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Awareness and Advocacy towards Instituting Bias-Free Policing Criteria in Vermont:

A cross county comparison of Addison and Franklin
Counties, Vermont

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Senior Honors Research Thesis: May 2012
Environmental Studies Program

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Abstract

Mexican undocumented workers have grown to play a pivotal role in supporting the dairy farming industry of Vermont due to plummeting milk prices and a dwindling workforce. However, with no current pathways to legal status they live in isolation and fear of deportation impeding their access to basic needs and rights. This study looks at the effectiveness of community organization around bias-free policing initiatives; one Vermont wide effort that employs local and state policing policy change as a vehicle for positive social change through the reduction of discrimination based on legal status. This study seeks to determine whether activism on the part of community organizers has had an influence on community awareness and concern surrounding the issue. It also seeks to answer whether or not growing concern has influenced positive policy changes. It will compare quantitative and qualitative data from Franklin and Addison County that has been gathered through a triangulation of methods. The two counties were chosen due to their importance to the dairy industry and unique political environments that offer a strong basis for comparison. Twelve key stakeholders in the issue were interviewed including Vermont law enforcement agencies, leaders of active organizations and state legislators. A second set of fourteen interviews (seven per county) were conducted with leaders within the ecumenical community, an effort in conjunction with Professor Dan Baker. Finally a set of surveys was distributed community wide within each county with responses still returning. This study found (1) There is a higher level of organization in Addison County than in Franklin County (2) There is a greater knowledge in Addison County than in Franklin County of the negative effects of cooperation between state police and border patrol and the bias policing that can result (3) There is a greater knowledge of bias-free policing initiatives and their supporting organizations in Franklin County than in Addison County (4) Non governmental organizations have had a more important effect on policy change than community activism.

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Introduction

Across the United States the reliance on foreign migrant workers within our agricultural system has been growing. However opportunities through which these workers can gain access to work permits or other forms of legal documentation have not expanded and in fact in many ways immigration enforcement has become more restrictive. State and local police have become increasingly involved with heightened enforcement which has led to incidences of racial and ethnic profiling in many communities. A number of communities have been responding to this injustice and the social issues that this creates through the passage of bias-free police policies in order to ensure that the public safety and integrity of their community is not being negatively affected. The goal of this study is to take a closer look at the success of one such initiative being put forward in Vermont.

According to the organization Vermont Migrant Farmworker Solidarity Project, the leading NGO in advocating for political rights for migrant workers in Vermont, bias-free policing is defined as:

the technical term for policing practices that use strictly criminal profiling. It prohibits police action to be conducted solely on the basis of race, ethnicity, immigration status, or other personal, noncriminal attributes and requires that officers inquire into and disclose information regarding immigration status only under limited circumstances

(American Friends, 2011). Instating bias-free policing policies can help to prevent racial discrimination that has been a growing problem in Vermont, especially for its migrant farm workers (Appel, 2011). 1,200 to 1,500 migrant workers sustain Vermont dairy farms (Vermont, 2011). As of 2005 over 30% of dairy farms employed Mexican workers and that number has only increased (McCandless, 2010). According to a study conducted in

2010 many Vermont farmers have become economically dependent on migrant workers to stay afloat due to local labor shortages (McCandless, 2010). In addition, the growth in influence of the corporate food industry and the plummeting of prices, especially of dairy, below production costs have harmed farmers' ability to compete on the national market (Vermont, 2011).

However, most migrant workers, who come primarily from the Southern regions of Mexico, including Chiapas, Oaxaca and Tabasco, have no legal vein through which to gain work permits to work in Vermont pushing the labor force underground (Holley, 2001). The situation that has emerged as a result of the conflict between current immigration laws and the economic needs of Vermont farmers has led to a number of human rights issues (DeGenova, 2002).

Vermont offers a special case among New England states with substantial undocumented worker populations. We are the second whitest state in the nation and the most rural (McCandless, 2011). In addition our close proximity to the Canadian border means border patrol has jurisdiction over Vermont as far south as White River Junction, including the majority of the dairy farming counties (Essex, Addison and Franklin Counties). In this area most Vermont state and local officers work closely with the INS and border control on a daily basis (Appel, 2011).

These factors create an environment of fear among the undocumented worker population to access public services, especially law enforcement, or to even emerge into the public arena. Fear of deportation has forced this population underground to the point where they are virtually invisible. Workers rely heavily on their employers for access to housing, food and clothing. They also remain physically and socially isolated. They lack

access to public transportation, health care, education, and legal services (De Genova, 2002).

Many activists throughout Vermont have responded to these injustices by campaigning for migrant worker rights and have struggled to give this population a voice. Campaigns have included access to healthcare, outreach to offer education and transportation services, and campaigns to pass bias-free policing policies. Such policies are aimed at ensuring that officers in Vermont do not make arrests based on race or suspected immigration status. The policies also ensure that officers do not ask for documentation from persons unless suspect of a crime (American Friends, 2011).

Adopting these criteria will give migrant workers the ability to enter into the public realm without fear of deportation giving them more independence when it comes to gaining access to their basic needs. In addition not only will workers feel more comfortable reporting crimes that are committed against them but they will feel more comfortable reporting crimes they witness occurring to others (O'Neil, 2011). Not only will migrant workers be granted greater rights but public safety will increase for Vermont residents (American Friends, 2011).

Upon recommendation by the Vermont Chapter of the Human Rights Commission, in early November of last year Vermont Attorney General William Sorrel released an announcement requesting that local police chapters throughout Vermont adopt criteria for their officers that would prevent discrimination based on race and legal status in the United States (Appel, 2011). At this time the AG's office also released a model bias-free policy that departments could use. The action came after heavy lobbying

and activism campaigns from groups like the Vermont Migrant Farm Workers Solidarity Project (now Migrant Justice) and the Vermont Human Rights Commission.

However at the start of this study, despite active campaigning by a number of human rights groups as well as the Attorney General, only a handful of towns including Middlebury and Burlington as well as the Vermont state police had instated such policies that covered immigration status (O'Neil, 2011). This has since changed due to rapid political response to a traffic stop that took place on I-89 in November of last year followed by fairly widespread news coverage.

In addition a significant portion of the population still seemed unaware and unconcerned with the importance of passing bias-free policies (O'Neil, 2011) and pressure for change seemed to rely solely on a handful of NGO's. A number of NGO's have been involved in outreach programs most notably the Vermont Human Rights Commission, Vermont Migrant Farmworker Solidarity Project and the Addison County Farmworkers' Coalition. Outreach has included community wide petitions, action pamphlets and visits to the Attorney General, governor, state police and county sheriff's offices. This study seeks to gain a better understanding of the strength of this outreach and whether or not its presence has had an effect on community awareness and support of the issue. In addition it will look at whether or not that community support has had an effect on the passage of stronger bias-free policies in local and county departments.

This will be done by comparing responses to key stakeholder groups representing the two largest dairy farming communities in Vermont; Addison and Franklin County (McCandless, 2011). These counties offer a strong basis of comparison due to their unique political environments. Addison County is located near the center of the state

along the western border and is home to Middlebury College. It tends to be one of the more liberal counties in Vermont and has a strong support network for the migrant worker community already established (Appel, 2011). Franklin County is located in the northwest corner of Vermont and houses one of the states' border patrol barracks. It is more rural than Addison County and also tends to be more conservative. The presence of strong support networks for the migrant workers in this county is lacking and institutional and political resistance has been strongest here (O'Neil, 2011).

This study has two key objectives: (1) to examine the level of advocacy to institute bias-free policing policies in local communities in Vermont and the effect that this advocacy has on community awareness of the issue and (2) to examine whether or not community awareness and advocacy around the issue has influenced the establishment of policies at the county level. This study has two main hypotheses: 1) *increased levels of community organization influence the level of awareness of the surrounding community and 2) higher levels of awareness and support networks related to the issue have an effect on the establishment of bias-free policing policies at the county level.*

Literature Review

Introduction

In understanding this study it is first important to consider the origin of our immigration laws and where they stand today. A number of scholars agree that our immigration laws are no longer responsive to the economic and social needs of many Americans first and foremost our farmers. The current industrial agricultural system has

consolidated the production of and lowered the price of food to the point where thousands of local farms are forced out of business every year. In addition the availability of local labor forces in agriculture has diminished to the point where many farmers rely on migrant workers to stay afloat. Our economic dependence on migrant labor is contradictory to current policies towards Mexican immigration. As a result a system of injustice has been created within our food system. National politics have been at a standstill for years and states have begun to take initiatives to deal with the growth in immigration in their communities into their own hands. Examining the effectiveness of those initiatives has come to the forefront of immigration reform literature in recent years.

History of Migrant Labor: The Demand for Foreign Labor

There is a deep history of both legal and illegal migrant workers in the United States. Mexican migrants have been crossing the border to work on American farms, providing cheap labor since the early 1800's. In 1917 the first federal Mexican guest worker program in the United States was created (Chien, 2010). The program provided visas to an average of 162,000 Mexicans a year to come work legally in the United States (Mize, 2006). Workers fell into two categories, H2-A and H2-B workers. H2-A workers worked in the agricultural sector while the later worked in non-agricultural sectors, largely in low end jobs in the industrial sector (Chien, 2010).

The program experienced three key periods of growth and modification, responding to labor surpluses and shortages during the Great Depression and World War Two (Chien, 2010)(Shea, 2003). The program was disbanded twice leading to the deportation of tens of thousands of workers (Shea, 2003). The second disbanding

occurred in 1964 when increasing reports of abuse of workers and breaches of contracts led to worries that the program was negatively influencing working conditions and wages for U.S. workers (Chien, 2010).

Today's version of the Bracero program was created in 1986 under the Immigration Reform and Control Act. The program permits U.S. employers who anticipate a shortage in U.S. labor for the upcoming season to supply visas and work contracts to international workers. The visas do not last for more than a year and contracts can only be for work of a temporary or seasonal nature (Chien, 2010) (Vermont Migrant Farmworker Solidarity Project, 2011).

However even with these worker programs in place numerous studies and interviews with farmers have demonstrated that the agricultural sector continues to face a serious shortage of legal labor. Today the \$30 billion agricultural sector employs approximately 1.8 million workers (Jordan, 2005). According to the Labor Department 53% of the US farm labor force is undocumented foreigners (The grapes of wrath, again, 2005).

Our agricultural system has come to rely heavily on migrant work in order to stay afloat (Mancuso, 2008). Many farmers in the United States find it a struggle to find a viable workforce among local populations largely due to its low pay and difficult hours (Mancuso, 2008). There is no doubt that the population of immigrants has been growing in recent years. According to Census 2000 data the number of Mexican migrant workers in the work force in the United States nearly doubled from 1990 to 2000 bringing the total number to 4.9 million (Jenkins, 2009). Other studies indicated true numbers may be much higher (Chien, 2010). Between 2003 and 2004 border patrol made one third more

arrests than the previous year and expected that number to increase by forty percent the following year (Jordan, 2005). According to Tom Nassif, head of the Western Growers Association, an association of farmers that together produce over half the nation's produce, "U.S. agriculture cannot exist without a foreign workforce" (Jordan, 2005).

A growing reliance in the dairy industry

A growing reliance on migrant work has become evident in the United States dairy industry. From 2002 to 2003, a study was conducted by Paul Jenkins and colleagues to determine the growth rate of migrant workers on dairy farms in the northeastern United States. Through phone surveys to farms the study concluded that there was, "a consistent rise in the proportion of farms with at least one Spanish-speaking worker over the course of the 21-month study" (Jenkins, 2010). Unfortunately the study did not account for whether or not workers were legal versus illegal or U.S. citizens versus non-citizens. Jenkins believes that if trends are to continue as they observed, within five years the majority of the workforce on large dairy farms in the northeast will be Spanish speaking. (Jenkins, 2009).

In Vermont there is an estimated 1,200 to 1,500 migrant workers employed on Vermont farms (Vermont Migrant Farmworker Solidarity Project). Two-thirds of active dairy farms in Addison County were found to employ Latino workers as of September 2005. More significantly all foreign nationals employed identified themselves as Mexican (McCandless, 2010). The percentage of Mexican workers receiving services from Vermont's Migrant Education Program doubled from twenty five to fifty percent from 2005 to 2008 a startlingly rapid increase (McCandless, 2010).

Vermont agriculture too has become dependent on these workers because with increased trade deregulations across the globe and the rise of industrial agriculture, huge multinational corporations have come to dominate food markets, lowering prices far below the cost of production for many small farms. A recent deal with Dean Foods has caused milk prices to plummet (Vermont Migrant Farmworker Solidarity Project, 2011). In addition the advance of technologies such as the bulk milk storage tank has made the consolidation of milk production more profitable. However it has increased the need for inexpensive labor. Within a decade of the introduction of this technology to Vermont a third of its dairies closed (McCandless, 2010).

Seventeen percent of Vermont's GDP comes from the agricultural industries making it the 12th largest milk producer in the United States (McCandless, 2008) (Baker, Manuscript submitted for publication). Vermont has the most dairy dependent agricultural sector in the nation (Mc Candless, 2008). Farmers interviewed reported that "if they didn't have Mexicans working for them, they may be forced out of agriculture" (McCandless, 2010). Through her research Mc Candless found that a significant number of Vermont's dairy farms are dependent on migrant labor to stay afloat and that "the presence of undocumented migrant labor has become critical to the preservation of farmland" in Vermont (McCandless, 2010).

According to Hing, "the undocumented have filled a void many Americans feel overqualified to fill" (Hing, 2010). Since 2008 Mexican migrant workers have replaced U.S. citizens as the primary migrant labor force in Vermont (McCandless, 2010). However there is no pathway through which migrant dairy workers can gain legal status under current labor programs (Vermont Migrant Farmworker Solidarity Project, 2011). It

is estimated that 90% of dairy farm workers in Vermont do not have documentation (Baker, Manuscript submitted for publication).

Social issues associated with migrant farm labor

With the growth of the migrant workforce has come a rise in human and civil rights violations among migrant workers (Vermont Migrant Farmworker Solidarity Project, 2011). Temporary farm work is not desirable to most Americans due to its seasonal nature, long hours, and often exhausting and even dangerous working conditions due to constant exposure to weather, pesticides and fertilizers (Jordan, 2005)(Holley, 2001).

Migrant farm workers who are in the United States legally as a result of H2-A labor contracts have a number of rights afforded to them including transportation to and from the worksite, free housing, workers' compensation insurance, a guarantee of at least three fourths of the work offered in the job announcement, and the highest of three minimum wages (federal/state minimum wage, local/job-specific hourly wage, or the H2-A adverse effect wage) (Holley 2001).

However, even with these regulations little of what is put on paper is actually put into practice and worse these injustices have been scarcely documented (Mize, 2006). New Deal legislation removed migrant farmworker rights to collective bargaining, minimum and overtime wages and a number of other key social rights guaranteed in other employment sectors (Holley, 2001) (Mize, 2006). The average migrant farm worker makes \$ 7,500 U.S. per year and that wage has declined by five percent over the past decade (Bechtel, 2000).

In addition workers lack access to institutions that enforce their rights and so they are not guaranteed and are often not afforded to workers (Mize, 2006). They are not granted access to federal courts and the Labor Department is not required to respond to their complaints or concerns as they are held accountable to other sectors. Language barriers and lack of knowledge of local legal services leave foreign workers further disenfranchised (Holley, 2001).

Hing explains that when contracted workers come to the U.S, largely under the H-2A program, they can only remain here as long as they are working for the farmer who hired them (Hing, 2010). Most immigrants have little choice but to comply with their employer regardless of low wages or other abuses, or be deported (Holley, 2001), undermining the system of enforcement in place to protect these worker's rights while they are in the country (Hing, 2010). Farmers do not have to give a reason for dismissing workers (Holley, 2001). This makes it extremely difficult and unlikely that workers will file a protections violation complaint for fear of losing their jobs or not being hired in the future (Hing, 2010).

Migrant farm workers have significantly higher morbidity rates than the rest of the United States due both to the dangerous nature of their job (agricultural work recently passed mining as the most dangerous job in the United States due to exposure to physical, chemical and biological hazards) and lack of access to health care (Bechtel, 2000). Lack of access to credit and loans also impedes access to standard housing (Bechtel, 2000).

According to a study conducted by Carol Cleveland from 2005 to 2006, in some areas, undocumented migrants can count on assistance from non-profit social service agencies to gain access to health and legal services. In others, however, local officials

have established new ordinances that require social workers to establish a potential client's legal immigration status before providing assistance (Cleveland, 2010).

The result of all this is a serious lack of basic human rights afforded to migrant workers during their time in the United States. Many work long hours for little and sometimes even no pay, are forced to live in squalid conditions, and lack proper access to food, water, clothing, education and healthcare. Others still are targeted by racial policing and so are forced to stay on farms out of the public eye furthering this sense of imprisonment. However there are no federal institutions in place to seek enforcement of these rights (DeGenova, 2002). Undocumented workers, by their "illegal" nature face additional obstacles to basic civil rights that will be detailed later.

National Stagnation:

How States Have Responded to Lack of Progress on the Federal Level

Due to rising Hispanic migrant populations in the U.S. and the absence of strong federal policy reforms the immigration debate has become increasingly polarized (Varasyni, 2011) (Sharry, 2000). Powers of immigration enforcement have been increasingly devolved from the federal to the state and local level since the 1990's. The pace of this power transfer has quickened in a post September 11th world (McCandless, 2010).

The US Department of Justice has asked local and state authorities to assist in the enforcement of both civil and criminal immigration laws (Wishnie, 2004). In 2008 the Department of Homeland Security launched the Secure Communities Program which shares fingerprints with the United States Immigration and Customs Enforcement with the goal of deporting all illegal immigrants. The move is controversial because it also sweeps up large numbers of undocumented workers with no criminal records (Bromage,

2011). Similar federal programs, including the entering of civil immigration information in the FBI's NCIC database, have been instated to boost efforts by the Department of Homeland Security to increase deportation of undocumented immigrants. This database is accessed by local and state police millions of times a day enabling them to become involved in the arrest of possible immigration violators (Wishnie, 2004).

Since 2008 forty three states have signed onto the secure communities program, Vermont has not. However the Obama Administration recently made it mandatory, asking all states to sign on by 2013 (Bromage, 2011). Many have been outraged by this declaration and Massachusetts, New York, and Illinois have already refused to participate (Bromage, 2011).

In addition the number of immigration related policies implemented at the state level has increased dramatically in recent years due to the slow progress of immigration reform at the federal level (Varasyni, 2011). Frustrated with the lack of improvement in federal policies seen over the past several years, debates on a local and state level have become increasingly polarized (Kotin, 2011). In 2007 1,562 pieces of immigration and immigration-related legislation were introduced at the state level, 240 of which were passed into law (Varasyni, 2011).

