Hawái u otra isla del Pacífico
        vi. no sé

   f. ¿Qué idioma hablaban los oficiales con los que hablo?
      i. Si el oficial solo hablaba inglés y usted no habla inglés, ¿le ofrecieron un intérprete? Si no, ¿cómo se comunicó?
   g. ¿Cuál fue el resultado de este encuentro? Esto podría incluir arresto, citación, detención, ausencia de cargos, desestimación de cargos, cárcel, libertad condicional, etc.
3. Desde marzo de 2020 (inicio de la crisis del COVID-19), ¿ha sido pasajero en un vehículo motorizado que fue detenido por la policía de Elgin mientras otra persona conducía?
   a. ¿Cuántas veces ocurrió esto desde marzo de 2020?
   b. En estos encuentros, ¿cuántos oficiales estuvieron presentes?
   c. ¿El oficial de policía era hombre o mujer?
   d. ¿El oficial de policía era de origen hispano o latino?
   e. ¿De qué raza o razas era el policía? Puede elegir más de uno.
      i. Blanco
      ii. negro o afroamericano
      iii. Indio americano o nativo de Alaska
      iv. asiático
      v. Nativo de Hawái u otra isla del Pacífico
      vi. no sé
   f. ¿Qué idioma hablaban los oficiales con los que hablo?
      i. Si el oficial solo hablaba inglés y usted no habla inglés, ¿le ofrecieron un intérprete? Si no, ¿cómo se comunicó?
   g. ¿Cuál fue el resultado de este encuentro? Esto podría incluir arresto, citación, detención, ausencia de cargos, desestimación de cargos, cárcel, libertad condicional, etc.
4. Desde marzo de 2020 (inicio de la crisis del COVID-19), ¿ha sido detenido por la policía de Elgin mientras estaba parado, caminando o sentado en un lugar público o sentado en un vehículo estacionado? Esto podría incluir ser detenido porque la policía buscaba información, preguntaba sobre un crimen o disturbio, sospechaba de usted o por alguna otra razón.
   a. ¿Cuántas veces ocurrió esto desde marzo de 2020?
   b. En estos encuentros, ¿cuántos oficiales estuvieron presentes?
   c. ¿El oficial de policía era hombre o mujer?
   d. ¿El oficial de policía era de origen hispano o latino?
   e. ¿De qué raza o razas era el policía? Puede elegir más de uno.
      i. Blanco
      ii. negro o afroamericano
      iii. Indio americano o nativo de Alaska
      iv. asiático
      v. Nativo de Hawái u otra isla del Pacífico
      vi. no sé
   f. ¿Qué idioma hablaban los oficiales con los que hablo?
      i. Si el oficial solo hablaba inglés y usted no habla inglés, ¿le ofrecieron un intérprete? Si no, ¿cómo se comunicó?

   g. ¿Cuál fue el resultado de este encuentro? Esto podría incluir arresto, citación, detención, ausencia de cargos, desestimación de cargos, cárcel, libertad condicional, etc.
5. Desde marzo de 2020 (inicio de la crisis del COVID-19), ¿ha sido contactado y/o abordado por la policía de Elgin en un incidente que no ha revelado hasta ahora?
   a. En estos encuentros, ¿cuántos oficiales estuvieron presentes?
   b. ¿El oficial de policía era hombre o mujer?
   c. ¿El oficial de policía era de origen hispano o latino?
   d. ¿De qué raza o razas era el policía? Puede elegir más de uno.
      i. Blanco
      ii. negro o afroamericano
      iii. Indio americano o nativo de Alaska
      iv. asiático
      v. Nativo de Hawái u otra isla del Pacífico
      vi. no sé
   e. ¿Qué idioma hablaban los oficiales con los que hablo?
      i. Si el oficial solo hablaba inglés y usted no habla inglés, ¿le ofrecieron un intérprete? Si no, ¿cómo se comunicó?
   f. ¿Cuál fue el resultado de este encuentro? Esto podría incluir arresto, citación, detención, ausencia de cargos, desestimación de cargos, cárcel, libertad condicional, etc.
6. En encuentros INICIADOS POR LA POLICÍA con el Departamento de Policía de Elgin desde marzo de 2020 (el comienzo de la crisis de COVID-19), ¿cómo describiría el comportamiento de los oficiales?
   a. En los encuentros iniciados por la policía, ¿han preguntado los agentes del EPD sobre su estatus migratorio?
   b. En encuentros iniciados por la policía, ¿alguna vez ha sido amenazado por un oficial?
      i. Si es así, ¿fue amenazado con su estatus migratorio?

