"OUR STRUGGLES ARE NOT THE SAME, BUT THEY CONVERGE":
FARMWORKERS, ALLIES, AND THE FAIR FOOD MOVEMENT

by

Jane M. Walsh

Bachelor of Science, Duquesne University, 1998

Master of Arts, Duquesne University, 2005

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This dissertation was presented

by

Jane M. Walsh

It was defended on

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and approved by

Kathleen Blee, Distinguished Professor, Sociology

Christina Bratt Paulston, Professor Emeritus, Linguistics

Suzanne Staggenborg, Professor, Sociology

Dissertation Advisor: John Markoff, Distinguished University Professor, Sociology

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How do marginalized and privileged groups mobilize together without slipping into an organizing model that is paternalistic and charity driven? My research of the Fair Food Movement examines how the Coalition of Immokalee Workers (CIW), a farmworker organization in southwest Florida, and its student, faith, and food justice allies come together to mobilize against fast-food, grocery, and food service corporations for a collective right, a food system that ensures dignity, fair wages, and safe working conditions for farmworkers. I used an ethnographic method, interviewing CIW members (many of whom are immigrants from Mexico, Guatemala, and Haiti) and their allies (students, people of faith, and food justice advocates from the United States), engaging in 350 hours of fieldwork, and analyzing archival data, to explain the emergence, evolution, and institutionalization of the Fair Food Movement. First, I discover that movement formalization and decentralization are not inherently opposed despite centralized movements often being more formalized than those that are decentralized. Second, while social movement scholars examine the local processes that occur prior to movement scale shift from the local to the national level, my dissertation finds that the local, geographic context remains an important point of analysis even after upward scale shift from the local to the national level occurs. Third, marginalized and privileged groups with varying layers of racial, ethnic, linguistic, and class privilege can work together for improved labor conditions. I find that this collaboration is built on a shared self-interest for desired change. For Immokalee farmworkers, that change is

higher wages and improved working conditions. For their allies, that change is corporate reform. My analysis sheds light not only on understudied processes of social movement and labor structures, but also on the ways in which people with privilege participate *with* marginalized groups as opposed to *for* these groups or on their behalf.

To my daughter and CIW ally, Josephine

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AFL-CIO   The American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

AWOC   Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee

CCHD   Catholic Campaign for Human Development

CIW   Coalition of Immokalee Workers

CJM   Coalition for Justice in the Maquiladoras

CSO   Community Service Organization

CWLU   Chicago Women's Liberation Union

FFSC   Fair Food Standards Council

FRLS   Florida Rural Legal Services

FTGE   Florida Tomato Growers Exchange

FWA   Farm Workers Association

GMO   Genetically Modified Organism

GSS   Guadalupe Social Service

ICT   Information and Communications Technology

MPP   *Mouvman Peyizan Papay*

NESRI   National Economic and Social Rights Initiative

NFWA   National Farm Workers Association

NGO   Non-Governmental Organization

NIMBY	Not In My Backyard
NLRA	National Labor Relations Act
NOW	National Organization for Women
NSM	New Social Movements
PGA	Peoples' Global Action
RFK	Robert Francis Kennedy
RLC	Religious Leaders Concerned
SFA	Student Farmworker Alliance
SFFP	Southwest Florida Farmworker Project
SMC	Social Movement Community
SMO	Social Movement Organization
SMU	Social Movement Unionism
SSND	School Sisters of Notre Dame
UFP	United for Peace and Justice
UFW	United Farm Workers

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I am deeply thankful to Coalition of Immokalee Workers (CIW) and their allies for instilling in me the hope that a food system in which all of its members are treated with dignity is possible. At the 2009 SFA *Encuentro*, a fellow participant and I chatted about how the four-day conference in Immokalee had left us "less jaded" and inspired. We were hopeful. The widespread conviction by Immokalee farmworkers and their allies is that structural change can (and does) happen. But this conviction is not rooted in blind faith or naive optimism. Instead, it stems from thoughtful analysis and critical reflection. While I have earned a PhD for completing this research, it was the CIW members and their allies who taught me how to be a critical sociologist. Not only did they help to strengthen my analysis, but they also taught me that sharp analysis leads to strategic action, which in turn, brings hope. For this, I am extremely grateful.

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following to me at the conclusion of our interview: "I know that you are not from here [Immokalee]. I know that you are from another place. But at the same time, it's important for you to raise awareness and to carry this message somewhere else, because that is how the movement is growing." Nadia's words have been a core goal of this project.