These policies have been both pro and anti-immigration. In 2006 the Georgia state legislature passed its Georgia Security and Immigration Compliance Act which includes provisions requiring the use of E-Verify by employers. This electronic system verifies employee documentation via their social security numbers. The database is also used to check the documentation of prisoners and welfare/medical benefits applicants (Hing, 2010). A number of other states have instituted such policies and have even instated laws

that revoke the business license of employers found to be hiring undocumented workers (Varasyni, 2011).

One of the most controversial backlashes against immigration, that shows many border states not only inherent distrust of illegal immigrants but of their reliance on state polices to solve these problems is the Arizona SB 1070 law that took effect nearly a year ago (Wong, 2011). The goal of the law was to crack down on drug cartels that were causing escalated robberies, violence and other crimes along the border. However due to its nature it unjustly targeted Latinos infringing on civil liberties (Thornburgh, 2010). The law allows police officers to demand documentation from those suspected of being an illegal immigrant based on name, language, or appearance (State of Arizona, 2010). McCandless points out that this is not the first time agricultural labor forces have been racially and ethnically differentiated and thus subject to racial profiling by immigration enforcement officials. However after September 11th, “scrutiny based on presumed linkages between racial or ethnic categories and legal status” has been increasing (McCandless, 2010).

The Obama administration has filed a lawsuit against the governor of Arizona and activists across the U.S. have risen up in outrage against the law. However many states are trying to pass similar laws including Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, and Florida (Wong, 2011).

In an article published in Vermont’s Seven Days newspaper, a farm worker working in Charlotte explains, “most farm workers already “live in complete panic of speaking up,” and that instituting such policies will only further deter migrant workers from consulting police (Bromage, 2011). Asking states to enforce immigration laws (out

of their jurisdiction) creates a number of social issues (Rodriguez, 2008). Local law enforcement officials have spoken out against cooperation with border patrol stating that it will deter non citizens from contacting emergency services, it will divert resources from local police priorities, and it may lead to the wrongful arrest of citizens (Wishnie, 2004) (Rodriguez, 2008). All of these factors undermine the health, safety and welfare of local communities (Wishnie, 2004).

It also raises the risk of racial profiling and selective immigration enforcement (Wishnie, 2004). A disproportionate number of Mexican immigrants are arrested in the United States each year (96% of all immigration arrests) despite constituting approximately 54% of the undocumented worker population (Wishnie, 2004). This risk is raised when law enforcement departments do not receive proper training and guidance as border officials do (Rodriguez, 2008).

According to an article by Nicholas DeGenova, a worker's illegal status, "causes the 'transformation of mundane activities—such as working, driving, or traveling—into illicit acts'" so that many migrants report claims of feeling imprisoned (DeGenova, 2002). In a study conducted in Vermont by a doctoral student at Clark University, migrant workers reported a heightened feeling of imprisonment (McCandless, 2010). Alberto Boro, the mayor of a town whose principle business was raided by border patrol officials noted a "drop in calls to local law-enforcement agencies and...a heightened level of mistrust of police within the community" (Hing, 2010). In McCandless' study migrant workers two key worries were fear of policing and isolation due to language barriers and lack of transportation (McCandless, 2010).

The United States is not the only country that faces problems with illegal immigration or with discrimination associated with the enforcement of immigration laws. In a poll taken in France in 2000 by the National Consultative Commission on Human Rights, over seventy percent of French residents found the presence of people of non-European origin disturbing. The root of the problem was not so much their race as the fact that they were not legitimate members of French society (Fassin, 2001).

In France issues have come up due to the constant change of immigration laws which have rendered people who have been settled in the country for a long time legally illegal. Many French, who have had a history with racial discrimination like many countries around the world, have just begun to struggle with the fact that not only are their own policies to blame for the status of their illegal immigrants but the fact that the treatment of such immigrants has raised a number of moral questions (Fassin, 2001).

A number of states have also been at the forefront of pro-immigrant policies. According to Hing the large amount of undocumented workers that are employed in the United States and the number of communities and industries that have grown to depend on them make them difficult to deport because they are so “enmeshed in a healthy U.S. economy” (Hing, 3). Activists and politicians who agree with this view have been pushing pro-immigration legislation and policy.

President Obama recently passed a new immigration policy that took into account such an issue. The policy seeks to target primarily criminal and repeat offense undocumented workers as opposed to families and other migrants who have already established firm roots (Preston, 2011). Thousands of deportation cases are going back under review in the coming months during which courts will likely dismiss and even

offer work permits to undocumented immigrants who were brought to the United States as minors, who are married to or parents of American citizens, or who are close family of military service members (Preston, 2011). However this policy has not been as effective in limiting deportation arrests as many had hoped primarily due to the difficulty in transforming border patrol offices from the usual cut and dry tactics to this more selective enforcement (Preston, 2011).

Wisconsin has the second largest dairy sector in the United States. While many workers in this state still experience discrimination, they can, “access the stability and mobility of driver’s licenses, rental housing, and bank accounts, available without proof of Social Security numbers” (McCandless, 2010) (Valentine, 2005). In October the governor of Rhode Island made a number of key immigration reforms including the cancellation of the e-verify system and the banning of state officers from enforcing federal immigration policy (Reform Immigration for America, 2011).

The Role of NGO’s in getting these policies passed

A number of studies have been published in recent years exploring the role of non governmental organizations and other citizen groups in influencing the passage of pro-immigration policy at the local and state level. These studies have demonstrated the importance of community coalitions and partnerships in creating macro-level changes. We have also seen the importance of community participation in decision making in creating successful and widely accepted policy changes (Clark et. al., 2010). Community coalitions and action have played a number of roles in the pro-immigrant reform movement from providing humanitarian aid, to facilitating access to education, legal services and health services, to campaigning for better immigration policies at the local,

state, and national level (Cook, 2011)(McMillian, 1995). However research has yet to cover the role of activist organizations in educating the general public about the social issues surrounding current immigration policies or whether this education has led to community pro-immigrant activism.

Several studies have explored the roles and possibilities for citizens to help migrant workers to achieve basic rights. Issues include lack of rights to insurance and workers compensation, as well as literacy and language barriers (Cook, 2011). Activists within the community responded to these needs by providing access to immigration legal defense funds, and offering translation services and legal advice. Groups also attempted to protest at a national level as well as drive migrants to local protests for migrant rights and amnesty, or help workers to organize protests of their own. Studies have found these groups effective in alleviating migrants' principle obstacles within their community (Cleveland, 2010) (Cook, 2011).

Another study conducted by Patricia Vanderkooy and Stephanie J. Nawyn in 2011 explored the efforts of the Florida Immigrant Coalition to influence comprehensive immigration reform at the federal level and its subsequent decision to concentrate efforts on the state level. They found that their efforts were far more effective on a local and state level. Like anti-immigration activists in Arizona seeking to take control of weak immigration policies, many pro-immigration activists have found the changing of local policy to be far more successful in meeting their demands, at least in the short term. The group engaged in speaking with local police chiefs to ensure that public safety was prioritized over immigration enforcement. What was most interesting is that many of

their local actions were the result of input expressed from concerned community members (Vanerkooy, 2011).

These cases are not unique or unusual in US politics today. Frank Sharry explains that non governmental organizations have increasingly been invited into deliberations with policy makers and used by the media as analysts of federal and state policies. According to Sharry a strong partnership between government and NGO's may be required for the stabilization of new immigration policies (Sharry, 2000).

The religious community has also played a major role in the pro-immigrant reform movement and has arguably been the most active. While the largest up and coming religious movement in the country, the conservative Christian right, has not been a voice in pro-immigration advocacy a number of other groups have played key roles in local and state legislation as well as in providing key social services to immigrants (Hondagneu-Zotelo, 2007). The Catholic community has been the most outspoken advocates. However increasingly there has been a rise in Latino immigrants belonging to the Evangelical church and thus there has been a rise within that community as well (Sullivan, 2010).

Views towards immigration have most often been sympathetic within the Christian community in the name of social justice and caring for the foreigner (Hondagneu-Zotelo, 2007) (Kotin, 2011). The preservation of family values has also played an important role in the religious pro-immigrant movement (Sullivan, 2011). In Los Angeles the leader of the Catholic Archdiocese, Cardinal Roger M. Mahoney, played a pivotal role in blocking anti-immigration legislation that would have required services providers to ask for documentation before providing services. Organizing a march that

was joined by hundreds of faith-based group across the nation his group created an enormous, though unfortunately ineffective, media stir in 2006 (Hondagneu-Zotelo, 2007).

In North Carolina the NC Religious Coalition for Justice for Immigrants was one of the first and quickest responding citizen activist groups to anti-immigration legislation proposed within the state (NC Religious Coalition, 2012). A study conducted in Los Angeles explored the role of religion in political activism. Using observation, content analysis and interviews it found that a number of groups are taking on immigration reform as a moral obligation. Religious groups are not only aiding integration, language services, and other social services, but also serving as arenas for political organizing and creating vocalized demands for justice. (Kotin, 2011). A group working in Arizona begun by individuals with connections to Tucson churches place gallon jugs of water in the desert for those crossing the border and offer rides to hospital if they run into heat exhausted or severely dehydrated migrants (Cook, 2000). In New Mexico religious leaders have been working to gain migrant workers the right to driver's licenses through letters and opinion pieces in newspapers as well as vigils outside government buildings (Contreras, 2011).

Many religious groups tend to stay out of politics and focus on social services. However under certain circumstances, largely the injustice of having members of their community discriminated against, churches will act in the political arena. Alliances between religious communities and advocacy organizations increase the power of pro-immigrant movements because religious constituencies are often more reliable and dedicated when moved to moral causes and thus have mobilizing power to create change

on the local level (Kotin, 2011). In Los Angeles Mahony and Evangelical leader Jim Wallis were strongly outspoken against discriminatory immigration policies. The Interfaith Immigration Coalition has also been building widespread support nationwide among a number of denominations (Sullivan, 2010).

Taking Action in Vermont

In Vermont, the INS unofficially enlisted the work of state and local police to conduct routine searches of farms to locate undocumented workers (American Friends, 2011), and state police often use border patrol for backup (Appel, 2011). State and local police have also been reported asking for documentation or proof of status from Latino persons whether or not they have committed or are suspect in a crime (American Friends, 2011). Current federal immigration policies and state control of immigration enforcement creates a number of social justice issues to those populations with “illegal status” (Wishnie, 2004).

Workers on dairy farms lack an avenue through which to achieve legal worker status in the United States. Because it is not considered seasonal work it is not included under the H-2A program. As a result migrant dairy farm workers who are non U.S. citizens are by definition illegal. According to the Vermont Land Trust, as much as seventeen percent of gross state product stems from agriculture. Vermont’s agricultural sector is one of the most dairy dependent in the nation. As of 2005 Mexicans were employed on thirty percent of all dairy farms in Vermont (McCandless, 2010) (Baker, Manuscript submitted for publication).

Residing in one of the most racially homogenous states in the United States, the undocumented worker population in Vermont is especially vulnerable to social justice

issues surrounding immigration enforcement (McCandless, 2010). Migrant workers in Vermont are especially vulnerable to acts of bias policing due to our proximity to the Canadian border. Immigration policy allows for heightened INS authority within one hundred miles of the US border. That is about the distance from White River Junction to Canada (Walcott, 2011). This means the INS is not only permitted to conduct routine searches but they have also enlisted the work of state and local police to aid in the conduct of these searches. In addition state and local police often ask for documentation or proof of status during routine traffic stops from suspect persons whether or not they have committed or are suspect in a crime (American Friends, 2011). According to Vermont State Police Colonel James Baker, seventy five percent of encounters with Vermont State Police occur during traffic stops. Due to the set up of Vermont's policing system, influenced primarily by Vermont's rural character, state police patrol eighty percent of Vermont (McCandless, 2010). A number of such incidents have led to the deportation of immigrants in Vermont (Bromage, 2011).

McCandless' study indicated that Vermont is much tougher on immigration enforcement than most other New England states. These interviewees' perceptions of Vermont as a heavily policed state are supported by reports from the Mexican Consul that Vermont has the highest rate of deportation of Latino undocumented immigrants in New England, despite having the lowest population of Latino immigrants (McCandless, 2010). Insight from Mc Candless' study sums up the contradictions inherent in our current immigration system:

To persist undisrupted under current immigration policy and practice, Vermont's prized rural image appears to depend in part on the continuing invisibility of migrant farm workers
(Mc Candless, 2008, 119).

The increasing interaction between local and state police and border patrol has exacerbated problems for these workers and their communities (O’Neil, 2011). There are a number of grassroots organizations operating in Vermont that are trying to give migrants access to basic human and civil rights while they are working on Vermont farms. The largest one, known as the Vermont Migrant Farmworker Solidarity Project, is run by a team of four (Brendan O’Neil, Alison Cannon, Monica Collins, and Natalia Fajardo). The project’s mission is to “to collaborate with migrant farm workers, farmers, and community leaders to build more socially and economically just, welcoming and responsive Vermont communities and food systems” (Vermont Migrant Farmworker Solidarity Project, 2011). This is done through education of both migrant workers and the local community as well as through active campaigning by communities to oppose negative immigration, economic, and trade policies created by the United States government.

The group has advocated for making healthcare available to all Vermont residents regardless of status, and has created special clinics targeted towards serving migrant workers (Walcott, 2011). The group also circulated a successful petition asking Governor Schumlin to say no to a “Secure Communities Initiative” in Vermont. The petition was circulated by the migrant workers themselves as part of initiatives to empower workers to demand rights (Bromage, 2011).

On the federal level, Vermont legislators have been advocating for the inclusion of dairy farm workers under the new AGJOBS bill which would give them the ability to live here legally (McCandless, 2010). However, on the local level there only a handful of towns who have instituted bias-free policies (Appel, 2011).

In addition the Solidarity Project has created an active campaign against bias policing that has grown in force over the past several months (Walcott, 2011). In November of 2010, under pressure from activist groups and the Vermont chapter of the Human Rights Commission, Vermont Attorney General William Sorrell issued a statement requesting that local police chapters throughout Vermont adopt such policies. He announced that:

Law enforcement officers will not consider race, ethnicity, or other Personal Criteria in establishing either reasonable suspicion or probable cause....Personal Criteria may include, but is not limited to, race, ethnicity, immigration status, national origin, color, gender, sexual orientation, gender Identity, mental illness, religion, disability, and socioeconomic level

(American Friends, 2011) (Appel, 2011). The announcement highlights the fact that police must use probable cause and reasonable suspicion as tools in investigations rather than discrimination based on stereotypes (in which he included race). The announcement included a model bias-free policy that includes several stipulations surrounding illegal immigrants. Sorrell states that, “law enforcement officers should not disclose Confidential Information regarding members of the community where such disclosure may (a) jeopardize individuals’ health, welfare, or safety, or (b) lead crime victims or witnesses not to cooperate” (Sorrell, 2010). Under his definition of “confidential information” he lists both race and immigration status. Further, witnesses or victims of crimes should not be asked immigration status unless necessary and the immigrant community should be made aware that police services are available to them without documentation or fear of deportation (Sorrell, 2010).

The attorney general does not have the power to force local police chapters to adopt such policies, instead they must decide to do so themselves. In addition the number of departments that have adopted such policies has not been tracked (Bromage, 2011).

The American Friends Service Committee in Vermont, working in conjunction with the Vermont Migrant Farmworker Solidarity Project, published a pamphlet outlining what an ideal bias-free police policy would look like and provided a detailed plan for how local Vermonters can start taking action within their communities. The goal of the pamphlet is to spread awareness among Vermonters as to the negative impacts of racial profiling by local police forces and to spur communities to take action (American Friends, 2011).

Such policies already exist in Burlington and Middlebury, and the campaign has now turned their sights on Montpelier (Teran, 2011). Burlington now has a coalition of departments (South Burlington, Burlington, and the UVM police) that have agreed to monitor traffic stop data to ensure ethnic profiling is not occurring (Jones, 2011). The goal is for the entire state to be on board. Similar projects known as “Don’t Ask Don’t Tell” are being implemented in regards to healthcare and access to the Labor Department. The goal is that migrant workers will be free to access these resources, which are a basic human right for all other people residing in the United States, without fear of deportation (Vermont Migrant Farmworker Solidarity Project, 2011).

In their pamphlet, American Friends and the VMFSP outlined several reasons why Vermonters should be concerned about bias policing measures. These largely mirror concerns listed in literature on the subject including threats to public safety, fear by some members of the community of contacting emergency services, diversion of limited resources to actions outside of local and state law enforcement’s jurisdictional obligations, and possible instances of ethnic profiling by law enforcement officials who have not been properly trained to deal with immigration enforcement (American Friends, 2011). Sorrell states that the main goal of his announcement is, “to effectively serve all

communities and to ensure trust and cooperation of all victims and witnesses” (Sorrell, 2010). The goal of a bias-free policy is to ensure uniformity and clarity across law enforcement agencies to prevent any of the above from occurring. It can also offer an opportunity for training in preventing bias policing from occurring (Jones, 2011)

The low response rate among both local and county departments as well as the lack of community action has been a concern for advocates of bias-free policies. Many activists believe that low levels of local response can be attributed in part to a lack of awareness of the issue (O’Neil, 2011). A key purpose of the action pack was to spread awareness and provide information to citizens about how to become active within their communities (American Friends, 2011). Many Vermont towns have democratic processes in place that allow citizens to influence local police policy (American Friends, 2011). However, due to lack of resources, distribution of the pack has been limited to those already interested in taking a stand for undocumented worker rights (O’Neil, 2011).

The press has taken notice of the bias-free policing campaign that has helped to publicize the initiatives. Press coverage was particularly explosive following the detainment of a leader of the Vermont Migrant Farmworker Solidarity Project, Danilo Lopez, and his cousin on I-89 after being asked to present documentation during a routine traffic stop. Articles appeared in the Burlington Free Press, Seven Days, and even the Boston Globe. However immigration continues to be left out of a large number of bias-free policies across the state and incidences of bias practices have continued to occur.

The study site

The goal of this study is to provide insight into why some areas of Vermont have been more active and more inclined to institute bias-free policies than others. Franklin and Addison County are home to the largest population of Latino undocumented workers in Vermont, employed primarily on dairy farms. Despite their economic dependence on the undocumented worker population, these counties have had radically different responses to the bias-free policing campaign (Appel, 2011).

Addison County has been the leader in protection of Vermont undocumented farm worker rights (Suzzo, 2011). Middlebury (the largest town in Addison County) instituted the first local bias-free policing policy in Vermont (Whitchurch, 2011) and Addison County is the home to a diverse network of organizations including the Addison County Farmworker Coalition, the Open Doors Network, and JUNTOS, among others, that work to support undocumented workers (McCandless, 2011).