<u>Sobre la programación de EPD</u>

1. ¿Alguna vez ha sido invitado a asistir a un evento comunitario de EPD?
2. ¿Ha asistido alguna vez a algún evento comunitario organizado por EPD?
   a. ¿Qué idioma se habló en el evento? ¿Hubo traducciones disponibles en el evento?
   b. Describa la demografía de los que asistieron lo mejor que pueda, incluyendo la edad, la raza y el género.
   c. Describa la demografía de los oficiales de policía presentes lo mejor que pueda, incluyendo la edad, la raza y el género.

<u>La palabra de boca / exposición secundaria</u>

1. ¿Alguno de sus familiares o amigos están afiliados con el Departamento de Policía de Elgin?
2. ¿Alguna vez un amigo o familiar ha revelado un encuentro negativo con un oficial de EPD?
   a. ¿Este individuo se sintió amenazado por el oficial?
      i. ¿Fue esta amenaza sobre la base de su estatus migratorio?

ii. ¿Se reportó este incidente al Departamento o a otra organización?

Como mencioné al empezar de esta entrevista, todas sus respuestas serán completamente confidenciales, lo que significa que no se dará información personal identificable fuera de este estudio. No compartiré su información sin su consentimiento y usaré un seudónimo (un nombre falso) en caso de que haga referencia a alguna de sus respuestas. Las siguientes preguntas son delicadas ya que se relacionan con su estatus migratorio. Esta información es importante para los propósitos de mi estudio, ya que busco comprender cómo el estatus migratorio y el idioma afectan la percepción que tienen los inmigrantes de la policía. ¿Puede confirmar que entiende y que está de acuerdo con este acuerdo de confidencialidad y que está dispuesto a continuar con esta entrevista?

Evaluación Demográfica II: Estado de la Documentación

1. Estatus migratorio (nota si este estado ha cambiado)
2. ¿Es usted parte de un hogar/familia de estatus mixto?

Percepción de la policía

1. Miedo a la deportación
    a. A pesar de su propio estatus migratorio, ¿cuánto le preocupa que usted, un familiar o un amigo cercano puedan ser deportados cuando están en contacto con EPD?
        i. 1 = Casi no, 2 = No mucho, 3 = Algo, 4 = Mucho
2. Justicia procedural
    a. ¿Cuánta confianza tiene en que la policía de su comunidad no usará fuerza excesiva contra los sospechosos?
        i. 1 = Casi no, 2 = No mucho, 3 = Algo, 4 = Mucho
    b. ¿Cuánta confianza tiene en que la policía de su comunidad tratará a los inmigrantes latinos de manera justa?
        i. 1 = Casi no, 2 = No mucho, 3 = Algo, 4 = Mucho
    c. ¿Cuánta confianza tiene en que los tribunales de su comunidad tratarán a los inmigrantes latinos de manera justa?
        i. 1 = Casi no, 2 = No mucho, 3 = Algo, 4 = Mucho
3. Dispuesto a reportar delitos
    a. Si fuera *víctima* de una infracción de tránsito no relacionada con lesiones (p. ej., atropello y fuga donde nadie resultó herido), ¿reportaría esto a EPD?
        i. 1 = Definitivamente no, 2 = Probablemente no, 3 = Probablemente lo haría, 4 = Definitivamente lo haría
            1. Si no, ¿a quién contactaría, si a alguien?
                a. 1 = Nadie, 2 = Miembro del hogar, 3 = Amigo, 4 = Líder comunitario u organización, 5 = Otro
    b. Si fuera *víctima* de acoso por teléfono y/o comunicaciones electrónicas, ¿lo reportaría a EPD?
        i. 1 = Definitivamente no, 2 = Probablemente no, 3 = Probablemente lo haría, 4 = Definitivamente lo haría
            1. Si no, ¿a quién contactaría, si a alguien?
                a. 1 = Nadie, 2 = Miembro del hogar, 3 = Amigo, 4 = Líder comunitario u organización, 5 = Otro

