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POLICY BRIEF

The Criminal Justice System and Latinos in an Emerging Latino Area

by

Betina Cutaia Wilkinson

Part I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY (1-2 pages)

1. Topic

The topic of my study is Latinos' attitudes and experiences with the criminal justice system in an emerging Latino area.

2. Research Question & Problem

We know a significant amount regarding Blacks' experiences with the criminal justice system, but our knowledge of undocumented and documented Latinos' views of and experiences with local law enforcement in new immigrant destinations is quite limited. By relying on focus group data of Latinos in an emerging Latino area (i.e., Winston-Salem, North Carolina), I seek to uncover the amount and type of interaction Latinos have with local law enforcement, the factors that influence their interactions with police and views of police as well as the implications that the experiences have on Latinos' trust in the local and federal criminal justice system, Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), assimilation behavior, and likelihood of forming coalitions with Blacks.

3. Method

The method that I rely upon to answer my aforementioned research questions is focus groups. From May to August 2018, I conducted nine focus groups with a total sample of 57 Latinos. In an effort to obtain a random sample of the population, the primary method employed to access the participants was snowball sampling.

4. Significance

Besides helping to uncover Latinos' views and experiences with law enforcement, this study opens the doors to our understanding of how criminal justice laws and police practices have the opportunity to structure Latinos' perceptions and interactions with local and federal law enforcement and ICE.

If Latinos perceive that they are victims of racial profiling, police brutality and harassment by police and/or immigration officers, then the enactment of laws that require state and federal officers to partake in continuous cultural diversity training, wear body cameras at all times and adopt a no tolerance policy to racial discrimination have the potential to decrease the negative views that Latinos have of law enforcement as well as the negative interactions that they have with police and immigration officers (see Alexander 2010). Further, if I find that Latinos have negative experiences with law enforcement, then politicians' persistent construction of immigration as a security concern should be replaced with the discourse that this country is a country of immigrants and more laws that address what we should do with the immigrants who are already residing here (such as providing them a pathway to citizenship or legal residency) should be enacted (Sampaio 2015).

If undocumented Latinos are less likely to visit government buildings, request government services and drop domestic abuse cases (Glenn 2017) because of fear of being deported or harassed by the police, the enactment of laws that reform the freedoms that state police have in community with ICE and that ICE officers have in being able to detain and deport civilians have the potential to decrease the likelihood that Latinos are terrorized by the police and that their civil rights are infringed upon by law enforcement.

5. Key Findings

There are several notable findings that I found in my analysis of focus group data. First, as it pertains to Latinos' experiences and views toward the police, some Latinos have had no contact with the police and some have had some contact. Among those who have had contact, a few have had positive experiences with the police and others have had negative experiences. The themes that emerged from individuals' negative experiences with the police include 1.) Latinos feel that they are racially profiled by the police, their physical appearance increases the likelihood that they are stopped by the police and given a ticket; 2.) police do not make much effort to communicate with Latinos especially if the officer does not speak Spanish; 3.) police do not always come when they are called or when they come, they are very late; and 4.) some officers discriminate against Latinos just because they are Latino.

Second, as to Latinos' views on how Latinos (as a group) are treated by the police, the majority of respondents stated that Latinos are treated worse than other racial groups. Most did not have negative experiences with the police but discussed examples of their friends' or family member's negative experience with the police.

Third, when respondents were asked if they feel that the race of the police officer can affect how they treat Latinos, Latinos overwhelmingly stated that Latino police officers treat Latino civilians worse than other officers because they look down upon those of their own race who are less educated or who do not have papers. Latino officers choose not to speak Spanish with Latinos though they are able to speak Spanish.

Fourth, I find that Latino respondents have had little to no contact with ICE and with the criminal justice system. Still, Latino respondents' views of ICE were much more negative than those of the police and the criminal justice system. Most stated that they did not trust ICE.

Fifth, as it relates to Latinos' views toward Blacks' experiences with the police, I find that some Latinos believe that Blacks are treated worse by the police than Latinos while some believe that Latinos are treated worse than Blacks. Interestingly, Latinos who have lived in the US for a long time were more supportive of the fact that Blacks are treated worse by the police than Latinos.

Lastly, regarding a potential factor that can affect Latinos' views toward the police, the majority of the respondents stated that if police were to treat Latinos with respect, fairness, and professionalism, their opinion of them would improve.