Franklin County does not have any such organizations (Whitchurch, 2011). In addition no police departments in Franklin County have a bias-free policing policy that covers immigration status (Whitchurch, 2011). According to Brendan O'Neil, director of the Vermont Migrant Farmworker Solidarity Project, Franklin County has exhibited a higher level of institutional resistance to implementing bias-free policing policies and few grassroots efforts have been made by community members to change this (O'Neil, 2011).

In addition there is evidence that enforcement of immigration policies is harsher in Franklin County. Both McCandless and Barbara Whitchurch (founder of the New Neighbors Initiative in Burlington) stated that workers in Franklin County have admitted

an increased instance of fear of local police authorities than those in Addison County (McCandless, 2011)(Whitchurch, 2011).

Activists believe that members of Franklin County are less aware of the campaign for bias-free policing than those in Addison County which could account, in part, for the differing community responses (McCandless, 2011). No detailed examination of the differing levels of community awareness and support of bias-free policies has been done in Vermont (O'Neil, 2011). However, activists have attributed the knowledge gap to several main factors (Whitchurch, 2011).

Cheryl Mitchell of the Addison County Farm Workers Coalition stated that support from the Middlebury police department and Middlebury College has helped to spread awareness about bias-free policing in Addison County (Mitchell, 2011). Because the Addison County Farm Worker's Coalition was begun by a farmer (Cheryl Mitchell), it helped them to gain legitimacy as an organization among the farming community (Whitchurch, 2011). The plethora of organizations that have stemmed from their activities have also helped to spread awareness (O'Neil, 2011).

Franklin County lacks community organizations and police backing of bias-free policing initiatives. It has been speculated that greater distance between farms degrades communication between farmers in Franklin County (Whitchurch, 2011). According to Appel the presence of border patrol may impede community organizing because their presence creates a sense of fear and discourages organizing (Appel, 2011) In addition border patrol is one of the largest sources of employment in Franklin County so many support their efforts or at least do not want to act in a way that would offend them (McCandless, 2011).

Implications for study

The bulk of literature on pro-immigration reform has focused on the effectiveness of activist groups in influencing the passage of policies. However few if any studies have focused on the effect of these groups on promoting community awareness of the issues undocumented workers face under our current immigration system or their effectiveness in mobilizing communities to participate in creating policy change. In Vermont the literature has focused largely on the social issues undocumented workers are facing and has neglected the effectiveness of activist groups in influencing the passage of policies that can alleviate those issues. This study attempts to begin to fill both of those gaps by examining how community organizations and support systems have affected community awareness of both the social issues surrounding bias policing policies and their effect on the dairy farming community. In addition it will offer insight into how community activism has effected policy change at the local and county level.

Methods

The methodology for this study combined surveys and semi structured interviews to obtain data that allows for comparison and to avoid misinterpretation by relying on a single methodology (Iomo, 2007). Three sets of methods were conducted including the following: 1) semi-structured interviews with selected key stakeholders 2) cross-sectional, semi structured interviews (Singleton, 1999) with leaders of ecumenical communities in Franklin and Addison County and 3) a randomized sample survey of local community residents in each county. Interviews were conducted throughout the

months of January and February. Survey collection was extended from January into mid March to gain as many responses as possible.

Interviews with Key Stakeholders

The first set of interviews consisted of three separate interview models specifically designed for each of three stakeholder categories (law enforcement official, government official, NGO). Interviews with police departments inquired into their relationship with border patrol, the status of their bias-free policies, and the role of community involvement in the passage of new policies. Interviews with local government actors inquired into their constituencies' awareness of the bias-free policing campaign, the social problems associated with bias-free policing, and the activity within their constituency to advocate for the passage bias-free policies within their communities. Interviews with NGO's inquired into the services they offer to undocumented workers, the social issues associated with bias policing, and their advocacy initiatives towards the passage of bias-free policies. These elements of the interview were used to gain context based information to better understand the role of each stakeholder in campaigns for bias-free policing.

Seven designated research questions were asked in sequence in each interview to serve as a collective basis for analysis across the different groups. These questions included inquiring into personal opinions regarding the cooperation between state and local police and border patrol, the effects that cooperation may have on the Hispanic undocumented worker population, and opinions regarding the campaigns for bias-free policing. The final three questions directly addressed the inquiries of this study and were phrased as follows:

1: Do you believe there are some counties where citizens are more aware of bias-free policing initiatives than others?

2: Do you believe increased levels of community organization around bias-free policing have influenced the level of awareness of the surrounding community on the issue?

3: Do you believe that higher levels of awareness and support networks within a county related to the issue have an effect on the establishment of bias-free policing at the county level?

Stakeholders were selected using the snowball sampling method (Nardi, 2006, 120) in which interviewees offered names and contact information of others who may be both interested and beneficial to this study. Each stakeholder was chosen based on the geographic area they represented and the extent of their involvement with the undocumented dairy worker community. Stakeholders were chosen that were very closely involved with campaigns to achieve rights for migrant workers. Stakeholders were also chosen to achieve an equal distribution between those involved in each county as well as those involved on a statewide level. Ultimately seven NGO representatives, two state senators, and four law enforcement officials were contacted and asked to participate, with a hundred percent response rate.

Thirteen interviews were conducted total. Interviews with respondents lasted between fifteen and twenty minutes, were recorded, and later transcribed in full. Transcripts were coded after collection. Inductive analysis was used to identify primary themes and subthemes among responses to identical questions (Fink, 2003). In certain questions deductive analysis was used to identify themes that were presupposed from the literature review or their absence (Fink, 2003).

Interviews with Leaders of the Ecumenical Community

The second section of the study included conducting cross sectional surveys with leaders of religious congregations in Addison and Franklin County. Thirty congregations from each county (a total of sixty congregations) were selected and contacted via email and phone over the first weeks of January. The goal was to survey seven churches from each county that could serve as a small sample representative of the religious community within each county. Congregations were chosen using a stratified random sampling method (Nardi, 116, 2006) from a compiled list of churches in Addison and Franklin County. The lists were kept separated, one for each county, and were compiled using the 2012 phone books for each county, as well as from a directory compiled by an organization known as Sharefaith (Sharefaith, 2011). Later, due to a shortage of churches, online county directories and other directories were used to lengthen the list. These included the Catholic Diocese of Vermont and equivalent organizations representing other denominations.

Churches were chosen by denomination in an effort to reflect as accurately as possible the composition of the county. Data from a national study of denominations and their members published by the Glenmary Research Center (Jones, 2002) was used to calculate the percentage of members within the county who belonged to each denomination. In order to determine the number of churches that should be selected to represent each denomination, the percent of the population who were members was multiplied by 30. If a proper representative sample was less than 0.5 it was not counted. However those past 0.5 were rounded to one. If the number of churches selected to represent each denomination did not add up to thirty then the next largest congregations

were added and given a single church as a representative. When the original sample size of thirty in each county did not yield seven interviewees that number was increased to forty. The additional ten were added to the contact list using the same methods as were used to select the first thirty.

Surveys were originally designed as closed answered surveys. However each survey was conducted in person by the researcher and recorded. This data was later used in qualitative analysis, given that many of the answers provided information beyond the close-ended question. These surveys were used to examine the level of advocacy within the ecumenical community in each county, largely based on a study of the NGO networks throughout the state that had been completed the previous year. The ecumenical community was targeted due to its historic importance to pro-immigration reform activities in recent years. The survey used was a modification of the survey used in the original study. It used all of the same questions in the same order as the original study. Six additional questions directed towards this study were included at the end of the original survey. These questions inquired into the congregation's knowledge, support, and level of involvement in bias-free policing initiatives. The concluding question used was the same question used to conclude the stake holder interviews (See question 3 above).

Of the forty churches contacted in each of Addison and Franklin County, seven agreed to interviews in each county. In Franklin County nine churches declined interview offers while the remaining twenty four were unable to be contacted via phone or email or were otherwise unavailable. In Addison County two churches declined interview offers

while the remaining thirty one were unable to be contacted via phone or email or were otherwise unavailable.

Interviews from respondents lasted between five and ten minutes and were recorded and later transcribed in full. Transcripts were coded after collection. Inductive analysis was used to identify primary themes and subthemes among responses to identical questions (Fink, 2003). In certain questions deductive analysis was used to identify themes that were presupposed from the literature review and their absence (Fink, 2003).

Local Community Surveys

The final method employed surveys distributed in Franklin and Addison County via a number of venues to men and women over the age of 18, in order to gauge the level of awareness of bias-free initiatives across the two counties. Surveys were distributed using accidental sampling (both convenience and volunteer) (Nardi, 2006, 118) due to financial and technological constraints. Surveys were first distributed to the congregations whose pastor participated in the ecumenical survey process. Thirty surveys were distributed to each of the fourteen pastors to be handed out to their congregation and mailed back to the researcher. Pastors were contacted and reminded once a week via phone during the month of February to distribute and return surveys to ensure a maximum response rate. When this process did not yield substantial returns an online survey was created using identical questions and coding and distributed via an ad space on Front Porch Forum (an online community similar to Craigslist) in Franklin and Addison County neighborhoods. Two pastors also agreed to email the online version to their congregation.

An additional 120 surveys were distributed to four stores each, two in Addison County and two in Franklin County. In addition surveys were handed out in person outside two stores, a grocery store in Addison County and a convenience store in Franklin County. The stores were chosen based on the largely non-bias nature of its patrons and were based largely on the manager's willingness to accommodate. Grocery stores were chosen first because of their universal use. However due to low compliance a clothing store, a convenient store and a gardening store were used as venues to distribute surveys.

These surveys consisted of a mix of closed-ended questions and short response questions that inquired into a resident's knowledge of the undocumented worker population, their knowledge and opinion of police and border patrol cooperation, their knowledge of bias-free initiatives and the extent of their involvement in these initiatives. The majority of questions were mutually exclusive (yes-no questions) with an "I do not know" option, except for the questions inquiring into a person's awareness of a topic. Other questions in which respondents were asked to specify a previous response used exhaustive style questions in which respondents could select an unlimited number of responses from a list of possible responses. All exhaustive questions included a short response "other" category. All surveys were self-administered to preserve anonymity and to ensure privacy due to the sensitive political nature of some of the questions used (Nardi, 2006).

A total of 131 surveys were completed (for specifics on how surveys were distributed please refer to Table 6). 85 surveys were completed in Addison County and 46 in Franklin County. The total response rate for this survey was not calculated due to

the nature in which the surveys were distributed. Online postings and placement in public forums did not provide a tally for the number of non respondents.

Of the fourteen churches asked to distribute surveys within their congregation, surveys were returned from two in Addison County and two in Franklin County. A third church in Addison County returned surveys after the deadline. Those responses are not included in this analysis.

Of the 210 surveys distributed to churches in Addison County (thirty to each church), 16 surveys returned giving a 7.62% response rate. In Franklin County of the 210 surveys distributed there 11 were returned giving a 5.24% response rate. Three pastors did not feel comfortable distributing surveys due to their political nature. The remaining churches did not receive any responses or were unable to be contacted after the surveys were distributed.

Thirty surveys were collected via an online lime survey posted to Front Porch Forum, twenty from Addison and ten from Franklin (for a view of the neighborhoods in which the surveys were distributed refer to appendix A). Twenty five surveys were collected from patrons of a store in Franklin County and 49 were collected from patrons of a store in Addison County. An additional 120 surveys were distributed to two stores in Addison and Franklin County (30 at each store, 60 in each county) with a zero percent response rate.

Table 6: Survey Responses by Location

<i>County</i>	<i>Number of Responses</i>	<i>Responses from Churches</i>	<i>Responses from Front Porch Forum</i>	<i>Responses from Stores</i>
Addison	85	16	20	49
Franklin	46	11	10	25
Total	131	27	30	74

Note this survey does not include missing or partial responses (only two partial responses were obtained and only missing responses from churches could be calculated as noted above).

Results

The findings of this study were divided into three main parts: stakeholder interviews, surveys within the ecumenical community, and surveys distributed to the local community. These sections are further divided into question groups based on the relevance of the data to the research questions.

I: Interviews with key stakeholders

1: Law Enforcement Departments

Four law enforcement departments were interviewed: Swanton local police in Franklin County, Middlebury local police in Addison County, the Attorney General’s Office and the Vermont State Police.

Cooperation between State/Local Authorities and Border Patrol

Every department stated that they have an obligation to work with border patrol to conduct their duties in Vermont, especially in a small rural state. The primary purpose of this relationship is for the two departments to serve as back-up duty to one another when additional officers are required in a situation. Departments interviewed indicated a divide in jurisdiction between the two departments and do not look for the same type of law

violations as border patrol (including civil immigration infractions). In addition all agreed that as local/state authorities it was not their principle duty. However no department indicated a distinct boundary between their jurisdiction and that of border patrol.

All departments interviewed have a bias-free policy in place and all cover immigration status except for Swanton. The Middlebury and State police have a formal system for submitting complaints if the public finds the police in violation of the policy and both departments pledge to investigate every one of these complaints. The AG's recommended policy does not include a formal system for submitting complaints because that is left up to the discretion of each individual department. However the policy does recommend that some sort of opportunity to address allegations and violations should be part of every policy instituted. The Swanton police department was not included in the question because their policy does not cover immigration status.

Views on the role of community advocacy in establishing bias-free policies

There was strong support for the campaign for bias-free policies to be instituted in all departments in Vermont. However some departments did not agree with the Attorney General's proposed policy. The Middlebury, State and Swanton police all adopted their own policies because they found the AG's confusing, not entirely applicable to law enforcement, and did not go far enough in its demands. All agree the recommended policy is a good guide and a good attempt to bring uniformity to bias-free policies around the state. However the Middlebury department believed that there was no longer a need because most departments in the state had established some sort of policy.

Community response did not play a role in the formation of policies in local departments, rather both departments put in place policies at their own initiative. According to the Swanton representative, “there was no real community interest here, we looked at it solely as an agency and decided we needed to be on the forefront.” The chief of the Middlebury police offered a similar response.

The Attorney General’s office was the only department to indicate the importance of community response in establishing policies. However even they indicated a recommendation by the Vermont Human Rights Commission as the principle reason for instituting their policy. The state police and the Attorney General’s office worked together to formulate a bias-free policy. However it took ten years for immigration to be included in the policy and the state police indicate that decision too was of their own volition.

How Policies Get Passed Within Departments

The Middlebury and state police both have ways through which the public can advocate for policy change or introduction by making direct contact with the department or with local/town legislators and both stated they were fully open to discussion. The Swanton police stated that, “we have not really had the advocacy out there.” The question was irrelevant to the Attorney General.

While no departments ran into obstacles when introducing a bias-free policy, many did run into at least some negative feedback when it came to introducing an immigration clause. The Middlebury department and Attorney General’s office both received some criticism, although Middlebury did not receive criticism from within the

community where the policy would be enforced. The state police ran into obstacles with training all of its troopers on the new policy and establishing how to enforce it. The Colonel stated that the, “only obstacle was to immediately put this into play” and that they are still going through that process with the help of an online training program.

2: Local Government Actors

Two members of the state legislature were interviewed; a Democrat from Franklin County and a Democrat from Addison County. Both representatives serve close to 45,000 constituents.

Activism within Constituency Surrounding Bias-Free Policing

The senators believed that community pressure to institute bias-free policies in local departments are very important, especially in supporting the health of the farming community. Bias-free policies create the threat of an unstable workforce in an economy where the demand for labor to meet quotas is high and local labor is sparse. Both indicated that farmers within their county were dependent on migrant workers to support their farms.

In addition the Franklin County senator indicated that the relationship between local police and border patrol has become more involved in recent years. She believed that there was a need for education in a state where many people are not exposed to diversity, especially within the police system. The Addison County senator mentioned that many undocumented workers run into difficulties accessing health services as a result of bias policing. She also stated that cooperation with border patrol unnecessarily stretches already scarce resources.

The two senators had very different responses regarding the dialogue they had been having with their constituency around the issue. The Franklin County senator stated that her constituents valued equality. She believes we need to train our law enforcement to ensure policing practices are bias-free. The Addison County senator stated that no one had approached her at all. There were op-ed pieces and letters to the editor published in the local newspaper in Addison County which began a conversation within the community, however “there was not that big buzz” that other hot button issues have received in the past.

Both Senators agree that there is a lack of awareness in regards to the effects bias policing can have on undocumented workers. The Franklin County senator cited inexperience with the issue, especially due to lack of diversity, misperceptions, and a lack of understanding of the repercussions as the culprits. The Addison County senator also cited negative misperceptions of job stealing and welfare dependence as the main culprits. However, they had very different opinions about the awareness of their constituency on the effects bias policing can have on the farming community. The Franklin County Senator stated their constituency was far more aware of that issue than its effect on the undocumented community because Franklin County is an agrarian community where the negative effects can be seen directly. In Addison County the senator believes their constituency misses that connection and does not appreciate how difficult it is for farmers to find employees nor the repercussions of bias policing on their economic welfare.

Both senators cite relatively strong activity within their constituencies to advocate for bias-free policing, at least among strong countywide groups. The Franklin County senator cited Migrant Education as the most active while the Addison County senator pointed more to individuals like nurses at the free clinic and Middlebury college students as the strongest advocates.

3: Non- Governmental Organizations

Seven representatives from five NGO's were interviewed from across the state including two representatives of the Addison County Farmworker Coalition, a representative from Farming Across Cultures, Champlain Valley Area Health Education Center, two representatives from the Vermont Migrant Farmworker Solidarity Project (now Migrant Justice), and one from the Vermont Human Rights Commission. Of these organizations two operate statewide (Vermont Migrant Farmworker Solidarity Project and HRC), two are county based (Franklin: Farming Across Cultures, Addison: Addison Farmworker Coalition) and one is region based (CVAHEC: Addison, Chittenden, Franklin and Grand Isle Counties). Table 1 below gives a summary of the services each organization offers as well as the area in which they operate. The numbers in the left hand column indicate that more than one representative from the given organization was interviewed.

The organizations offer a variety of services including language and communication support (2), increasing access to services (3), and advocating greater access to rights (3). The organizations varied greatly in size and the number of migrant workers they served from a dozen or so to several hundred. Many organizations work in

conjunction with other service providers and in this way reach a much larger group of workers indirectly as well.

Table 1: Summary of Participating Service Organizations

Organizations (# of representatives)	Service Area	Type of Service
Addison County Farmworker Coalition (2)	Addison County	-Language and Communication Support -Increasing access to services - Advocacy
UVM Extension Farming Across Cultures	Franklin County	- Language and Communication Support - Increasing Access to Services
Champlain Valley Health Education Center	Franklin, Chittenden, Addison, and Grand Isle Counties	- Increase Access to Services
Migrant Justice (2)	All of Vermont	- Advocacy
Vermont Human Rights Commission	All of Vermont	- Advocacy

n=7/7

Opinions on Cooperation between Local/State Authorities and Border Patrol

Every interviewee agreed that cooperation between local and state police and border patrol created problems and conflict within the community. Figure 1 shows the distribution of conflicts identified by respondents, which can be summarized as follows:

- Five cited stretching limited resources in terms of time, money and staff as a serious resulting issue.
- Four of the seven interviewees cited fear and resulting inability or unwillingness to access police services as a resulting problem.
- Four cited the need to prioritize public safety above other issues out of their jurisdiction
- Four cited the need for separation of roles
- Two also mentioned the civil rights issues associated with the resulting bias policing that can occur.
- The problems that arise from lack of proper training were also mentioned.