c. Si fuera *víctima* de daños criminales (es decir, intencionalmente dañar la propiedad y/o el vehículo de otra persona sin su consentimiento), ¿reportaría esto a EPD?
    i. 1 = Definitivamente no, 2 = Probablemente no, 3 = Probablemente lo haría, 4 = Definitivamente lo haría
        1. Si no, ¿a quién contactaría, si a alguien?
            a. 1 = Nadie, 2 = Miembro del hogar, 3 = Amigo, 4 = Líder comunitario u organización, 5 = Otro
d. Si fuera *víctima* de un crimen de odio (es decir, dirigido por su pertenencia a un grupo social en particular o raza, por ejemplo, agresión agravada), ¿reportaría esto a EPD?
    i. 1 = Definitivamente no, 2 = Probablemente no, 3 = Probablemente lo haría, 4 = Definitivamente lo haría
        1. Si no, ¿a quién contactaría, si a alguien?
            a. 1 = Nadie, 2 = Miembro del hogar, 3 = Amigo, 4 = Líder comunitario u organización, 5 = Otro
e. Si fuera *víctima* de un robo (es decir, se tomaron bienes de una persona o empresa con el uso de la fuerza o la amenaza del uso de la fuerza), ¿reportaría esto a EPD?
    i. 1 = Definitivamente no, 2 = Probablemente no, 3 = Probablemente lo haría, 4 = Definitivamente lo haría
        1. Si no, ¿a quién contactaría, si a alguien?
            a. 1 = Nadie, 2 = Miembro del hogar, 3 = Amigo, 4 = Líder comunitario u organización, 5 = Otro
f. Si fuera *víctima* de violencia doméstica, ¿reportaría esto a EPD?
    i. 1 = Definitivamente no, 2 = Probablemente no, 3 = Probablemente lo haría, 4 = Definitivamente lo haría
        1. Si no, ¿a quién contactaría, si a alguien?
            a. 1 = Nadie, 2 = Miembro del hogar, 3 = Amigo, 4 = Líder comunitario u organización, 5 = Otro
g. Si hubiera una perturbación por ruido en su vecindad, ¿lo reportaría a EPD?
    i. 1 = Definitivamente no, 2 = Probablemente no, 3 = Probablemente lo haría, 4 = Definitivamente lo haría
        1. Si no, ¿a quién contactaría, si a alguien?
            a. 1 = Nadie, 2 = Miembro del hogar, 3 = Amigo, 4 = Líder comunitario u organización, 5 = Otro
h. Si *fuera testigo/a o se enterara* de una infracción de tráfico no relacionada con lesiones (p. ej., pasarse un semáforo en rojo, exceso de velocidad, conducir bajo los efectos del alcohol), ¿reportaría esto a EPD?
    i. 1 = Definitivamente no, 2 = Probablemente no, 3 = Probablemente lo haría, 4 = Definitivamente lo haría
        1. Si no, ¿a quién contactaría, si a alguien?
            a. 1 = Nadie, 2 = Miembro del hogar, 3 = Amigo, 4 = Líder comunitario u organización, 5 = Otro
i. Si *fuera testigo/a o se enterara* de violencia doméstica, ¿reportaría esto a EPD?
    i. 1 = Definitivamente no, 2 = Probablemente no, 3 = Probablemente lo haría, 4 = Definitivamente lo haría