6. Innovation

This study provides addresses several gaps in the research on Latinos and the criminal justice system. First, it is one of the first studies to rely upon focus groups to obtain an in-depth understanding of Latinos' views and experiences with the criminal justice system. Second, it is one of the first studies to examine Latinos' views and experiences with the police and ICE since Donald Trump has taken office. Third, it is one of the first studies to focus on Latinos and the criminal justice system in the South given that most research on this topic centers on data from the western and southwestern parts of the country. Lastly, two interesting findings from this study that make a significant contribution to our understanding of Latinos and the criminal justice system is that 1.) most Latinos do not believe that Latino officers treat Latinos better than those of other races, actually several believe they treat them worse and 2.) native-born Latinos and Latinos who have been in the US for a long time seem to be less fearful of the police and have more positive evaluations of and experiences with the police.

7. Limitations

While this study makes several contributions, it is not without flaws. While I plan on continuing to conduct focus groups of Latinos in North Carolina, as of now my sample of Latinos is not completely representative of the Latino population in the US or North Carolina. The sample of male and native-born Latinos is quite small so I will seek to increase these numbers in the next few months.

8. Policy & Practice Recommendations

Based on my study's findings, I present the following policy and practice recommendations:

1. Police officers should be actively engaged in community policing because increased contact and communication provided to the Latino population will increase their trust and confidence in the police;
2. Police officers should be proficient in the Spanish language, particularly if they are assigned to neighborhoods with Latino immigrant civilians;
3. Police should answer phone calls as quickly as possible and treat all civilians equally;
4. Police officers should be required to take cultural diversity trainings and face serious consequences if they are found to have partaken in racial profiling;
5. Police departments should recruit more officers so as to not overburden officers with long shifts given that research that supports that officers who are fatigued are more likely to adopt implicit racial biases (James 2018)
6. Leaders of police departments should actively communicate with the Latino population (e.g., attend and give a talk at neighborhood meetings, place booths at Latino events) to increase presence, trust and provide information as to what the job of the police force is, to state what their goals are and to clarify misconceptions that individuals have of them
7. Police departments should not instruct officers to conduct immigration checkpoints because they can negatively impact relations with the immigrant community.

Part II. POLICY BRIEF (5-7 pages)

Provide an overview of your project including sections below and addressing questions outlined.

1. Topic:

The topic of my study is Latinos' attitudes and experiences with the criminal justice system in an emerging Latino area. There is an extensive amount of research on African Americans' experiences and views of the criminal justice system yet our knowledge of Latinos' experiences with the criminal justice system is quite scant. Still, a few studies have provided some foundation for our understanding of this topic. We know that immigrant policing is associated with Latinos' reduced trust in government agencies and its programs (Cruz Nichols et al. 2018a). Restrictive immigration policies negatively impact Latinos' physical and mental health (Cruz Nichols et al. 2018b). We know that fear of deportations is negatively associated with Latinos' perceptions that the justice system is fair and negatively related with their likelihood to report violent crimes (Messing et al. 2015). We also know that immigrant Latinos with greater fear of deportation are less likely to report crimes to police, are less likely to feel that police treat Latinos fairly and have confidence that they will not use excessive force (Becerra et al. 2016).

2. Research Question & Problem:

With the growth of immigrants from Latin America in the last few years, the number of incarcerated Latinos in the U.S. has increased significantly (Stowell et al., 2012). Latinos now make up more than half of the individuals sentenced for federal crimes in the U.S., 52.7% (Saris et al. 2016). While we have some understanding of Blacks' experiences with the criminal justice system (CJS), our knowledge of foreign-born and native-born Latinos' views and experiences with state and federal CJS's is quite limited. While Latinos experiences with law enforcement may compare to Blacks in that they are racially profiled, victims of police brutality and discrimination, Latinos also experience an added layer of scrutiny due to their immigration status or perceived immigration status. Today, more Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) officers are working with local police to detain, incarcerate and deport undocumented Latinos than ever before (Sampaio 2015). Further, we have almost no knowledge of Latinos' interactions with law enforcement in emerging Latino areas and in the South, a region that has transformed into an emerging Latino destination. From 2000 to 2010, the Latino population grew significantly in the South with a 57% increase in its Latino population—four times the increase in the total population of the South (US Census Bureau 2010). What differentiates the South from several others regions is that it is a region with a rigid racial hierarchy and a long history of racial tensions between Blacks and Whites (McClain et al. 2006). Latinos' entrance in Southern cities and towns has spawned increased racial tensions extending to Latinos as well as a rise in the number of Latinos who have been detained, incarcerated and placed in the hands of ICE (see Stowell et al. 2012).