When asked about the effects that this cooperation can have on the undocumented worker community again fear was one of the first and certainly most common issues to be discussed. Figure 2 demonstrates the negative impacts on the undocumented worker

community that respondents identified resulted from cooperation between border patrol and local/state authorities. Fear was mentioned universally by all interviewees with concerns that it results in both isolation of the farmworkers from the community and a sense of imprisonment, as well as unwillingness to access emergency services when they are needed. Five interviewees cited isolation in particular as resulting in an inability to access basic needs including groceries, clothing and most importantly healthcare. Two interviewees mentioned that the issues were more severe in the northern areas of the state.

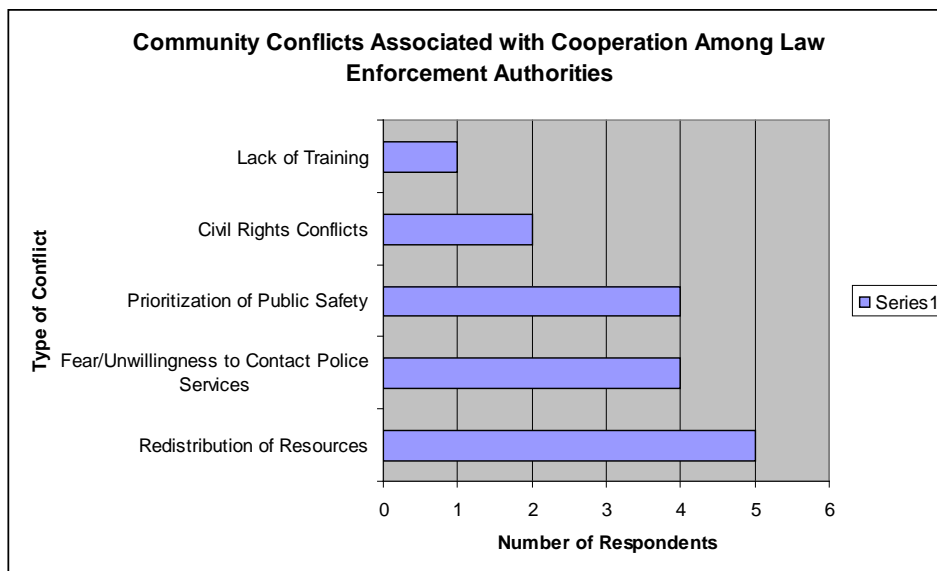


Figure 1: Community Conflicts Identified by Respondents that Result from Cooperation Between Law Enforcement Authorities

All seven respondents are included in this figure however the number of responses is greater than seven because some respondents identified more than one conflict. n=7/7

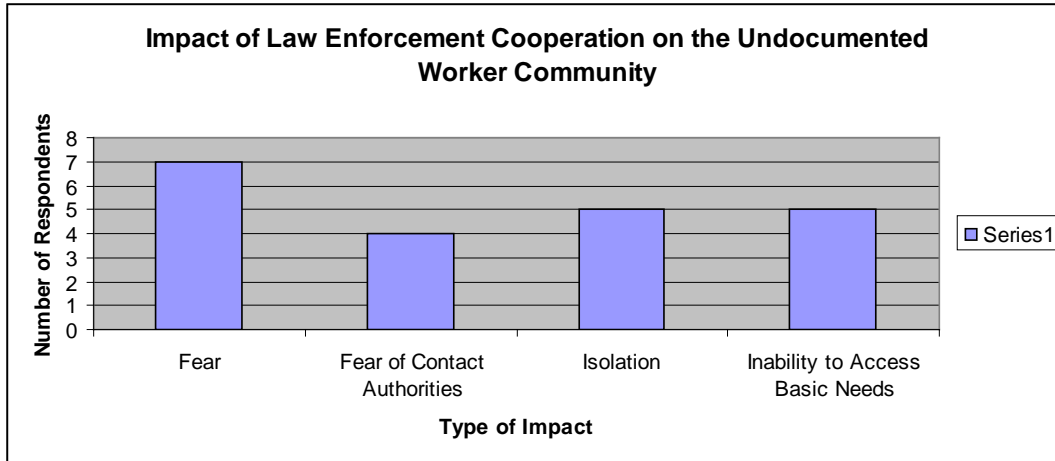


Figure 2: Impact of Law Enforcement Cooperation on the Undocumented Worker Community
All seven respondents are included in this figure however the number of responses is greater than seven because some respondents identified more than one conflict. n=7/7

The Role of Advocacy in Vermont

Three interviewees emphasized the role of advocacy work in getting the Attorney General’s model bias-free policy created and especially in getting immigration status included in the policy. They also believed that the push from local Vermonters to institute local bias-free policies was an important aspect of community involvement. Their responses can be summarized as follows:

- Five interviewees indicated that this is a step in the right direction however advocacy work must continue to occur in order to see change occur statewide.
- Four interviewees emphasized the role of bias-free policies in keeping our communities safe
- Four interviewees also cited its role in providing clarity for law enforcement officials to help keep biases in check and prevent civil rights issues from occurring.

All interviewees stated that they discuss bias-free policing within their organizations although the representative from Farming Across Cultures emphasized that their organization does not get involved with political issues. Farming Across Cultures and CVAHEC (both of which are based in Franklin County) are not involved directly in advocating for bias-free policing although they do have discussions within the community in which they work, the five other interviewees all play some role in

advocating at least in part. Table 2 highlights the advocacy work done by the organizations interviewed in this study. The third column indicates the estimated number of people organizations have reached through their advocacy activities. All interviewees are included in this table, however two only advocate indirectly because their organization is not politically oriented.

Advocacy initiatives include the following:

- Direct contact and discussions with state police departments, the attorney general and the governor as well as with some county sheriffs departments and local departments.
- Most advocacy work has been occurring at the state level among these organizations.
- Discussions have also been held at the community level by all interviewees involved in advocacy either through community forums, discussion groups, or presentations at churches, schools, and conferences and Mexican consulate meetings.
- Vermont Migrant Farmworker Solidarity Project and the VHRC were also involved in discussions to formulate and design both the current state police policy and the Attorney General's recommended policy.
- Petitions and networking were also used by most organizations to get the larger community involved in the issue and spread awareness.
- Vermont Migrant Farmworker Solidarity Project also produces their own media in the form of films.

Through their advocacy work organizations estimated that they reach between hundreds and thousands of people.

- The Addison County Farmworker Coalition and Vermont Migrant Farmworker Solidarity Project estimated contacting thousands of people.
- The Vermont Human Rights Commission indicated hundreds
- CVAHEC only indicated 10-20.
- The Addison County Farmworker Coalition emphasized that most of their advocacy work consists of contacting local government officials which they estimate reaches a couple dozen individuals.

Table 2: Types of Advocacy Work by Organization

Organization	Types of Advocacy	Number of People Reached
Addison County Farmworkers Coalition (2)	-Public outreach/forums -Discussions with local and county law enforcement agencies	Thousands
UVM Extension Farming Across Cultures	-Indirectly through community discussions	-----
Champlain Valley Health Education Center	-Indirectly through community discussions	-----
Migrant Justice (2)	-Discussions with governor/AG's office -Public outreach/forums - Community Organizing/ worker empowerment	1500 directly (6000 through Vermont Workers Center)
Vermont Human Rights Commission	-work with legislature to draft bills -meetings with law enforcement and criminal justice departments	Hundreds (via Commission work tens of thousands)

n = 7

4: Research Questions

Interviewees shared similar positive opinions of the Attorney General's model bias-free police policy, although there was some key differences that must be addressed. Ten of the thirteen interviewees believed the passage of that policy was a positive step, although as mentioned above there was ambivalence as to its true applicability. Six interviewees highlighted the fact that this policy recommendation does not carry the force of law and that while it is a good and necessary step advocacy work must continue for it to spread across the state. Eleven interviewees stated that they believed the push from local Vermonters to institute bias-free policies in law enforcement departments is a positive step. The other two interviewees did not express a clear opinion but did not answer negatively. Three interviewees, all NGO's stated that instituting such policies can help to control implicit biases within the police system.

Problems associated with bias policing included lack of access to police resources, fear, public safety issues, and the diversion of resources outside of jurisdictional requirements. Three interviewees also mentioned the issue as one of civil rights and equality. Again both senators mentioned the importance of migrant workers to the dairy farming economy.

Only five interviewees believed there was a lack of awareness of the effects bias policing has on the undocumented farmworker community. Figure 3 shows the opinions of all respondents interviewed in regards to whether they believe there is a problem with community awareness surrounding the impacts of bias policing on the undocumented worker community. Three interviewees believed there was no problem with community awareness or felt that their communities were aware of the issue. Four of the interviewees believe misconceptions and negative perceptions of undocumented workers are a greater issue than awareness. These interviewees mentioned that many people in the United States still view illegal aliens as criminals, and as people who take local jobs and live off of welfare supported by a tax system they do not participate in. Three interviewees also talked about the experience of isolation, and Vermont's inexperience with minority groups in a largely white state.

When asked if there was a problem with community awareness of the effects of bias policing on the farming community answers varied widely. Figure 4 shows the opinions of all respondents interviewed in regards to whether they believe there is a problem with community awareness surrounding the impacts of bias policing on the farming community. This figure includes twelve of the thirteen respondents interviewed. One respondent is not included because he was not knowledgeable on the issue. Seven

interviewees indicated a problem with awareness. Three believed that those within the farming community or in contact with the farming community were well aware of the issue. Two interviewees, both police departments indicated not knowing.

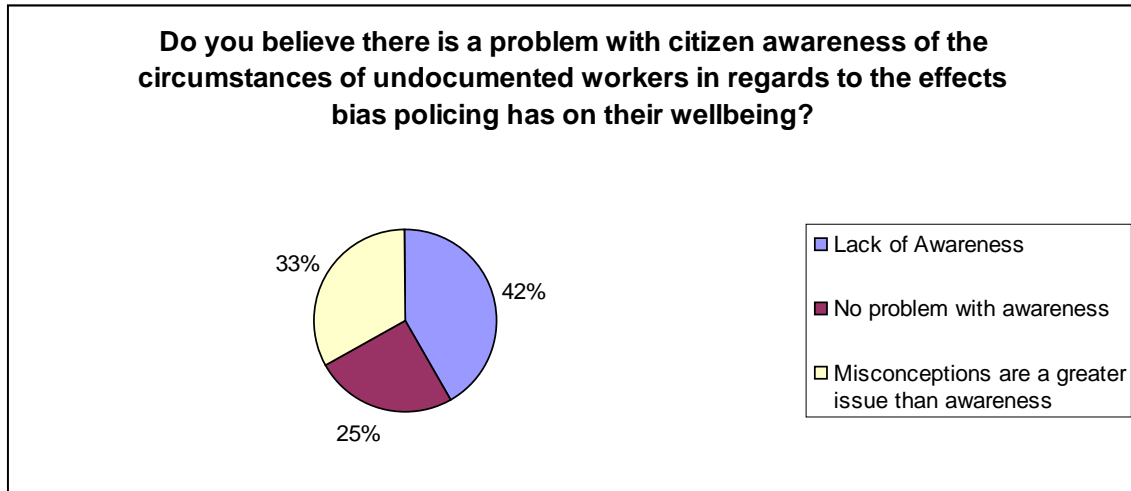


Figure 3: Total distribution of responses regarding whether there is a problem with citizen awareness of the effects of bias policing on the undocumented worker community
n=12/13

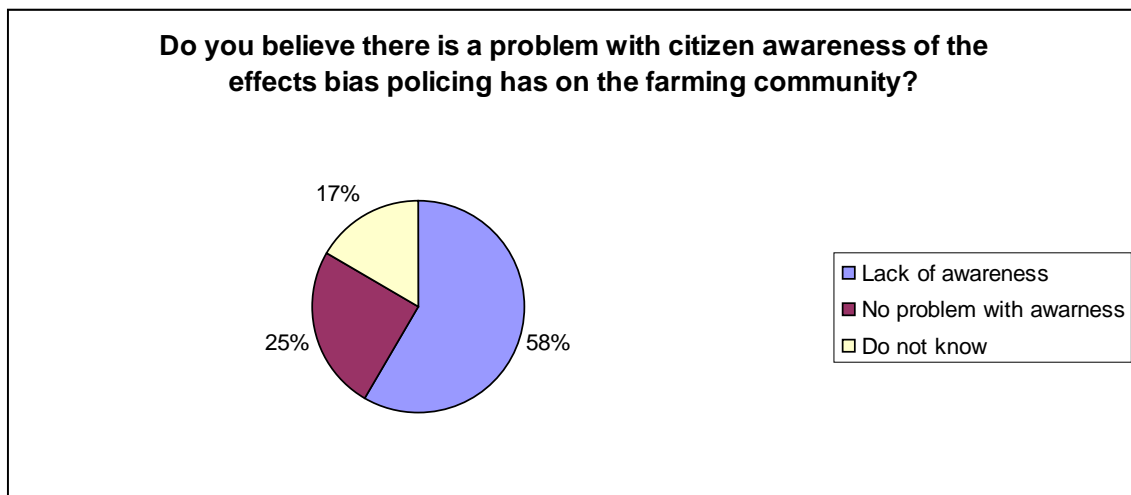


Figure 4: Total distribution of responses regarding whether there is a problem with citizen awareness of the effects of bias policing on the farming community.
n=12/13

All interviewees agreed that there are areas of Vermont that are more aware than others. Figure 5 shows the areas of Vermont respondents believed had higher levels of awareness

indicated by number of respondents. Note that Franklin County was never mentioned.

Surprisingly responses were evenly split between Addison and Burlington. Only ten of the thirteen respondents are included in this chart because three indicated they did not know. Five interviewees cited Burlington as having high levels of awareness due to its urban population and higher levels of diversity. Five interviewees also cited Addison County, and Middlebury in particular, as an area of high awareness again due to its higher diversity, its proximity to the farming community, high levels of networking, and Chief Hanley's bias-free policy, a policy change that was made very public. Three interviewees mentioned that this awareness has been spreading around the state due to media coverage of policy changes and Danilo's incident as well as the work of Vermont Migrant Farmworker Solidarity Project and other groups.

Everyone agreed that higher levels of community organization have had an influence on the level of awareness in the surrounding community. Although several mentioned it may not be on a county by county basis because Vermont Migrant Farmworker Solidarity Project operates statewide and most of the policy change has occurred on the state or local level. Eight interviewees believed that higher levels of awareness and support networks would influence policy change. However again several believed this did not occur on the county level so much as at the state or local level because that is primarily where decisions are made. Five interviewees emphasized the role that advocacy work has played in getting policies changed in the past in particular the governor, AG's, and state police policies. Two interviewees also mentioned the idea that police departments like any other government agency should be answerable to the people.

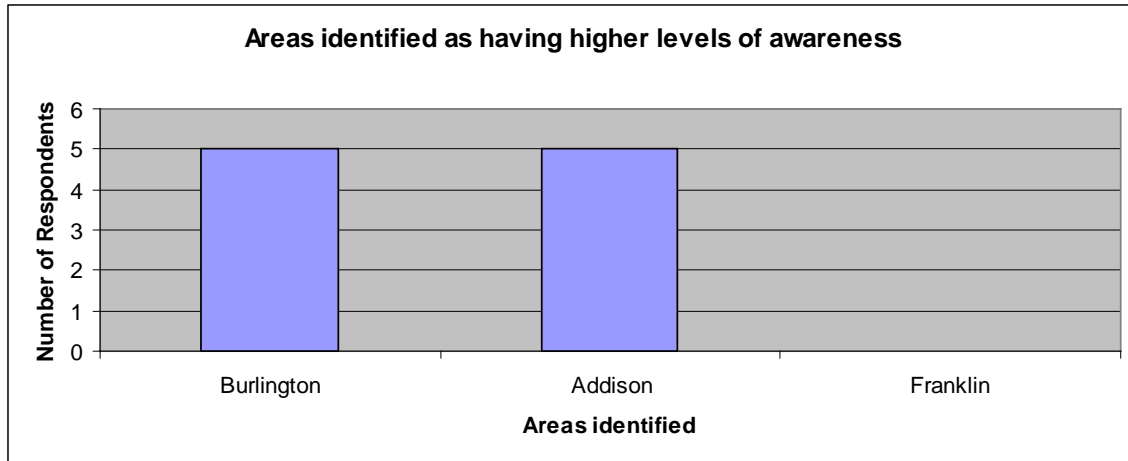


Figure 5: Areas of Vermont identified as having higher levels of community awareness of bias-free policing initiatives
n=10/13

Church Surveys

Figure 6 shows the number of interviewees representative of each denomination. Note this figure represents all respondents and does not take into account differences across county. Values were given instead of percents to provide a more accurate picture due to the small sample size. The proportion of denominations interviewed does not reflect the constituency of the religious community in each county as planned due to the high volume of negative response or lack of response (for a true representation of the denominations in each country refer to appendix B)

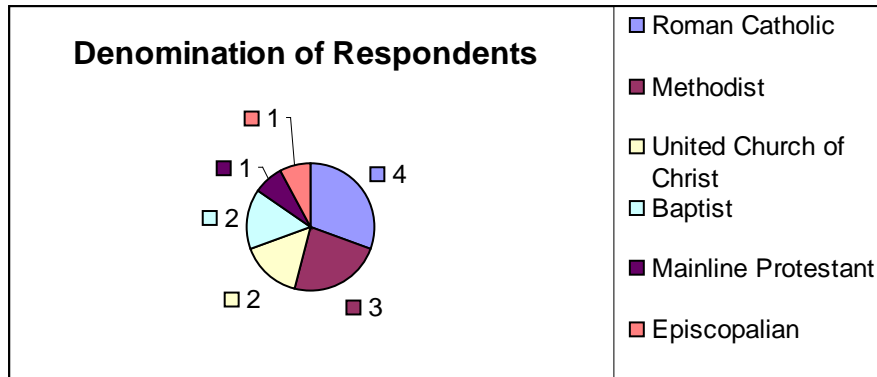


Figure 6: Denomination of respondents from church surveys
n=14

Churches ranged in size and geographic area from covering single towns to spreading across county lines (See appendix A). The principle factors that distinguished the geographic area of a congregation were personal choice and their willingness to travel. Two churches also mentioned having seasonal attendees in the summer and winter months. The Catholic Church is the only church structured along distinct regional lines outlined by the diocese.