Besides the Fair Food Movement, there are many people who helped to make this dissertation possible. I am profoundly thankful to my advisor, John Markoff, for his dedication and mentorship. From the day I sat in his office talking about this project as a prospective graduate student to the last few minutes of my dissertation defense, he never ceased to ask "terribly" interesting and thoughtful questions in which he genuinely wished to engage. No matter if he was on vacation or researching abroad, he provided me with incredibly thorough and thoughtful feedback at each stage of this project. But perhaps more importantly, he taught me how to be a mentor through example. I can only hope that I can mentor my future students with the brilliance, enthusiasm, respect, and generosity that John has shown me. I cannot possibly repay him for all that he has done for me, but my future students will benefit from my lifelong effort to pay it forward.

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1.0   INTRODUCTION

On April 16th and 17th, 2010, over 200 farmworkers (mainly from Mexico, Guatemala, and Haiti) and allies (students, people of faith, and food justice advocates) marched twenty miles in the hot sun to their final destination, Publix supermarket headquarters in Lakeland, Florida. With fire ants nibbling at their ankles and backpacks weighing heavily on their shoulders, marchers carried signs and sang chants demanding that Publix sign a Fair Food Agreement with the Coalition of Immokalee Workers (CIW), a community-based farmworker organization in Immokalee, FL. Onlookers stood outside their homes clapping and cheering and at times even running waters and sodas to the marchers while vehicles, including a Publix cargo truck, honked in support. On April 18, 2010, over 1,500 farmworkers and allies protested at the Publix flagship store, marched two miles in the rain down the main streets of Lakeland, and concluded the three-day event with a rally and concert at a Lakeland church pavilion. Although the CIW has signed Fair Food Agreements with Taco Bell and Yum! Brands (2005), McDonald's (2007), Burger King (2008), Whole Foods (2008), Subway (2008), Bon Appétit Management Company (2009), Compass Group (2009), Aramark (2010), Sodexo (2010), Trader Joe's (2012), Chipotle (2012)[1], and Walmart (2014), Publix (as of March 2014) has yet to sign the agreement that is improving wages and working conditions for the farmworkers of Immokalee, Florida. But farmworkers and

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[1] Coalition of Immokalee Workers. 2012. "Fair Food Program: Frequently Asked Questions." Retrieved July 15, 2013 (http://www.ciw-online.org/FFP_FAQ.html).

their allies are convinced that it is just a matter of time before the Florida supermarket chain agrees to the three points of the Fair Food Agreement: 1) increase a farmworker's wage by a penny more per pound of tomatoes picked; 2) join the CIW and tomato industry representatives in drafting a Code of Conduct; and 3) be part of a three-part dialogue with the CIW and tomato suppliers to discuss solutions to problems faced by Immokalee farmworkers.

Prior to the Fair Food Agreements, real wages for Immokalee farmworkers were stagnant. Corrected for inflation, wages have been dropping steadily since 1978. For almost thirty years, a worker earned forty to fifty cents for every thirty-two pound bucket of tomatoes picked. To achieve minimum wage, a farmworker would need to pick over two and a half tons of tomatoes in ten hours. Besides low wages, physical, verbal, and sexual abuse in the fields were commonplace and in the most severe cases, some workers have been held in slavery.[2] Because of farmworker exclusion from the 1935 National Labor Relations Act (NLRA), workers do not have the right to unionize, leaving them without a voice at the bargaining table (Oxfam America Report 2004). But the Fair Food Agreements have resulted in a wage increase that almost doubles the piece rate for tomatoes picked, a zero tolerance policy for physical and sexual abuse, improved labor conditions such as adequate shade, breaks, and access to water, and perhaps most importantly, a voice at the table with both the growers and the buyers of tomatoes.