To address these shortcomings in extant research, this projects seeks to explore Latinos' views and experiences with law enforcement in an emerging Latino destination. Not only does this project analyze the effects of the CJS's response to the increasing racial diversity of the South but it also examines the sources of tensions between newcomers and long-term residents and the intended, unintended consequences that Latinos' interactions with the state, federal CJS's and the

federal immigration system can have on their trust in law enforcement, ethnic identity, assimilation behavior, and coalition formation with Blacks. Additionally, this study seeks to connect Latinos' experiences with the criminal justice system to the most appropriate laws that lawmakers should pass as well as practices that police departments should adopt for Latinos to feel protected and served by law enforcement.

3. **Method:**

The method that I rely upon to answer my research questions is focus groups. From May to August 2018, I conducted nine focus groups with a total sample of 57 Latinos. In an effort to obtain a random sample of the population, the primary method employed to access the participants was snowball sampling.

The focus groups took place in Winston-Salem, North Carolina in local coffee shops, in churches and primarily in a local nonprofit that focuses on providing academic assistance to Latinos. In all cases, individuals were informed that the study was about their experiences and attitudes toward the criminal justice system and that their participation would be compensated with \$20. Sessions lasted from 30 to 90 minutes.

Given that this project is one of the first focus group studies to explore Latinos' attitudes toward the criminal justice system, there was very little research to rely upon to model the questions. Questions are modeled on the 2016 Collaborative Multi-Racial Post-Election Survey (CMPS). Similar to Hibbing and Theiss-Morse's (1995) minimalist strategy, the moderator guided discussions, yet allowed respondents to digress into other topics as long as they remained within the vicinity of the questions. Focus groups were tape recorded, transcribed, and coded to parse out major themes. To ensure accurate results, one researcher transcribed the focus groups while the other verified the transcriptions. Each researcher examined the transcriptions and extracted themes individually. The commonality between both researchers was approximately 90 percent.

Focus groups are faulted for their inability to capture the breadth of topics like surveys. However, focus groups are able to capture intensity and depth (Hibbing & Theiss-Morse 1995; Morgan 1996) that is vital to the exploration of subjects that attempt to get at the cognitive and emotional responses of participants (Schildkraut 2013). Focus groups are not as restrictive as surveys because researchers guide discussion through a standard set of questions, but individuals' answers can and often times do diverge into subtopics that permit the exploration of unexpected causal mechanisms. Survey research is riddled with the problem of individuals who respond to questions inaccurately or answer "Don't Know" (Brians et al. 2010); this methodology does not force participants into answers but traces their thought patterns and the emotional intensity of their responses. Though focus groups sacrifice generalizability, they provide a broad perspective of the studied population and subject matter. It is beneficial for focus groups that address emotional, controversial topics to have small samples in order to foster active discussions among all participants (Morgan 1996). It is also common to have small sample sizes since an insignificant amount of new information emerges after the first few interviews (Krueger 1994).

With focus group research, there are inherent risks that an individual or a few individuals could dominate the discussions or that some participants would not contribute or hesitate to offer their opinions in fear of censure from the group. These events could limit the range of responses and call into question results. However, a unique quality of focus groups is that participants hear and share a variety of viewpoints, and it is these discussions among the groups' participants that stimulate new information. Focus groups are advantageous over individual interviews because they permit, encourage, and stress the interactions between and among participants with shared common experiences (Jackson 2012). Unlike individual interviews, focus groups provide a supportive, natural environment that enables participants to discuss sensitive subject matters. The safety and comfort of peers with similar backgrounds can provide the freedom to voice thoughts in an honest and candid manner. The researcher can examine the extent that individuals concur or differ, which is critical for controversial, intricate topics (Morgan 1996).

The focus group questions that were asked in each focus group are found in the Appendix of this policy brief.

4. **Significance:**

Besides helping to uncover Latinos' views and experiences with law enforcement, this study opens the doors to our understanding of how criminal justice laws and police practices have the opportunity to structure Latinos' perceptions and interactions with local and federal law enforcement and ICE.