Summary of Services Offered to the Migrant Workers

Addison and Franklin County churches differed significantly in the services they offer to migrant workers, although at first glance similar numbers of parishes offer services. Table 3 shows the number of parishes who offered each type of service. Direct services were classified as services that specifically target the migrant worker community. Indirect services were classified as all services open to the public that migrant workers were welcome to attend.

Table 3: Number and Types of Services Offered by Churches Surveyed

County	Addison County	Franklin County
Direct Services	4	3
Indirect Services	2	2
No Services	1	2

N = 12/13

Table 4 below refers to the particular services offered by respondents in each county. It was difficult to determine the number of years each service was run, especially when churches offered multiple services but only gave a single estimate of number of years offering services. The sum of total responses was greater than the total number of respondents because some respondents provided more than one answer. In Addison County direct services included a monthly Spanish mass followed by a meal for the workers (all 4 participate). The mass is given at St Bernadette's in Bridport by a visiting priest who is fluent in Spanish. Unfortunately services halted in January because the priest could no longer attend the services due to a scheduling conflict. This mass and meal was used as a form of community outreach and education that was open to the public and is run by a group of parishes of multiple different denominations.

One of these churches also sponsored a symposium run by Middlebury College and the Mexican Consulate for the migrant workers that served as another form of community outreach and education. Other direct services include religious services, transportation, and clothing where there is an apparent need.

Both churches who offer indirect services offer these services through a food shelf that is open to the public. Estimates of how many workers attend the monthly mass in Addison County ranged from 10-15, to 20-30, to 30-50. No estimate was given as to how many migrant workers attended the symposium. No other congregations could give an estimate of the number of migrant workers they serve.

Direct services in Franklin County constituted working with Migrant Education to coordinate members of the congregation to offer transportation for migrant workers to health services. Another donates clothing on a yearly basis around Christmas time to the

migrant workers through the Community Action migrant worker program operating in Franklin and Grand Isle Counties. The final pastor stated that his congregation was in the process of entering into a ministry that will provide services to migrant workers in Franklin County which will be detailed later.

The two who offer services indirectly both have food shelves that are open to the public. One interviewee also runs two thrift stores and a weekly meal that is open to the public. The congregation offering transportation services in Franklin County had served two workers by the time the interview took place. No other congregations could give an estimate of the number of migrant workers they serve.

Table 4: Services Offered to Migrant Workers

Addison County	Number of Respondents	Service	Number of Years Offering the Service	Franklin County	Number of Respondents	Services Offered	Number of Years Offering the Service
	2	Food Shelf	20		2	Food Shelf	20
	4	Monthly Spanish Mass and Migrant Meal	7.75 Standard Deviation: 4.57		1	Involved with Migrant Education offering Transportation Services	1
	1	Education	3		1	Part of a Ministry to Serve Migrant Workers	Has not begun yet, contact began in Fall 2011
	1	Sponsor Symposium on Migrant Workers	10		1	Donate Blankets and Clothes at Christmas Time through Community Action Program	5
	1	Transportation	13		2	None	-----
	1	Clothing	13				
	1	None	-----				

n=14/14

None of the respondents offering direct services to migrant workers stated that they had to make any changes to accommodate these services. The obstacles faced by these parishes in offering services varied widely and differed across county. These differences are detailed in Table 5 below. Only those who offered direct services to migrant workers were asked to respond to these questions (four/seven respondents in Addison and three/seven in Franklin). The first three columns indicate the obstacles identified by services providers in each county. The principles obstacles identified are indicated by the letter x in the fourth column (the number of x's corresponds to the number of respondents who identified the obstacle). One respondent from Franklin County who is providing direct services was not asked these questions because services had not yet begun. The sum of total responses is greater than the number of respondents because some gave multiple responses

In Addison County two parishes stated that they encountered no obstacles in serving migrant workers. Two mentioned transportation obstacles. In addition of these two: one mentioned the language barrier, one scheduling conflicts, and one the fear factor of integrating into the community. Of those who pointed to obstacles one felt that transportation was the greatest obstacle. The other pointed to the fear factor as the greatest obstacle.

In Franklin County two interviewees mentioned the clash of political beliefs and perceptions towards illegal aliens within their congregation as obstacles and believed that this was the greatest obstacle. However a strong presence of border patrol within the community was also mentioned. Again the third interviewee was not asked the question because their services had not yet begun.

Table 5: Obstacles to Offering Services to Migrant Workers by County

County	Obstacles	Number of Respondents	Principle Obstacles
Addison	None	2	
Addison	Transportation	2	X
Addison	Language Barrier	1	
Addison	Scheduling Conflicts	1	
Addison	Fear of integrating into the community	1	X
Franklin	Clash of perceptions and attitudes toward migrant worker illegality	2	Xx
Franklin	Strong presence of border patrol within the community	1	

n=7/14.

Community Networking

Questions 8 and 9 addressed whether or not parishes were involved with other organizations regarding the services they offered to Hispanic migrant workers. A greater number of parishes in Addison County were connected with other organizations than those in Franklin County. A graphic comparison of the difference across counties is demonstrated in Figure 7 below. Note the first column (parishes in contact with organizations) gives the total number of churches that work in collaboration with other organizations regarding offering services to Hispanic migrant workers. The next two columns indicate the type of contact and the final column indicates those with no contact at all. The total number of responses is greater than the number of respondents because many respondents provided more than one answer.

In Addison County five of the seven churches interviewed indicated that they are in contact with other organizations offering services to Hispanic migrant workers. Of these four indicated working in collaboration with other parishes primarily through contact with the priest who offers Spanish mass followed by migrant dinners. An additional three indicated working with an NGO (Addison County Farmworker's Coalition). Two indicated that they were not in contact with any other organizations at all.

In Franklin County two of the seven churches interviewed in Franklin County indicated that they are in contact with other organizations offering services to Hispanic migrant workers. Of these one works with a group of parishes working to create a new ministry led by a pastor from Mexico. The group is interested in starting a collaborative ministry that offers social and religious services specifically to the migrant population in Franklin County. The other works with an NGO (UVM Extension group Farming Across Cultures) to offer transportation services. Four of the churches indicated they were not in contact with any other organizations at all (however earlier in the interview one interviewee did mention working with the Community Action Group in Franklin and Grand Isle Counties) while one did not answer question.

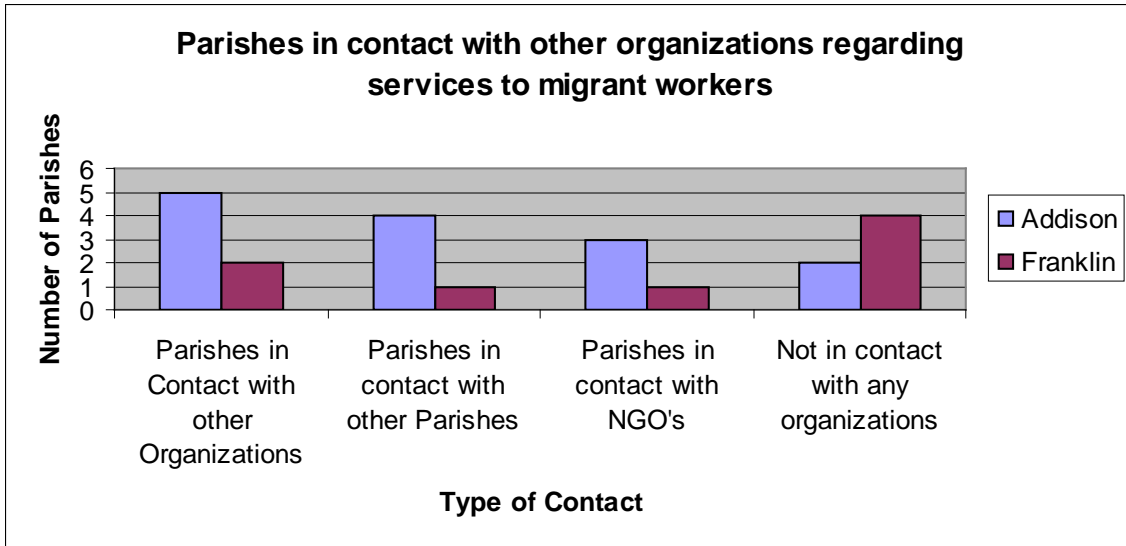


Figure 7: Parishes in contact with other organizations regarding services to migrant workers
n=13/14

Involvement with Bias-Free Policing Advocacy Initiatives

The following questions 10-15 addressed the awareness and advocacy within congregations of bias-free policing initiatives. There was no significant difference across county in regards to the level of discussion of the issue occurring within congregations as demonstrated in Figure 8.

In Addison County two parishes in affirmed that they have discussed bias-free policing (one formally and one informally). Formal discussion took place in the form of preaching, presentation and facilitated discussion. Informal discussions took place at casual meetings sparked by current events. Five stated that the subject has never been discussed.

In Franklin County three parishes affirmed that they have discussed bias-free policing (two formally and one informally). Four stated a discussion had never taken place. Two pastors in Franklin County both of whom stated that their congregation did not discuss

bias-free policing did indicate members of their congregations earlier in the interview who worked with migrant workers (a veterinarian often present on the farms and a woman who works with Migrant Education) and stated that they often facilitated informal discussions during parish meals.

In regards to whether or not congregations supported bias-free policing again there were no cross county differences. In Addison County when asked whether or not they believed their congregation supported bias-free policing three churches in Addison County answered positively. The remaining four also answered positively but indicated a greater amount of ambivalence in answering their question, using phrases like, “ I don’t know but I would guess so,” “ I would hope so,” and “I can’t see why they wouldn’t.” In Franklin County four churches answered positively while three were again positive but ambivalent with their responses.

However in terms in advocacy more congregations were active in Addison County than in Franklin County. In fact none of the parishes interviewed in Franklin County were involved in advocacy work.

In Addison County three of the churches stated that they are currently involved in advocating for bias-free policing as a congregation (see figure 9 for details). Of those in Addison County who indicated advocating for bias-free policing, all three listed community outreach as one of their activities two of which indicated the migrant mass and meal as the primary form of that outreach (reaching between fifteen and twenty people). One group also indicated working in collaboration with the Catholic Diocese to help set up that ministry. One group indicated speaking with legislators and other local

representatives through the Farmworker's Coalition, as well as working with other NGO's in the community (reaching about half a dozen people).

Two churches in Addison County indicated that they were unsure whether or not individual parishioners were involved in advocating but that their congregation was not involved as a group. Two churches in Addison County indicated that they had never discussed the issue as a group and so were not involved in advocating.

In Franklin County no churches were involved in advocating. Two indicated trying to get involved in the future, one with specific plans to join the newly forming ministry to serve migrant workers, but none have been involved previously. One church in Franklin County indicated they did not advocate as a group but individual parishioners are involved.

The parishes that did not play a role in advocating for bias-free policing were asked whether or not they had considered advocating. No parishes had considered advocating (4 in Addison, 7 in Franklin)

Of the three parishes involved in advocacy in Addison County, two indicated that they did believe their outreach work was having a positive impact on the establishment of bias-free policies in the area in which they work while the third was unsure but indicated 'I hope so'. In Franklin County again no one was involved in advocating.

Effects of Support Networks on Community Awareness

Respondents were asked whether building support networks and promoting education around the issue has influenced community awareness of bias-free policing in the surrounding community. Five churches in Addison County believed these initiatives did have a positive effect on community awareness. Two believed that the issue was not

prevalent within their community answering “we try to raise awareness for different aspects of social living. But here it is negligible” (survey A4) and “I have not heard that there’s a problem with profiling or anything like that” (survey A7).

In Franklin County three believed that these initiatives had a positive effect on community awareness. Two indicated that they were unsure. One indicated that on the whole support networks and education do help with awareness however in the community they are involved in that same response has not occurred due to the community’s conservative attitudes towards immigration policy. One pastor did not believe it was an issue within his community worth discussing.

Local Community Surveys

Due to the small sample size the surveys do not offer statistically viable information standing alone. However the use of chi-square analysis comparison of the control and experimental counties highlights key differences across the two counties. A Chi-square analysis was run on each descriptive to examine differences in responses. The analysis was first run on the final six questions of the survey all of which were demographic questions to ensure that the sample groups were statistically similar in composition. As can be seen in Table 7 every demographic descriptive passed the null hypothesis test making the two groups statistically similar enough to offer a strong basis for comparison. The Pearson Chi Square test was used due to its universality among scholars. The p value was set at 0.1 as opposed to the traditional 0.05 due to the small sample size as recommended by Arlene Fink in her *Survey Kit* series (Fink, 2003).

Table 7: Chi Square Significance of Demographics Across County

Descriptive	Pearson Chi Square Asymp. Significance Value
Age	0.137
Ethnicity	0.239
Education Level	0.0395
Annual Income	0.557

$p < 0.1$. $n=131/131$.

Demographics

A total of 32 towns were represented among respondents with the bulk of responses in Addison coming from Middlebury (20.6% within county) and Vergennes (11.5% within county) residents and the bulk of responses from Franklin County coming from Fairfax (11.5% within county) residents. Respondents fell between the ages of 17 and 83 with a mean age of 47.39 and a standard deviation of 17.806. The bulk of respondents fell between the ages of 18 and 20 and 53 and 60. Respondents fell within a standard bell curve as indicated in Figure 8 below. Values are given in terms of number of respondents rather than percents.

An overwhelming majority of respondents described themselves as white: 96% (white), 1.65% (Latino), and 2.4% (Asian/Pacific Islander) (See Figure 9: The values are given as the valid percent so excludes the missing data.). The majority of respondents received a college level education or higher although a full 31.7% have only completed through a high school education. 27.8% of respondents fell in the \$25,000-40,000 income range and 23.3% fell in the \$40,000-60,000 income range and 17.8% fell in the \$10,000-25,000 income range (See Figure 10: again the values are given as the valid percent so excludes the missing data).

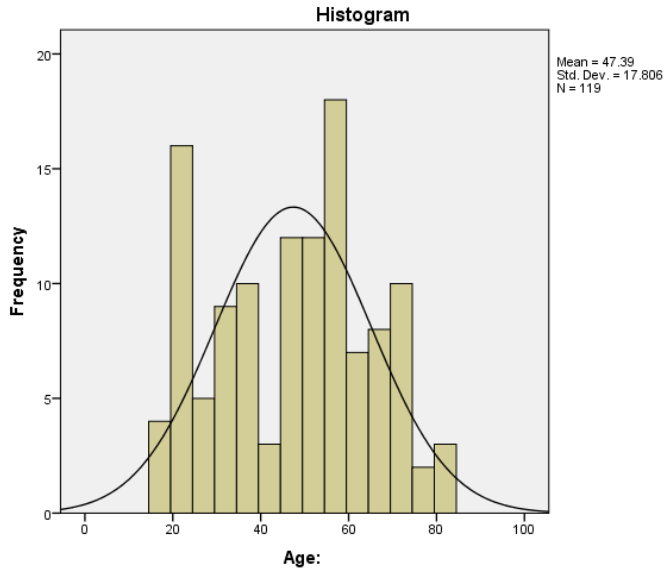


Figure 8: Total Respondent Age Distribution
n=119/131

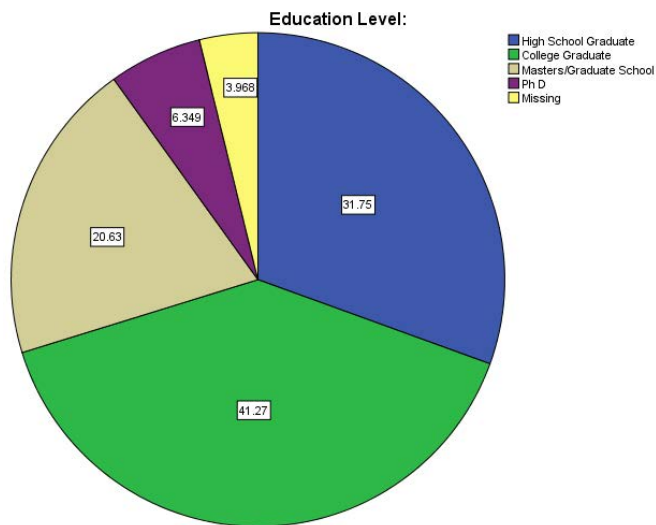


Figure 9: Total Respondent Education Level Achieved
*Note this figure represents the highest level of education **completed** by a respondent.*
n=126/131.

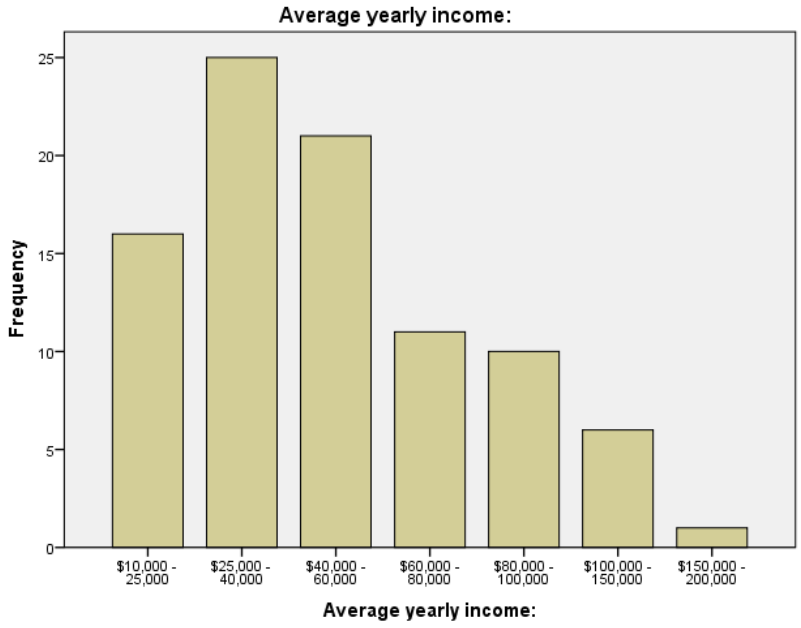


Figure 10: Average Yearly Income
n=90/131

Awareness of the Presence of Undocumented Workers

The first two questions in the survey serve as a preliminary question involving knowledge of the presence of undocumented workers on dairy farms. 79.4% of respondents indicated knowledge of the presence of undocumented workers (80% adjusted for missing responses). Figure 11 shows a comparison of the percent of respondents that answered each question within their county sample group. It was not beneficial to compare responses from the total respondent group because Addison County carries much greater weight (85 respondents were from Addison County versus only 46 in Franklin). Responses differed by 17% across county in both categories indicating a higher awareness level in Addison County.