1. Si no, ¿a quién contactaría, si a alguien?
    a. 1 = Nadie, 2 = Miembro del hogar, 3 = Amigo, 4 = Líder comunitario u organización, 5 = Otro

j. Si *fuera testigo/a o se enterara* de un robo (es decir, se tomaron bienes de una persona o empresa con el uso de la fuerza o la amenaza del uso de la fuerza), ¿reportaría esto a EPD?
    i. 1 = Definitivamente no, 2 = Probablemente no, 3 = Probablemente lo haría, 4 = Definitivamente lo haría
        1. Si no, ¿a quién contactaría, si a alguien?
            a. 1 = Nadie, 2 = Miembro del hogar, 3 = Amigo, 4 = Líder comunitario u organización, 5 = Otro

k. Si *fuera testigo/a o se enterara* de un crimen de odio (es decir, dirigido por pertenecer a un grupo social en particular o raza, por ejemplo, agresión agravada), ¿reportaría esto a EPD?
    i. 1 = Definitivamente no, 2 = Probablemente no, 3 = Probablemente lo haría, 4 = Definitivamente lo haría
        1. Si no, ¿a quién contactaría, si a alguien?
            a. 1 = Nadie, 2 = Miembro del hogar, 3 = Amigo, 4 = Líder comunitario u organización, 5 = Otro

l. Si *fuera testigo/a o se enterara* de acoso por teléfono y/o comunicaciones electrónicas, ¿lo reportaría a EPD?
    i. 1 = Definitivamente no, 2 = Probablemente no, 3 = Probablemente lo haría, 4 = Definitivamente lo haría
        1. Si no, ¿a quién contactaría, si a alguien?
            a. 1 = Nadie, 2 = Miembro del hogar, 3 = Amigo, 4 = Líder comunitario u organización, 5 = Otro

m. Si *fuera testigo/a o se enterara* de daños criminales (es decir, intencionalmente dañar la propiedad y/o el vehículo de otra persona sin su consentimiento), ¿reportaría esto a EPD?
    i. 1 = Definitivamente no, 2 = Probablemente no, 3 = Probablemente lo haría, 4 = Definitivamente lo haría
        1. Si no, ¿a quién contactaría, si a alguien?
            a. 1 = Nadie, 2 = Miembro del hogar, 3 = Amigo, 4 = Líder comunitario u organización, 5 = Otro

XII. Appendix C: Informational Police Officer Interview Questions

Demographic Screening

1. Gender
2. Age
3. Spoken languages and respective levels of understanding
4. Documentation status (note if this status has ever changed)
    a. Does anyone in your immediate family (e.g., parents, children, siblings) have a different documentation status than you?
5. Years as a police officer

    a. Years with the Elgin Police Department
    b. Other police departments worked for
6. Rank

<u>On EPD Initiatives/Outreach</u>

1. What kind of community outreach programming is generally organized by the Elgin Police Department?
    a. Who is the primary audience of these events?
2. Have you ever participated in an EPD initiative or outreach event?
    a. What was your role?
    b. Who attended this event and who did you speak with? (Please include demographics including age, race, and gender)
    c. What was the objective of this event?
        i. Would you say this objective was achieved?

<u>Latinx Immigrant Community Perception</u>

1. How would you characterize the relationship between the Elgin Police Department and the Latinx immigrant community?
    a. Are there any particular scenarios or examples you can think of that support this characterization?
    b. If applicable, how would you compare this relationship to other police departments you have worked with and/or lived under? To what do you attribute these differences?
2. Are there any institutional and/or individual barriers you can think of that could possibly strain the relationship between Elgin PD and the Latinx immigrant community?
3. What do you believe is the role of the police within Elgin, Illinois?
    a. Do you think others agree with you, both within the Department and the broader Elgin community?