If Latinos perceive that they are victims of racial profiling, police brutality and harassment by police and/or immigration officers, then the enactment of laws that require state and federal officers to partake in continuous cultural diversity training, wear body cameras at all times and adopt a no tolerance policy to racial discrimination have the potential to decrease the negative views that Latinos have of law enforcement as well as the negative interactions that they have with police and immigration officers (see Alexander 2010). Further, if I find that Latinos have negative experiences with law enforcement, then politicians' persistent construction of immigration as a security concern should be replaced with the discourse that this country is a country of immigrants and more laws that address what we should do with the immigrants who are already residing here (such as providing them a pathway to citizenship or legal residency) should be enacted (Sampaio 2015).

If unauthorized Latinos are less likely to visit government buildings, request government services and drop domestic abuse cases (Glenn 2017) because of fear of being deported or harassed by the police, police need to regain the trust and confidence of Latinos. Doing so would entail increasing positive contact between police and civilians through community policing and information sessions. Also, laws can be enacted to reform the freedoms that state police have in community with ICE and that ICE officers have in being able to detain and deport civilians. These efforts can decrease the likelihood that Latinos' civil rights are infringed upon by law enforcement in addition to making them feel that police officers' main goal is to serve and protect them.

5. Key Findings

There are numerous key findings from this study. Below I present the emerging themes of the answers provided to each focus group question.

1. Contact with Police Question

“Have you ever interacted with the police? If so, what has your experience been like?”

I found that some Latinos have had no contact with the police. Some have had some contact, a few had positive experiences and a few had negative experiences.

Among those who stated that their contact was positive, they mentioned that they were treated with respect by the officers. The officers did not discriminate against them, they felt that the officers did their job well.

Among those who stated that their contact was negative, they mentioned that they were discriminated against because of their physical appearance. The police do not make much effort to communicate with them and the Latino population. Officers can take advantage of them because of the language barrier. They often do not trust the police. When they call the police, the police sometimes does not come to their house. They feel that police officers are not reliable in showing up to help. If they do show up, they often show up very late. They have noticed that some police officers do not value each case the same way and they pick and choose which cases they focus on.

2. Latinos and Police Question

“How fair do you feel that Latinos as a group are treated by the police? Why?”

Respondents overwhelmingly stated that Latinos as a group are treated negatively or very negatively. Officers discriminate against Latinos because of what they look like. Officers do not treat well. Evidence for these comments came from their friends’ or family member’s experience with the police or what they have seen on television.

Respondents stated that some officers stop Latinos for no reason and will come up with something just to give them a ticket. Some officers view Latinos as criminals. They feel racially profiled. The fact that officers do not speak the same language as Latinos places Latinos at a disadvantage where they experience negative consequences even if they should not have to.

Another theme that emerged from the answers provided to this question is that not all officers are bad, some officers are good because they treat Latinos well.

3. Police Treatment by Race Question

“Do you feel that police treat individuals differently based on their race? For instance, do Latinos officers treat Latinos better because they are Latino?”

Most respondents stated that Latino officers treat Latino civilians worse. Latino officers look down upon Latinos especially those who do not speak English or those whom they suspect do not have their papers. They stated that many Latino officers do not speak Spanish to Latinos because they choose not to and not because they are not able to do so. Many Latino respondents referred to Latino officers as racist because they do not speak Spanish to Latino civilians. When explaining their views of Latino officers, several stated that Latino officers take advantage of their position and their power to discriminate against their own. The fact that Latino officers do not speak Spanish to them really bothers them and does not make them feel more comfortable. They often prefer a White or a Black officer over a Latino officer because they treat them better. (Note: Preference for a White officer was mentioned more than preference for a Black officer.)

Another theme that emerged is that Latino officers treat better. A few Latino respondents mentioned that Latino officers treat Latinos better especially because they know Spanish and can speak Spanish. Still, this theme was not as recurring as the previous one.

Another theme that emerged when discussing the topic of this question is that the race of the officer does not matter. A few respondents stated that what matters is that the officer treats one with respect and professionalism.

4. Contact with ICE question

“Have you ever interacted with ICE? If so, how was your experience?”

Very few respondents stated that they had contact with ICE and many were happy that this is the case.

Some individuals stated that the immigration system upset them because it can be quite discriminatory.

5. Contact with CJS question

“How much interaction have you had with the criminal justice system (i.e., attorneys, courts, judges)? If you have had some contact, how was your experience?”

Very few respondents have had experiences with the criminal justice system.

A few stated that some immigration attorneys take advantage of some Latinos by taking their money but not truly helping them with their case.

6. Trust in police, ICE question

“Do you trust the police? Do you trust ICE?”