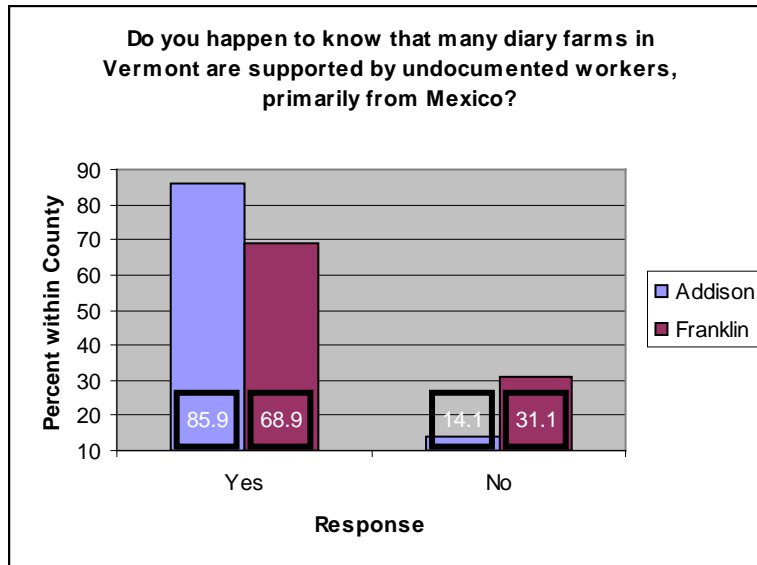


Figure 11: Cross County Comparison of Knowledge of Presence of Undocumented Workers on Dairy Farms
n=130/131. p= 0.021

Ethnic Profiling

The next set of four questions (see questions 3-4) regards knowledge and perceptions toward ethnic profiling. The group consisted of two yes or no questions, one check all that apply, and a final yes or no.

The majority of respondents (46.9%) stated they did not know if there was a problem with ethnic profiling of Latino immigrants in Vermont by state and local police during routine procedures such as traffic stops or following up on a 911 call. Of those who gave an opinion respondents were nearly evenly split (24.6% yes there is a problem in Vermont; 28.5% no there is not a problem in Vermont) with no significant difference in responses across county ($p= 0.492$).

The majority of respondents (76.9%) indicated that such profiling can lead to social concerns. Figure 12 shows a comparison of the percent of respondents that selected each response within their county sample group. It was not beneficial to compare responses from the total respondent group because Addison County carries much greater

weight (85 respondents were from Addison County versus only 46 in Franklin). 18% more respondents in Addison County indicated yes showing distinct cross county difference ($p = 0.059$). “Fear of local police by certain members of the community” was the most common social concern selected by the respondent group (68.4%) followed by “Distrust of local police by certain members of the community” (65.8), “Inability of certain members of the community to contact/utilize emergency services (fire, police, hospital)” (64.0%), “A sense of imprisonment and lack of independence in the lives of undocumented workers” (62.3%). There was no significant difference in responses to this question across the two counties.

The majority of respondents (48.1%) indicated that no they were not aware that local police are being asked to help border patrol conduct their duties the action of which often leads to ethnic profiling of Latinos for arrest and deportation. 32.6% indicated that yes they were aware. There was no significant difference in responses to this question across the two counties ($p = 0.224$)

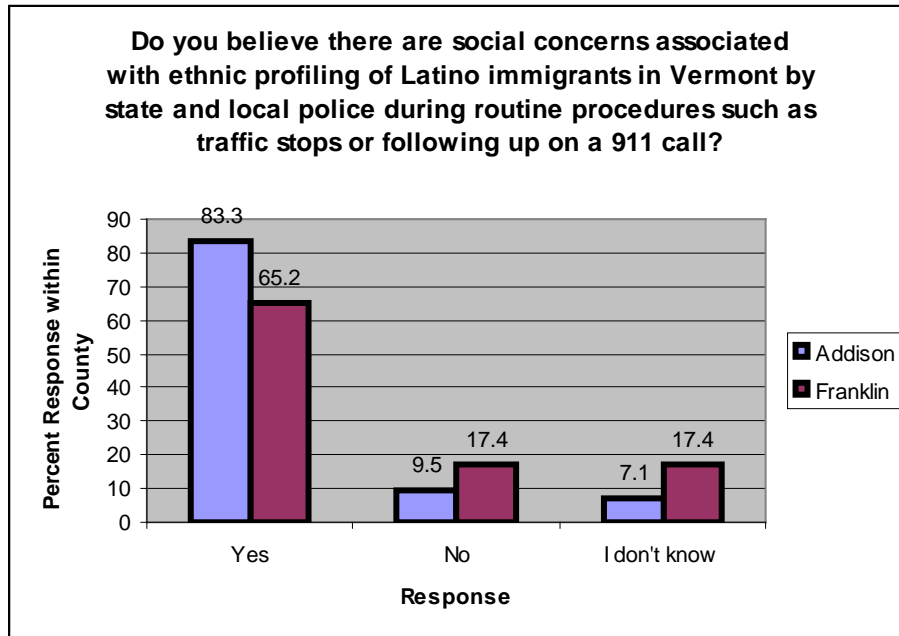


Figure 12: Percent of Respondents within Sample Groups that believe there were social concerns associated with ethnic profiling
n=130/131. p=0.059.

Opinions on Cooperation between Border Patrol and State and Local Authorities

Questions 5-7 addressed awareness of the cooperation between border patrol and state and local authorities. Questions 5 and 6 were yes or no while for Question 7 respondents could choose approve, disapprove, or I don't know. The majority of respondents (67.4%) were not aware that some Vermonters were asking local police not assist border patrol in conducting their duties. There was no significant difference in response between groups ($p= 0.327$)

Approval versus disapproval of local police assisting border patrol in their duties was split fairly evenly with 29.7% disapproving and 27.3% approving. However the bulk of respondents indicated they did not know enough about the issue to state an opinion. Table 8 shows the difference in percent of respondents within each county who gave each response. There is not only a higher disapproval of police assisting border patrol in

Addison County but a significantly higher approval rate (difference =26.3%) in Franklin County (p=0.01).

Table 8: Cross Tabulation by County Group of Approval of Local Police Assistance with Border Patrol Duties

			County	
			Addison	Franklin
What is your opinion on local police assisting border patrol in their duties?	Disapprove	Count	32	6
		% within County	38.6%	13.3%
		% of Total	25.0%	4.7%
	Approve	Count	15	20
		% within County	18.1%	44.4%
		% of Total	11.7%	15.6%
	I do not know enough about the issue	Count	36	19
		% within County	43.4%	42.2%
		% of Total	28.1%	14.8%
Total	Count	83	45	
	% within County	100.0%	100.0%	
	% of Total	64.8%	35.2%	

n=127/131. p < 0.1. p=0.010.

Bias-Free Policing

Questions 8-11a measured awareness of bias-free policing initiatives across the state. A majority of the respondents (70.6%) were unaware of Attorney General Sorrel’s announcement regarding instituting bias-free policing criteria for Vermont state police. In addition 69.5% were unaware of campaigns to institute bias-free policing policies throughout the state. Interestingly while there was a statistical difference across counties of the awareness of the AG’s announcement (p=0.037), there was no statistical difference in terms of awareness of campaigns (p= 0.294). A greater level of awareness of the AG’s announcement was indicated in Franklin County with a 40.9% positive response rate versus 23.2% in Addison County.

Figure 13 shows the awareness among respondents of several organizations working on the bias-free policing campaign. Only the positive responses to this question are included in the chart. 33.6% of respondents did not answer this question. With the exception of the Addison County Farmworkers Coalition and the Uncommon Alliance, respondents in Franklin County indicated a statistically significant higher level of awareness of these key organizations than those in Addison County. The sum of percentages in this figure is >100 because respondents had the ability to check more than one answer. The Addison County Farmworkers Coalition was the organization respondents were most familiar with (63.2% indicated a familiarity with the organization). 33.3% had heard of Vermont Migrant Farmworker Solidarity Project and 32.2% had heard of Migrant Education.

Table 9 shows that there was a significant difference in respondent awareness of the above key stakeholder organizations with the exception of Uncommon Alliance (only a total of 8% of respondents had heard of Uncommon Alliance). Interestingly in each case respondents from Franklin County were significantly more aware of each organization than those from Addison County. There was a statistically significant difference in respondents' awareness of the Addison Coalition across counties, however in this case respondents in Addison County were significantly more aware of its existence. A full third of respondents (33.6%) did not answer this question

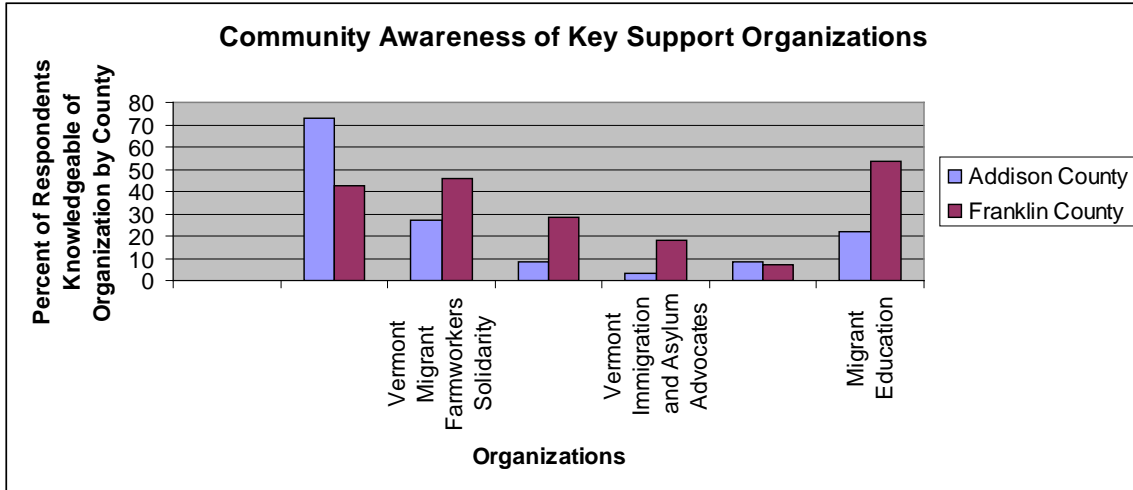


Figure 13: Demonstrated Difference in Level of Awareness of Key Organizations
n=87/131. p < 0.10.

Table 9: Chi-Square Significance of Awareness of Key Support Organizations Across County Groups

Key Supporting Organizations	Addison County Farmworkers Coalition	Vermont Migrant Farmworkers Solidarity Project	Vermont Partnership for Fairness and Diversity	Vermont Immigration and Asylum Advocate	Uncommon Alliance	Migrant Education
Pearson Chi-Square Asymp. Significance	0.007	0.074	0.014	0.020	0.831	0.003

n= 86/131. p < 0.10.

Involvement in Advocating for Bias-Free Policing

Questions 12-15 addressed respondents’ involvement in bias-free policing initiatives. This section gained the least number of responses of any section within the survey. Only five respondents of the total 131 were active in any of the above organizations or related organizations. Due to the low number of respondents it is not statistically beneficial to run a cross county analysis.

The majority of respondents gained their knowledge on bias-free policing from news sources and word of mouth. No statistical information on particular news or community sources was gained due to a lack of responses. (this information was not

significantly different across county groups). As demonstrated in Figure 14 below, a narrow majority of respondents (37.1%) who answered the question (11% of respondents did not complete this question) indicated they did not know whether or not they would want a bias-free policy instated in their local department. 35.3% indicated they would not and 27.6% indicated that they would. There was a nearly even split in percentage of responses to this question. The largest proportion of responses indicated “I don’t know” which suggests a lack of knowledge on the issue. The chart includes missing responses because they constituted such a large proportion of total responses. With a p value of 0.139 there was not statistical difference in answers across county.

An overwhelming 93.5% of respondents play no role in advocating for bias-free policing within their communities. Those that did indicated discussions with community members and friends as their principle mode of advocating. Responses to this question were not significant across county groups ($p= 0.346$).

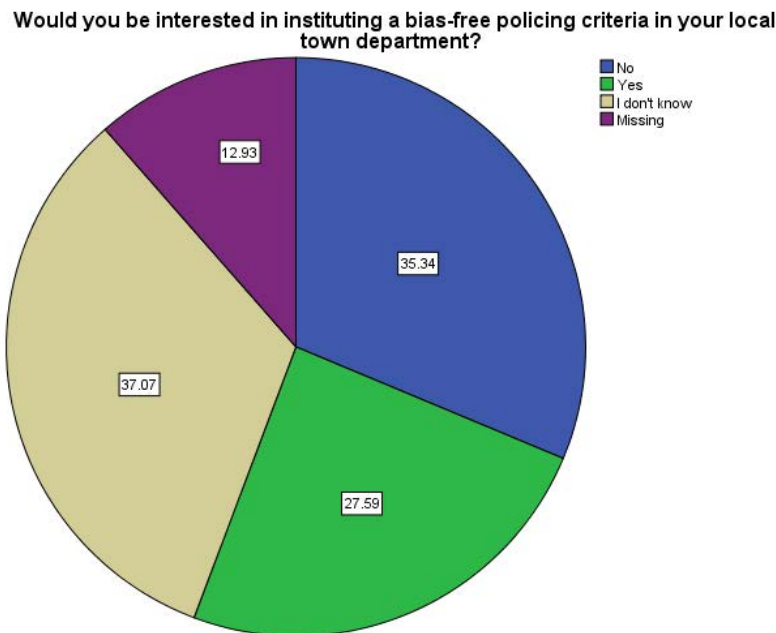


Figure 14: Percent of Total Respondents Interested in Instituting a Bias-Free Policy in their Local Departments
 $n=116/131$.

Effects of Community Organization and Awareness on Bias-free Policies

The final two questions come directly from the hypotheses of this study and were asked in a yes, no, I don't know format. The majority of respondents (50.4%) were unsure whether or not community organization around bias-free policing has had an influence on the level of awareness in the surrounding community. 33.9% believed that it did. Interestingly as noted in Table 10 below, responses to this question were significantly different across counties ($p= 0.042$) with a greater number of respondents agreeing in Franklin County.

58.3% of respondents believe that higher levels of awareness and community organization around the issue can have an effect on policy implementation on the county level. These responses were not statistically different across counties (p value of 0.384).

Table 10: Demonstration of Response Difference Across Counties to First Proposed Hypothesis

			County	
			Addison	Franklin
Do you believe increased levels of community organization around bias-free policing have influenced the level of awareness of the surrounding community on the issue?	No	Count	10	10
		% within County	12.2%	22.2%
	Yes	Count	24	19
		% within County	29.3%	42.2%
	I don't know	Count	48	16
		% within County	58.5%	35.6%
Total	Count	82	45	
	% within Question	64.6%	35.4%	
	% within County	100.0%	100.0%	

$n=127/131$. $p < 0.10$. $p=0.042$.

Discussion

There were four key findings in this study. (1) There is a higher level of organization in Addison County than in Franklin County (2) There is a greater knowledge in Addison County than in Franklin County of the negative effects of cooperation between state police and border patrol and the bias policing that can result (3) There is a greater knowledge of bias-free policing initiatives and their supporting organizations in Franklin County than in Addison County (4) Non governmental organizations have had a more important effect on policy change than community activism.

Variance in Levels of Community Organization

There is a clear difference in the level of community organization around bias-free policing in Addison and Franklin County. Franklin County does appear to lack a strongly vocal political organization like the Addison County Farmworker Coalition to spread awareness within the county. Both organizations interviewed in Franklin County are not involved in advocating and tend to stay out of the political realm because it enables them to be more effective in offering services to the migrant population in their communities.

There are groups in Franklin County including the Franklin-Grand Isle Coalition (*Franklin County Migrant Farm Family Services Coordination*) that are growing. However they are not as well established as the organizations in Addison County. According to the representative of the Champlain Valley Health Education Center, in Franklin County it has been, “*really only in the past year that there’s even been an effort on the part of the service providers who certainly are beginning to be aware of the situation to even come together and talk about it.*” The fledging Franklin-Grand Isle

Coalition was not included in this study so the extent of their advocacy work is as of right now unknown. However, both Franklin County NGO representatives indicated that the new group is not as well connected as groups in Addison County.

Interviews with the ecumenical community also indicated key differences in the level of organization across counties. Respondents from Addison County were not only more involved in offering direct services to the migrant workers via the monthly Spanish mass and migrant meal, but were better connected as a community amongst themselves and in regards to their partnerships to key organizations that work with the undocumented population. In addition the migrant meals they offered, which were open to the public, served as an outreach initiative to the surrounding community to gain face-to-face contact with the migrant workers in their community. Franklin County parishes interviewed were not involved in community outreach of any kind other than the provision of services directly to the migrant community and had limited contact with key organizations, although these relationships do appear to be growing.

These findings are consistent with conversations had with key actors prior to this study. Barbara Whitchurch, the director of Vermont Center for Crime Victim Services attributed Franklin County's lack of interconnectedness to its rural nature. Franklin County contains a greater number of large farms and the distance between them is greater than in Addison County (Whitchurch, 2011). In addition the presence of Middlebury College drawing in a more liberal population, historical precedence set by Middlebury Police Chief Tom Hanley's policies, and the strength of the Addison County Farmworker Coalition have all set the stage for a more cohesive community discussion to take place (O'Neil, 2011)(Mitchell, 2011)(Whitchurch, 2011).

Influence of community organization on awareness of social issues faced by the undocumented workforce

It was clear through the stakeholder interviews that some areas of Vermont have a greater awareness of social issues associated with cooperation between local/state authorities and border patrol than others. As was suggested in the literature, exposure to diversity in urban centers, as well as precedence in both local policy and community activism has led to higher levels of awareness in Chittenden and Addison Counties (Mitchel, 2011) (O'Neil, 2011). In addition there was a widely held belief that strong levels of community organization and support have led to greater levels of awareness.

Stronger supporting organizations in Addison County did appear to have an influence on the level of awareness within the ecumenical community of the social issues undocumented workers face. This was measured by the level of action taking place to support the undocumented community. Pastors indicated several reasons for providing services including an obligation to provide services to all members of the community without discrimination, an obligation to help those in need, and an obligation to aid the foreigner or immigrant in making them feel welcome in their new community. The moral influence of pastors' views and reasons for getting involved were consistent with the literature and reflect a level of awareness of the needs of the migrant community (Kotin, 2011) (Sullivan, 2011).

While similar numbers of parishes offered direct services to migrants in each county, Addison County parishes were part of a relatively large multi parish coalition that offered outreach initiatives and served a large number of migrant workers.

Parishes in Franklin County were far less coordinated and served far less workers. Of the three parishes who offered services one only reached two migrants and one only offered services once a year. The final parish was participating in a coalition of parishes similar to that operating in Addison County that was beginning to form a county wide ministry to offer services to migrant workers. However during this study the initiative was still in the planning stage.

Survey findings also indicate that higher levels of organization in Addison County have had a positive effect on the level of awareness of the social issues migrants face, especially in regards to bias policing. The Addison County Farmworker Coalition was twice as well known as any other organization among respondents and was significantly more well-known in Addison County suggesting that their outreach initiatives have been successful.

There was a significantly higher awareness of the presence of undocumented workers on the dairy farms among respondents in Addison County than in Franklin County. In addition while there was no cross county difference in a concern with ethnic profiling in Vermont (most did not know the answer to this questions), greater concern was expressed among respondents in Addison County that ethnic profiling of the Latino undocumented community could lead to social concerns. A majority of these respondents selected each of the social concerns listed which were derived from literature on the subject (Iomo, 2007) (DeGenova, 2002) (Bromage, 2011). Finally, there was a much higher rate of disapproval of bias-free policing in Addison County than in Franklin County.

All of these findings indicate that there does seem to be a higher level of awareness in Addison County of not only the presence of undocumented workers but of the social issues they face. There is also a strong indication that higher levels of community organization around the issue have helped to facilitate the spread of this knowledge.

Did Higher Levels of Community Organization Lead to Higher Levels of Awareness of Bias-Free Policing Initiatives?

An important finding of this study is that despite the perceived difference in awareness levels across counties, there was not a strong belief that there was an overall problem with community awareness. Key stakeholders were nearly evenly split with a little over a third of respondents believing there was a problem with awareness while a third believed people's perceptions were more of a concern than awareness in general, an aspect that was not explored in this study due to the sensitive nature of the inquiry.

In addition it seems as though community organization around the issue did not have an effect on the awareness of bias-free initiatives in either county. Indeed there was no great difference in the level of discussion around bias-free policing taking place in parishes in the two communities however there seemed to be very little community discussion occurring at all. The Addison County senator indicated that despite op-ed pieces and letters to the editor published in the local newspaper, there was not that "big buzz" occurring and no one in her constituency had approached her on the issue. The representative of the CVHEC in Franklin County indicated that "*there doesn't seem to be the response in this community to this issue.*" Both local police departments indicated a similar lack of community response.

The survey data shows a greater level of awareness of bias-free policing initiatives in Franklin County rather than Addison County contrary to what was expected. Respondents in Franklin County were not only more aware of the Attorney General's recommended policy but they were also more aware of each individual organization with the exception of the Addison County Farmworker Coalition (although there was only around a 33% awareness of each). In addition respondents in both counties were equally unaware of advocacy initiatives for bias-free policing in general. There was no cross county difference in advocacy and very few participated. The most telling question is that significantly more respondents in Franklin County believed that increased levels of community organization had a positive effect on the level of awareness within a community; however there was no difference in views of the effects awareness had on policy change.

It is clear that higher levels of community organization have not led to higher levels of awareness of bias-free policing initiatives at the county level. It is hard to say why members of Franklin County had a greater knowledge of bias-free policing initiatives than those in Addison County. It has already been established that community organization around the issue is higher in Addison County so that has been ruled out as factor. With the presence of border patrol in Franklin County the discussion may come up more frequently there as was suggested by Whitchurch (Whitchurch, 2011). In addition the senator of Franklin County believed that her constituency had a greater awareness level due to their economic dependency on the agrarian community that allows them to see the negative effects of bias policing directly. The Addison County senator believes that the separation of some of her constituency from the farming community causes them

to miss that connection. In other words they do not realize the economic repercussions of bias policing on the farming community so may not be as aware of bias-free initiatives. Finally, the two major advocacy groups (VTMFSP and VHRC) operate on a statewide level, although the distribution of their efforts is unknown. It is possible their efforts are more strongly concentrated in Franklin County.

One aspect this study did not address is the role misperceptions of undocumented workers play when awareness of bias-free policing has not translated to awareness of social concerns or movement towards policy change. It is possible that perceptions towards undocumented migrants play a greater role in community action to institute bias-free initiatives than awareness as stakeholders suggest. While community perceptions were not taken into account in this study it has been demonstrated that high proportion white and non-traditional destination locations have a strong correlation with anti-immigration sentiments (Varasyni, 2011). Addison County is notably more diverse than Franklin County, largely due to the presence of Middlebury College which has not only brought in a greater awareness of diversity but also a greater influx of liberal minded people (Hanley, 2011). In addition as was noted in the literature in Franklin County border patrol employs a large portion of the population and the county has traditionally been home to the greatest institutional resistance to pro-immigration policies (O'Neil, 2010).

The obstacles noted by pastors in Addison and Franklin County to serving undocumented workers were telling of the differing political atmosphere in the two counties. In Addison County the obstacles were similar to those encountered by many service organizations including language barriers, transportation issues and fear of

integrating into the local community (Cleveland, 2010). However in Franklin County obstacles were more associated with the political climate of the area citing conflicting political beliefs towards migrant workers within congregations and the strong presence of border patrol within communities.

Several stakeholders also indicated that Franklin County's history of anti-immigration sentiments may not be linked to lack of knowledge of bias-free initiatives at all but rather to misperceptions surrounding the undocumented worker community. The senators were most vocal about this issue stating that inexperience with diversity, negative misperceptions of job stealing and welfare dependence and a lack of understanding of the repercussions of enforcing immigration laws are the principle culprits of a lack of awareness around the bias policing issue. Both NGO's operating in Franklin County also voiced concern about this issue. The representative of CVAHEC stated:

“where do you go when you need help? ... you go to your leaders and you go to the churches and you go to volunteer organizations and you know everyone sort of has their way of responding. But in this case because the problems or the issues that the farmworkers are facing are clouded in either stigma or illegality or perception of illegality or just people don't want to face issues...there hasn't been that response in this community.”

Another reason that could account for the gap in knowledge between social issues faced by migrant workers versus bias-free policing initiatives is the type of organizations operating in each county. The two largest advocacy groups, the VTMFSP and the VTHRC both operate on a statewide level and reach multiple counties. As a result advocacy specifically towards bias-free policing may not be as distinct across counties as advocacy and support for the migrant community in general. Franklin County does lack the community organization and precedence that may have helped to establish a greater

social awareness in Addison County. The large number of “I don’t know” responses over all on the awareness of bias-free initiatives points to the fact that awareness is lacking.

What was interesting is that the level of advocacy among churches was still much higher in Addison County as was their perception that community organization has a positive effect on awareness. According to Hondagneu-Zotelo and Kotin, the Christian community has most often been sympathetic to immigrants in the name of social justice (Hondagneu-Zotelo, 2007) (Kotin, 2011). In her study examining what motivates ecumenical groups to take political action Kotin found that mistreatment of members within their own community (in this case discrimination) was the leading cause for taking action (Kotin, 2011). This may have played a greater role in advocacy in Addison County due to the high understanding of the social issues undocumented workers face rather than general awareness spread by the NGO community.

What about Policy Formation?

The prevalence of bias policing and its negative effects on the community were consistent with the literature. Every police department recognized an obligation to work with border patrol, consistent with what was assumed of their relationship within a border state. The departments did recognize and adhere to strict jurisdictional boundaries, all had a bias-free policy in place, and none were involved in immigration enforcement. All have ways through which the public can advocate for policy change within departments and when policies were put in place there was no negative feedback significant enough to effect the implementation of the policy.

According to interviewees higher levels of awareness within a community do have an important effect on the formation of policy. This was made clear in interviews

with law enforcement who stated that all law enforcement agencies should be answerable to the people they serve. The non- governmental organizations that have been pushing for policy changes for the past decade highlighted what advocacy work has accomplished in Vermont in the past in creating both a strong state police policy and a strong recommended policy emerging from the Attorney General's Office (Appel, 2011) (O'Neil, 2011).

However, policy changes have occurred largely on the state level rather than the county or local level. In addition this policy change has largely been the work of NGO's rather than due to the voice of the general public. Very few survey respondents were involved in advocacy in any way or involved in the organizations that participate in advocacy. In addition the level of dialogue around bias-free policing in each county was very low.

During this study NGO's, most significantly the Vermont Migrant Farmworker Solidarity Project and the Vermont Human Rights Commission made significant strides in getting policies passed. In November of 2011, Governor Schumlin and the state police quickly passed a new bias-free policy following the strongly publicized incident in which Danilo Lopez, a member of Vermont Migrant Farmworker Solidarity Project and his cousin were detained following a routine traffic stop (Snevd, 2011). Protests and acts of civil disobedience by Vermont Migrant Farmworker Solidarity Project members not only saw the release of both men but swift policy reform as well.

An Addison County Farmworker Coalition representative pointed out aptly during an interview that, *"it is very interesting to me to think that change happens because of this whole suite of different forms of advocacy and insistence....as is the product of years*

of advocacy.” The reasons behind the passage of policies in Vermont have ranged from a conversation between to friends (which sparked the passage of the Middlebury bias-free policy) to a publicized and controversial incident (in the case of Danilo and the state police policy). While the action of NGO’s has had a clear impact on the formation of policies, widespread public action has yet to be a catalyst for policy change in Vermont.

In addition a significant aspect of these findings is that while every NGO reported problems associated with bias policing, both local departments believed that advocacy was no longer an important step because bias-free policies have already spread throughout the state or because it is no longer a pertinent issue. NGO’s highlighted the importance of bias-free policies in controlling implicit biases within the police system than can occur when state and local authorities who have not received the same training as border patrol agents work with border patrol (Wishnie, 2004)(Rodriguez, 2004).

The NGO’s and senators identified many of the same problems that scholars have found occur in other states where state and local police participate in the enforcement of immigration laws. Among these they sighted fear of contacting police, isolation, jeopardizing public safety, and diversion of resources to activities outside of normal jurisdictional obligations (McCandless, 2010) (DeGenova, 2002).

It seems the dialogue between NGO’s and local law enforcement departments in still incomplete. Every law enforcement department was concerned and open to discussion about the issue but stated that no community discussion had been occurring lately which has led them to believe the issue is no longer a problem. A stronger and more consistent dialogue with NGO’s such as that occurring at the state level may be greatly beneficial to seeing change at the local level as well.

Limitations

There were a number of limitations to this study that must be considered. Time, financial resources, and distribution resources were the largest limiting factors that affected both methods chosen as well as sample sizes obtained. Sample sizes were small and so the study cannot be said to give a representative picture of the political atmosphere within the two counties. The study merely offers a preliminary inquiry into differences between the two counties and what may be influencing those differences. The small sample size of parishes was compensated for by reverting to qualitative analysis which yielded more significant results than the planned quantitative analysis could have. In addition using a triangulation of methods allowed for validation of findings that may have been affected by sample size and other biases.

Every method of sampling used does come with inherent bias. In regards to the surveys, using accidental or convenience sampling to distribute surveys meant that only those registered on Front Porch forum or that attended the stores and churches contacted completed a survey. As a result analysis of these surveys cannot be used to explain the views of the population as a whole. However because study groups were similar demographically differences across study groups could be taken as significant. In addition the sites chosen were not bias politically or demographically in nature and were selected for those reasons. Access to a true way to randomly sample the entire population would give a more accurate depiction of what is going on in each county but time, money, and materials were all a constraint of this study (Nardi, 2006, 118). Conducting such a study would be beneficial in the future especially considering the findings of this preliminary inquiry.

Despite efforts to create a stratified random sample that reflected the religious composition of each county, respondents who agreed to complete the survey did not reflect the composition of the religious population within their county as was hoped (for a comparison of the true representation of denominations in each county see appendix B). This was largely due to response rates rather than errors in sampling. A large number of Catholic Churches in Franklin County, which represent well over half the population within that county, declined offers to participate. In addition several denominations were excluded from the study. Jehovah's witnesses and Evangelicals both constitute less than 2% of the total population in each county so were not included in the study (Sharefaith, 2011). However it is well known that they are two of the more active religious groups in Vermont and including them may have offered a different picture (Walcott, 2011).

Given the nature of a voluntary survey, it may be that those who were interested in taking the time to fill out each survey had a greater knowledge or were more interested in the topic than those that declined (Fink, 2006). This is especially true of the pastors interviewed. There was a significantly low response rate among respondents due in part to the sensitive nature of the topic as well as time constraints, both of which were expressed by non respondents. This factor may have had influence on results.

Using fixed responses in the surveys, while easing the complication of the coding process and increasing the standardization of responses, left little room for explanation if an idea was not understood or misinterpreted or if the respondent had a further idea to express. In a number of key questions (see questions 7, 13 and 16 in Appendix G: Local Community Survey) a large portion of respondents selected the "I do not know" option

rather than an opinionated option which suggests a lack of awareness and understanding of the issue within the target group (Singleton, 1999). Open response questions received too few respondents to be used in the analysis and the three check all that apply questions (3b, 10 and 11 in Appendix G: Local Community Surveys) also resulted in a significant portion of missing data. In the cases of missing data only the valid percent was used to report findings (the percentage of those who did answer the question) to make findings clearer is easier to compare. If there was less than a 50% response rate responses were considered not significant enough to be included in the findings or if there was a significant difference in response rates across county (Nardi, 2006).

Finally, surveys may have had a bias slant pointing respondents to answer in a certain direction an obstacle in creating surveys on politically charged issues. However language was carefully chosen in order to avoid creating this bias as much as possible (Nardi, 2006, 66). My presence during interviews may have also created bias among key stakeholder and pastor responses simply due to the sensitive nature of the questions and reluctance to offer socially unacceptable responses (Singleton, 1999).

Conclusions and Recommendations

The findings of this study indicate that there is an uneven distribution in knowledge of both bias-free policing initiatives and of the social issues undocumented workers face however the two do not appear to be linked. Community organization and support networks have been beneficial in creating a sense of awareness of these social

issues. However similar organization has not been a catalyst in the spread of awareness of or in rallying community advocacy for bias-free policing.

Outreach initiatives in Addison County have led to a greater understanding of the social issues migrant workers face. In addition this heightened level of awareness has led to the creation of a stronger support system within the county to fill the needs of migrant workers including but not limited to language support, health care support, transportation support, and community support. However a heightened level of awareness has not led to greater action in the political arena. Community awareness has not led to community action or advocacy work.

In addition the situation is far more complicated than the issue of awareness of bias-free initiatives. Community perceptions towards undocumented workers and the presence of border patrol appear to play an important influence on how communities respond to the undocumented community and have a repression effect on the level of community activism. Lack of community awareness of the social issues migrant workers face and negative perceptions towards undocumented workers may have led to a lack of community response despite prevalent knowledge of bias-free policing initiatives.

However while community action has been stagnant, the work of NGO's has made significant strides in influencing policy change. NGO's engaging in conversation directly with policy makers has proven far more effective in creating policy change than community action. However this has not been due to an unwillingness of policy makers but rather the disengagement of the community from the issue. NGO work as scholars suggest may hold the key to further progress for bias-free policing and other pro-immigration policies in Vermont as it has in other states. While the continuation of

outreach initiatives can help to inform the larger community of social issues surrounding our migrant worker population, in terms of striving to see success in policy change success may be more significant if resources continue to be invested in conversations with policy makers as has occurred at the state level.

Outreach initiatives like the media outreach and presentations given by Vermont Migrant Farmworker Solidarity Project and the plays and public forums put on by the Good Neighbors Program may play a significant role in helping to spread awareness of social issues and even create more positive perceptions towards migrant workers. Universally in this study a lack of experience with diversity is one of the largest obstacles to achieving greater levels of awareness and understanding. Public outreach initiatives such as those that occur in Addison County can help to create a stronger human connection between Vermont residents and the migrant workers on the dairy farms in other areas. It also may foster the spread of supportive organizations to these areas as has begun to occur in Franklin County.

In addition it may greatly benefit efforts by non-governmental organizations like Vermont Migrant Farmworker Solidarity Project to work with coalitions present or forming within the ecumenical community. According to Maria Cook, by their nature religious organizations have a great mobilization power due to ready membership and financial resources based on networks with other faith organizations and churches (Cook, 2011). There are coalitions existing or forming in both counties who are interested in achieving greater social justice for migrant workers and may be powerful tools in setting an example for communities and mobilizing communities to act.

This study is far from complete and leaves a number of questions unanswered. A similar but more comprehensive study using a statistically significant sample size could reaffirm the findings of this study with greater clarity. Another study that may be of value to researchers in the future is the role attitudes and perceptions play in awareness and concern of the social issues undocumented workers face. It would also be valuable to know if precedence and networking among key stakeholders play a larger role in forming attitudes towards migrant workers than education and outreach initiatives. Studying whether education and outreach programs have been effective in changing attitudes towards migrant workers would be a study of significant value. Finally, an examination of how pro-immigration efforts have been effective both in creating policy change and creating a more welcoming environment for migrant workers within local communities in other states may also be of great benefit. Answering all of these questions can make pro-immigration initiatives in Vermont more effective by providing a clear picture of how the community and policy makers respond to various outreach initiatives as was the ultimate goal of this study.

Significant progress has been made over the past several months in regards to creating better policies for migrant workers in Vermont. Migrant workers play an important role in Vermont dairy farming communities and in keeping traditional dairy farming in Vermont a viable economic endeavor. The economy and culture of Vermont may significantly change without their support. Thus it is important to understand how to create community support for better policies in Vermont that can help to better integrate migrant workers into our communities and to ensure their equal access to rights while they are working on Vermont farms.

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Appendix A: Study Area Maps

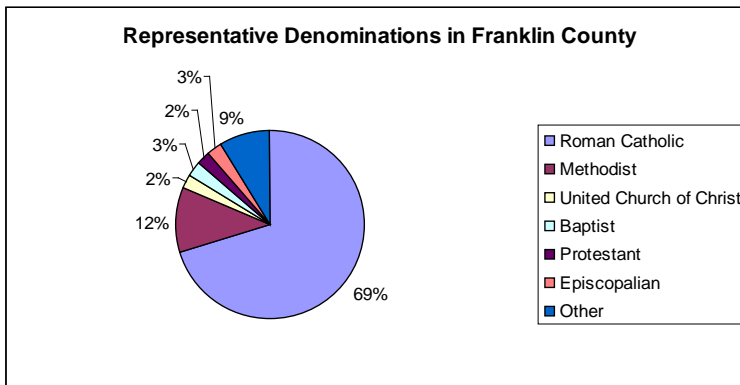
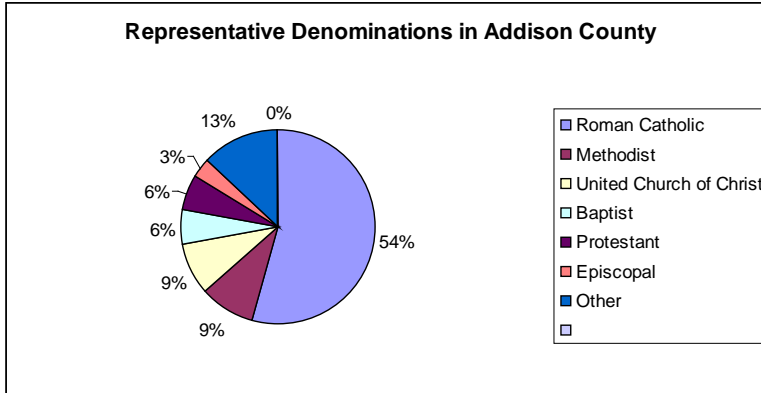
(image deleted in digital version; available in hard copy in the UVM Environmental Program office)

This map, taken from frontporchforum.com, shows the neighborhoods in Franklin in Addison County in which the online survey was distributed.