Some stated that they trust the police. Some stated that they did not trust the police. Among those who stated that they did not trust the police, they mentioned that the fact that police discriminate against them makes them less likely to trust the police.

A recurring theme was that they do not trust ICE. As a whole, police officers were viewed in a more positive light than ICE.

7. Blacks and Trust in Police Question

“Now, when it comes to African Americans in your city, how fair do you feel that Blacks are treated by the police? The same, better or worse than Latinos?”

Some stated that Blacks are treated worse by the police than Latinos. This statement was mostly made by younger Latinos.

Some stated that Latinos are treated worse by police than Blacks because Blacks are not pursued as much by police as are Latinos.

Latinos who have lived in the US for a long time were more supportive of the belief that Blacks are treated worse by the police than Latinos.

8. Affect Attitudes Question

“What do you think affects your opinion of the police? More specifically, what can police do to improve your opinion of them?”

Most individuals stated that how police treat Latinos greatly affects their opinion of them. If police were to treat Latinos more fairly, with equality and with more professionalism, than they would have more positive opinions of them.

A few stated that if police were to investigate further to see who is actually at fault in the scene of the crime, then their trust and confidence in the police would increase.

Also, a few stated that if police actually tried to listen to people, then their opinion of them would improve.

Additional Themes that Emerged from the Focus Group Discussions

Several individuals stated that since the election of Donald Trump, race relations have worsened. Latinos are treated worse (more racist, more discriminatory) by the police. There is more uncertainty among the Latino population.

Several stated that fear of the police affects their behavior. If they are fearful of the police, they are less likely to call them on the phone to seek help. They are less likely to feel safe around them. Some Latinos are afraid to go to a court (to even pay a ticket) because they are afraid that they will be caught by ICE and then be deported. This finding is directly in support of findings made by Becerra et al (2017).

Another comment that regularly emerged in focus group discussions is that police officers behave differently based on the neighborhood or city that they are in. For instance, one woman noticed based on her residence in both places that police in Atlanta behave differently (more discriminatory) than police in Winston-Salem. Also, a few individuals emphasized that when police are in predominantly White neighborhoods they patrol the neighborhoods less than when they are in mostly Latino neighborhoods.

Another major theme that emerged was that Latinos' experiences with the police in Winston-Salem have improved because the police force is moving in the right direction. The police in the city are not as hostile as they once were. Additionally, having a new police chief (an African American woman) helps improve relations between the police and civilians. Several believe that she wants to move the police force in the right direction. She is encouraging officers to have more interaction with civilians and this is viewed positively by the community. Also, Latinos believe that things are improving in Winston for several reasons. Community policing has increased. Immigration checkpoints throughout the city have ceased to exist. Further, leaders of the police department are regularly holding police information sessions about who they are, what they do throughout the city. Several Latinos mentioned that they believe that the Winston-Salem police department is not actively working with ICE to detain and deport immigrants and they are happy that this is the case.

Other Observations and Emerging Themes:

Throughout the focus group sessions, I made several intriguing observations.

Many Latinos do not have a strong understanding of how the criminal justice system works in this country and a few asked procedural questions.

Some Latinos (especially those who are unauthorized) feel insecure and not safe about living in this country. They believe that they can be deported at any time and this scares them a lot. Unauthorized Latinos have worse views and experiences with the police than authorized Latinos. Documented status may affect Latinos' views and experiences with the police

Place of birth may affect Latinos' views and experiences with the police and ICE. Native-born Latinos had lower levels of concern, insecurity and fear of the police and ICE than foreign-born Latinos. It was actually noted by a respondent in a focus group that native-born Latinos view police differently than foreign-born Latinos because they are not very scared of the police or ICE. They are not able to be deported so they are more likely to confront the police and behave more like Blacks around the police.

Dark-skinned Latinos seem to have more negative views and experiences with the police than their light-skinned counterparts. Dark-skinned Latinos were more likely to say that police are racist.

Latinos with a high socioeconomic status seemed to have better opinions of the police than those with a lower socioeconomic status. Also, Latinos who are more proficient in the English language adopted more positive views of the police than those who are not.

Some Latinos have had a positive experience with the police but have heard that others have had very negative experiences and shared these experiences.

Most Latinos' views toward ICE are quite distinct from those of the police. Latinos (regardless of native status, documented status and SES) seemed to have much more negative views toward ICE than the police, even if they have never interacted with ICE.