(image deleted in digital version; available in hard copy in the UVM Environmental Program office)

This map shows the towns present in each county to serve as an aid when they are referred to in the text. The towns highlighted in red indicate where surveys were distributed in person at stores. The towns labeled C indicate the sight of an interview with a parish with the number indicating the parish interviewed.

Appendix B: Distribution of Denominations in Addison and Franklin County



These charts show the distribution of members of religious communities in Franklin and Addison County. Numbers are based on research surveys conducted by the National Pew Research Forum in 2011 and are based on the total number of adherents rather than the total population of the county. (Pew Research Center, 2011). The other category is reserved for those denominations whose representation fell below the 2% threshold.

Appendix C: Interview with Police Departments

Interview on Bias-Free Policing with Police Department Representative

Department _____

County _____ Time Start/End _____ / _____

Date _____ Name of interviewer _____

1: What is your opinion about local and state police being asked to help border patrol conduct their duties in Vermont?

2: What is your opinion about the effects cooperation between local police and border patrol have on the Latino undocumented worker community?

The following questions pertain to bias-free policing. Bias-free policing is the technical term for policing practices that use strictly criminal profiling. It prohibits police action to be conducted solely on the basis of race, ethnicity, immigration status, or other personal, noncriminal attributes and requires that officers inquire into and disclose information regarding immigration status only under limited circumstances (American Friends, 2011).

3: What is your opinion about the push from some Vermonters to institute bias-free policing criteria in local departments throughout Vermont?

4: What is have you heard about Attorney General Sorrel's announcement in November of 2010 advising that local police departments throughout Vermont institute a bias-free policing policy?

5: Does your department have a bias-free policing policy? (*Note to Interviewer: if yes go to question 6 if no jump to question 13*)

6: Does your policy cover immigration status? (*Note to Interviewer: If yes go to question 7 if no jump to question 13*)

7: Is there a system through which undocumented persons can submit complaints?

8: Is this system formal or informal?

9: What events, community response, or other factors got you interested in putting in such a policy?

10: How are policies formed within your department?

11: Is there a mechanism through which the public can advocate for certain policies?

12: What obstacles were in the way of putting in place such a policy or that have come up along the way?

OR

13: Has there, as far as you know, been any talk within the department or within the community to institute such policies?

14: What obstacles and opportunities do you see the instituting of a bias free police policy in your department creating?

15: Do you believe there is a problem with citizen awareness of the circumstances of undocumented workers in regards to the effects bias policing has on their wellbeing?

16: Do you believe there is a problem with citizen awareness of the effects of bias policing has on the farming community?

17: Do you believe there are some counties where citizens are more aware of bias-free policing initiatives than others?

18: Do you believe increased levels of community organization around bias-free policing have influenced the level of awareness of the surrounding community on the issue?

19: Do you believe that higher levels of awareness and support networks within a county related to the issue have an effect on the establishment of bias-free policing at the county level?

Appendix D: Interview with Senators

Bias-Free Policing Interview with Local Government Actors

Title/Position: _____ Location: _____

County _____ Time Start/End _____ / _____

Date _____ Name of interviewer _____

1: What is the area of the constituency you serve?

2: How many people comprise your constituency?

3: What can you tell me about local and state police being asked to help border patrol conduct their duties in Vermont?

4: What can you tell me about the effects cooperation between local police and border patrol have on the Latino undocumented worker community?

The following questions pertain to bias-free policing. Bias-free policing is the technical term for policing practices that use strictly criminal profiling. It prohibits police action to be conducted solely on the basis of race, ethnicity, immigration status, or other personal, noncriminal attributes and requires that officers inquire into and disclose information regarding immigration status only under limited circumstances (American Friends, 2011).

5: What can you tell me about the push from some Vermonters to institute bias-free policing criteria in local departments throughout Vermont?

6: What have you heard about Attorney General Sorrel's announcement in November of 2010 requesting that local police departments through Vermont institute a bias-free policing policy?

7: What kind of dialogue have you had with your constituency about bias-free policing over the past year?

8: Does your constituency seem to be aware of the bias-free policing campaign?

9: Do you believe your citizens are aware of the circumstances of undocumented workers in regards to the effects bias policing has on their wellbeing?

10: Do you believe your constituency is aware of the effects bias policing has on the farming community?

11: How active has your constituency been in advocating for bias-free policing?

12: What organizations within your constituency advocate for bias-free policing?

13: Do you believe there are some counties where citizens are more aware of bias-free policing initiatives than others?

14: Do you believe these differing levels of awareness coincide with the amount of activism to advocate for bias-free policing that takes place in these communities?

15: Do you believe citizens' awareness of the bias-free policing campaign has shaped support for policing policies in Vermont? How?

Appendix E: Interview with Non governmental Organizations

Bias-free Policing Interview with Members of Undocumented Worker Supporting Organizations

Organization Name _____

County _____ Time Start/End _____ / _____

Date _____ Name of interviewer _____

- 1: What is the service area of your organization?
- 2: What sorts of services do you offer to undocumented workers?
- 3: How many Hispanic migrant workers does your organization serve? (*Note to interviewer: please indicate number based on time in days, weeks, months or years*)
- 4: What is your opinion about local and state police being asked to help border patrol conduct their duties in Vermont?

- 5: What is your opinion about the effects cooperation between local police and border patrol have on the Latino undocumented worker community?

The following questions pertain to bias-free policing. Bias-free policing is the technical term for policing practices that use strictly criminal profiling. It prohibits police action to be conducted solely on the basis of race, ethnicity, immigration status, or other personal, noncriminal attributes and requires that officers inquire into and disclose information regarding immigration status only under limited circumstances (American Friends, 2011).

- 6: What is your opinion about the push from some Vermonters to institute bias-free policing criteria in local departments throughout Vermont?
- 7: What have you heard about Attorney General Sorrel's announcement in November of 2010 requesting that local police departments through Vermont institute a bias-free policing policy?
- 8: Does your organization discuss bias-free policing?
- 9: Is your organization involved in advocating for bias-free policing?
- 9 a: (*If yes*) How do you advocate for bias-free policing?
- 10: Who do you advocate with?

11: About how many people do you believe you reach?

12: Do you believe there is a problem with citizen awareness of the circumstances of undocumented workers in regards to the effects bias policing has on their wellbeing?

13: Do you believe there is a problem with citizen awareness of the effects bias policing has on the farming community?

14: Do you believe there are some counties where citizens are more aware of bias-free policing initiatives than others?

15: Do you believe increased levels of community organization around bias-free policing have influenced the level of awareness of the surrounding community on the issue?

16: Do you believe that higher levels of awareness and support networks within a county related to the issue have an effect on the establishment of bias-free policing at the county level?

Appendix F: Surveys of Local Congregations

Vermont Local Congregation Survey Spring 2012

Survey ID_____ Organization Name_____

County _____ Time Start/End _____ / _____

Date _____ Name of interviewer _____

1: Which of the following best describes your congregation?

- Evangelical Protestant
- Mainline Protestant
- Catholic
- Jehovah's Witness
- Mormon
- Orthodox
- Other Christian _____

2: What geographic area does your congregation cover?

2a. What determines these boundaries? *(Note to interviewer: For example: travel costs, funding restrictions, town/county lines, etc).*

3: Does your congregation provide services to Hispanic migrant workers?

(If no, go to Question 9)

3a: *(If yes)* When did your congregation begin providing services to Hispanic migrant workers? *(Note to interviewer: Please provide at least month and year)*

4: What services does your organization provide to Hispanic migrant workers? *(Interviewer please check all that apply)*

- a: religious
- b: translation
- c: education
- d: transportation

e: other -- please
specify: _____

5: How many Hispanic migrant workers does your organization serve? (*Note to interviewer: please enter number in EITHER week/month/year and circle unit of time indicated*)

_____ per week/ _____ per month/ _____ per year

6. What changes has your organization made to accommodate Hispanic migrant workers?

7. What are the major challenges your organization faces in providing services to Hispanic migrant workers? (*Note to interviewer: DO NOT READ LIST. Please check all that apply*)

a. *funding*

b. *connecting with workers*

c. *language barrier*

d. *legal issues*

e. *other --please specify:* _____

7a. (*Note to interviewer: Read only if participant chooses more than one*) What is the PRIMARY CHALLENGE? _____

8. Is your organization in contact with other organizations regarding Hispanic migrant workers? (*Note to interviewer: Please circle one*) Yes / No

9. If yes, please list organizations and describe the type of relationship: (*Note to interviewer: possible types of relationship: information sharing, resource sharing, program development, if other type of relationship please specify*)

Name of organization: Type of relationship

1. _____ 1. _____

2. _____ 2. _____

3. _____ 3. _____

4. _____ 4. _____

5. _____ 5. _____

The following questions pertain to bias-free policing. Bias-free policing is the technical term for policing practices that use strictly criminal profiling. It prohibits police action to be conducted solely on the basis of race, ethnicity, immigration status, or other personal, noncriminal attributes and requires that officers inquire into and disclose information regarding immigration status only under limited circumstances (American Friends, 2011).

10: Has your organization ever discussed bias-free policing?

- Yes No I don't know Prefer not to say

11. Would you say that your congregation supports bias-free policing?

- Yes No I don't know Prefer not to say

12: Is your congregation involved in advocating for bias-free policing?

- Yes No I don't know Prefer not to say

12a. (*If no*) Has your congregation ever considered advocating for bias-free policing?

- Yes No I don't know Prefer not to say

12b. (*If yes*) How does your congregation advocate for bias-free policing? For each example, please describe what specific actions your congregation has taken:

- Funding supporting organizations
- Education and raising community awareness
- Campaigning/Petitioning
- Communicating with elected or public officials
- Other: _____

13: Who has your congregation approached to advocate for bias-free policing?

- Local Police Departments
- Local government officials (town council, select board etc.)
- State Legislators
- Vermont Governor
- Attorney General
- Residents of surrounding areas
- Other: _____

14: How many people would you estimate the congregation reaches through these actions?
(*Note to interviewer: answer to the closest possible value*)

- Less than 50
- 50 - 99
- 100 - 199
- 200 - 499
- 500 - 999
- More than 1000

15: Do you believe that your congregation's actions and advocacy work have been influential in the establishment of a bias-free policing policy?

- Yes No I don't know Prefer not to say

16: Do you believe that building support around bias-free policing and promoting education has influenced the level of awareness of the issue in the surrounding community?

- Yes No I don't know Prefer not to say

Thank you so much for your time. For more information about the survey or to see results once they have been compiled please contact Dan Baker at 656-0400 or Daniel.baker@uvm.edu

Appendix G: Local Community Surveys

Exploring Support for Bias-Free Policing in Franklin and Addison Counties

Principle Investigator: Abigail Zuckerman

Please answer the following questions as clearly and honestly as possible. Thank you again; I appreciate your participation and your time.

Survey Questions

Congregation _____

Town of Residence _____

1: Do you happen to know that many dairy farms in Vermont are supported by undocumented workers, primarily from Mexico?

yes no

2: How many Latino undocumented workers would you estimate work on Vermont dairy farms?

1000 2000 5000 10,000

Please Read the Following Before Continuing:

The following question concern ethnic profiling. Ethnic profiling, “refers to the discriminatory practice by law enforcement officials of targeting individuals for suspicion of crime based on the individual's race, ethnicity, religion or national origin”(American Civil Liberties Union, 2005). In the case of this survey we are referring to inquiries into immigration status based on race, ethnicity, or national origin.

3: Do you believe there is a problem with ethnic profiling of Latino immigrants in Vermont by state and local police during routine procedures such as traffic stops or following up on a 911 call?

yes no I don't know

3a: Do you believe there are social concerns associated with such profiling?

yes no I don't know

3b: Check all of the following concerns that apply:

- Distrust of local police by certain members of the community
- Fear of local police by certain members of the community

- Inability of certain members of the community to contact/utilize emergency services (fire, police, hospital)
- A sense of imprisonment and lack of independence in the lives of undocumented workers
- other _____

4: Are you aware that local police are being asked to help border patrol conduct their duties the action of which often leads to ethnic profiling of Latinos for arrest and deportation?

- yes no I don't know

5: Are you aware of the "secure communities initiative?"

- yes no I don't know

6: Are you aware that some Vermonters are asking local police NOT to assist border patrol in their duties?

- yes no I don't know

7: What is your opinion on local police assisting border patrol in their duties?

- approve disapprove I do not know enough about the issue

Please Read the Following Before Continuing:

The remainder of this survey addresses questions pertaining to bias-free policing. Bias-free policing is the technical term for policing practices that use strictly criminal profiling. It prohibits police action to be conducted solely on the basis of race, ethnicity, immigration status, or other personal, noncriminal attributes and requires that officers inquire into and disclose information regarding immigration status only under limited circumstances (American Friends, 2011).

8: Are you aware of Attorney General William Sorrel's announcement regarding instituting bias-free policing criteria for Vermont state police?

- yes no

9: Have you heard of or read about campaigns for instituting non bias based policing criteria in Vermont?

- yes no

10: Which of the following organizations have you heard of?

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Addison County Farm Workers Coalition | <input type="checkbox"/> Uncommon Alliance |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Vermont Migrant Farmworkers Solidarity Project | <input type="checkbox"/> Migrant Education |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Vermont Partnership for Fairness and Diversity | <input type="checkbox"/> Other _____ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Vermont Immigration and Asylum Advocated | |

11: Where have you heard of them?

Newspaper Online Word of Mouth Town Meetings Other _____

11 a: Please specify your sources

12: Are you active in any of these organizations?

yes no

12 a: Which one(s)?

12b: What is your role within the organization?

13: Would you be interested in instituting non bias based policing criteria in your town?

yes no I don't know

14: Do you play a role in advocating for bias-free policing in your community?

yes no

15: Please briefly describe that role

16: Do you believe increased levels of community organization around bias-free policing have influenced the level of awareness of the surrounding community on the issue?

yes no I don't know

17: Do you believe that higher levels of awareness and support networks within a county related to the issue have an effect on the establishment of bias-free policing at the county level?

yes no I don't know

18: Age

19: Ethnicity

White Latino African American Asian/Pacific Islander

20: Length of Residency

21: Education Level

- Grade School
- High School Graduate
- College Graduate
- Masters/Graduate School
- Ph D

22: Occupation

23: Average yearly income

- 10,000 – 25,000
- 25,000 – 40,000
- 40,000- 60,000
- 60,000 – 80,000
- 80,000 – 100,000
- 100,000 – 150,000
- 150,000 – 200,000
- 200,000 +

Appendix H: Coding Book for Church Surveys

1: Denomination

2: Location

2a: What determines the geographic area of your congregation?

People's choice

Key phrases

- Choose
- Desire
- individual

Seasonal

Key phrases

- seasonal
- summer

Geographic

Key phrases

- lakes
- distance
- geography

Set by diocese

Key phrases

- diocese
- jurisdictional

3: Does your congregation provide services to Hispanic migrant workers?

Not directly

Key phrases

- not directly
- *"not aware of any migrant workers taking advantage of it but they certainly are welcome"*

No

Key phrases

- no
- nothing formal

Yes

Key phrases

- we do
- we have
- we've been involved

3a: (*If yes*) When did your congregation begin providing services to Hispanic migrant workers?

4: What services does your organization provide to Hispanic migrant workers?

Migrant Mass and Meal

Key phrases
- Addison : mass, meal, Spanish mass
Welcome in congregation
Key phrases
- we would serve them in they were here
- if they have needs
Symposium at Middlebury College
Transportation services
Key phrases
- transportation
Clothing

5: How many Hispanic migrant workers does your organization serve?

6: What changes has your organization made to accommodate Hispanic migrant workers?

No changes
Key Phrases
- no
- not sure we've had to make any
- none
pastors available that speak Spanish
Key Phrases
- had to make changes in terms of the priest

7: What are the major challenges your organization faces in providing services to Hispanic migrant workers?

Fear of Emerging into Community
Key phrase
- fear
Transportation
Language Barrier
No Obstacles
- none
Scheduling availability of workers
Political views of the congregation
Key Phrase
- *"backlash within congregation"*

7a: What is the primary challenge?

Same as for question 7
Presence of border patrol

8: Is your organization in contact with other organizations regarding Hispanic migrant workers?

Work with other ministries who offer services
Key phrases
- were closely related with sister congregation

- with catholic offices
- migrant meals
- Methodist bishops

Work with NGO

Key phrases

- yes
- were involved with...

Do not work with others

Key phrases

- have not participated
- no
- not to my knowledge

9: If yes, please list organizations and describe the type of relationship

See above

10: Has your organization ever discussed bias-free policing?

No

Key phrases

- no
- im sure they have

Yes, formally

Key phrases

- we did
- yes

Yes, informally

Key phrases

- in formally
- it has come up during coffee hour

11. Would you say that your congregation supports bias-free policing?

Yes

Ambiguous

Key Phrases

- I can't say
- It would be hard to say
- Don't know
- Ive never discussed it
- I am just getting to know them

12: Is your congregation involved in advocating for bias-free policing?

Did it in the past

Outreach currently

Key phrases

- yes
- we have

Want to participate in the future

Key phrases

- would
- want to work on
- may be working on

Unsure

Key phrases

- maybe but not aware of it
- sure there are some but not visibly active

No

Key phrases

- its not from the church

12a. (*If no*) Has your congregation ever considered advocating for bias-free policing?

No

Key Phrases

- never brought up as a formal matter
- never considered
- never discussed
- not political

Working on it

Key phrases

- I think we're doing it through...

12b: (*If yes*) How does your congregation advocate for bias-free policing?

Facilitate community discussion

Key phrases

- annual dinners
- talking to people
- mass

Working with government

Key phrases

- legislature
- representatives

Working with other NGO's

Key phrases

- working with other groups

13: Who has your congregation approached to advocate for bias-free policing?

Church

Key phrases

- Diocese

Legislators

Key phrases

- legislators

- representatives
- Public outreach
- Key phrases
- outreach

14: How many people would you estimate the congregation reaches through these actions?

15: Do you believe that your congregation's actions and advocacy work have been influential in the establishment of a bias-free policing policy?

Yes

Ambiguous

Key phrases

- it would be my hope

16: Do you believe that building support around bias-free policing and promoting education has influenced the level of awareness of the issue in the surrounding community?

Yes

Key phrases

- yes
- I think it's a beginning
- I think so

Don't feel it's a large issue

Key phrases

- I don't think its something people talk about
- Not aware that there is a problem
- Here its negligible

Unsure

Key phrases

- I don't know
- I've never even thought about it

No

Key phrases

- probably not