In a few focus groups, some Latinos' negative stereotypes of African Americans emerged. They referred to Blacks as lazy because they do not work, are criminals and are violent individuals.

6. Innovation

This study provides addresses several gaps in the research on Latinos and the criminal justice system. First, it is one of the first studies to rely upon focus groups to obtain an in-depth understanding of Latinos' views and experiences with the criminal justice system. Second, it is one of the first studies to examine Latinos' views and experiences with the police and ICE since Donald Trump has taken office. Third, it is one of the first studies to focus on Latinos and the criminal justice system in the South given that most research on this topic centers on data from the western and southwestern parts of the country. Lastly, two interesting findings from this study that make a significant contribution to our understanding of Latinos and the criminal justice system is that 1.) most Latinos do not believe that Latino officers treat Latinos better than those of other races, actually several believe they treat them worse and 2.) native-born Latinos and Latinos who have been in the US for a long time seem to be less fearful of the police and have more positive evaluations of and experiences with the police.

7. Limitations

While this study makes several contributions, it is not without flaws. While I plan on continuing to conduct focus groups of Latinos in North Carolina, as of now my sample of Latinos is not completely representative of the Latino population in the US or North Carolina. The sample of male and native-born Latinos is quite small so I will seek to increase these numbers in the next few months.

8. Policy & Practice Recommendations

Based on my study's findings, I present the following policy and practice recommendations:

8. Police officers should be actively engaged in community policing because increased contact and communication provided to the Latino population will increase their trust and confidence in the police;
9. Police officers should be proficient in the Spanish language, particularly if they are assigned to neighborhoods with Latino immigrant civilians;
10. Police should answer phone calls as quickly as possible and treat all civilians equally;
11. Police officers should be required to take cultural diversity trainings and face serious consequences if they are found to have partaken in racial profiling;
12. Police departments should recruit more officers so as to not overburden officers with long shifts given that research that supports that officers who are fatigued are more likely to adopt implicit racial biases (James 2018)
13. Leaders of police departments should actively communicate with the Latino population (e.g., attend and give a talk at neighborhood meetings, place booths at Latino events) to

- increase presence, trust and provide information as to what the job of the police force is, to state what their goals are and to clarify misconceptions that individuals have of them
14. Police departments should not instruct officers to conduct immigration checkpoints because they can negatively impact relations with the immigrant community.

Appendix

Focus Group Questions (in English and Spanish)

1. What is your name? Where you born in the U.S.? If not, what country were you born in?
Spanish translation: ¿Cuál es su nombre? ¿Nació en los Estados Unidos? Si no, ¿en cual país nació?
2. Have you ever interacted with the police? If so, what has your experience with the police been like?
Spanish translation: Ha tenido contacto con la policía? Si ha tenido contacto, como ha sido su experiencia con la policía?
3. How do you think Latinos as a group are treated by the police? Why? Why not?
Spanish translation: Como piensa que son tratados los Latinos por la policía? Porque?
4. Have you ever interacted with Immigration and Customs Enforcement or any immigration officer? If so, how were you treated?
Spanish: Ha tenido contacto con un agente de Immigration y Customs Enforcement o de inmigración en general? Si ha tenido contacto con un oficial de inmigración, como fue tratado?
5. Have you had any contact with the criminal justice system (i.e., courts, judges, lawyers)? If so, how were you treated?
Spanish translation: Ha tenido contacto con el sistema de justicia criminal particularmente con cortes, jueces y abogados? Si ha tenido contacto, como fue su experiencia?
6. Do you think that the race of the police officer affects how they behave?
Spanish translation: Piensa que la raza del policia afecta como se comporta?
7. Now, when it comes to African Americans in your city, how fair do you feel that Blacks are treated by the police? Do you think Latinos experience similar treatment as Blacks by the police?
Spanish translation: Ahora con respecto a los Afroamericanos en su ciudad, piensa que Afroamericanos son tratado justamente por la policía? Piensa que la policía trata a Latinos en la misma manera que trata a Afroamericanos?
8. What do you think affects your opinión of pólíce officers? What can police officers do to improve your opinion of them?
Spanish translation: Que piensa que puede afectar su opinion de policias? Que pueden hacer policías para mejorar su opinión de ellos?

Appendix (continued)

Focus Group Questions in English and Spanish (continued)

9. Thank you for your time in participating in this study. Would you like to add anything else that you were not able to disclose earlier?

Spanish translation: Muchas gracias por participar en este estudio. Le gustaría comentar algo más?

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