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[2] As of 2012, nine farm labor operations involving over 1,000 workers have been prosecuted for servitude in Florida: U.S. vs. Flores (1997), U.S. vs. Cuello (1999), U.S. vs. Tecum (2001), U.S. vs. Lee (2001), U.S. vs. Ramos (2004), U.S. vs. Ronald Evans (2007), U.S. vs. Navarrete (2008), U.S. vs. Bontemps (2010), and U.S. vs. Global Horizons (2010). Coalition of Immokalee Workers. 2012. "CIW Anti-Slavery Campaign." Retrieved November 14, 2012, (http://www.ciw-online.org/slavery.html).
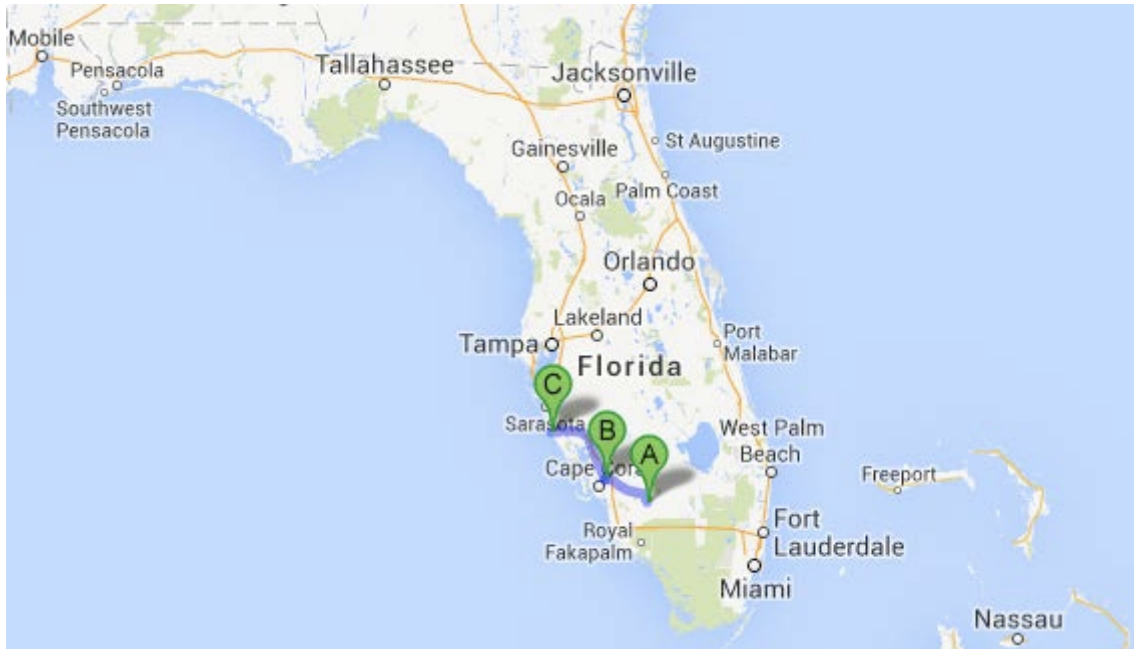
Figure 1. Location of Immokalee, Florida denoted by point A, Fort Myers, Florida denoted by point B, and Venice, Florida denoted by point C.

The CIW's twelve Fair Food Agreements with large corporations that buy tomatoes were the result of carefully planned campaigns that began in Immokalee but extended far beyond the Immokalee farmworker community. But what is even more interesting than these impressive wins is how a marginalized group, the CIW, and privileged groups, its student, faith, and food justice allies, have come together to struggle for a collective right, a food system that ensures dignity for all of its members. But can marginalized and privileged groups mobilize together without slipping into an organizing model that is paternalistic and charity driven? In this dissertation, I explain the broader structure of the Fair Food Movement, which I discovered grants autonomy to its participants as it simultaneously maintains the farmworker voice and geographic focus of Immokalee, Florida. Through interviews with CIW members and their allies (students, people of faith, and food justice advocates from the United States), multi-sited ethnographic fieldwork, and document analysis, this project seeks to accomplish three main

objectives. It details the emergence of the CIW and its three allied social movement organizations (SMOs). In addition, it reveals how a combination of formalization, participant decentralization, and geographic centralization produces an organizational structure that does not have the traits usually associated with centralization. In other words, the movement does not have much of a bureaucratic hierarchy. Moreover, this study aims to understand the microdynamic processes that inspire and facilitate collaboration between farmworkers and their allies.

1.1 CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL PREVIEW

1.1.1 Conscience constituents or allies?

Resource Mobilization theory, as developed by McCarthy and Zald (1987), offers a structural approach to social movement analysis by paying close attention to the acquisition of resources and organizational infrastructure. In summary, this approach argues that SMOs must harness and control resources such as finances and constituents in order to achieve their goals. Individual and organizational "conscience constituents, [which] are direct supporters of an SMO [social movement organization] who do not stand to benefit directly from its success in goal accomplishment" are a key component of the resource mobilization model (McCarthy and Zald 1987:23). Although they may not benefit directly from an SMO, conscience constituents often provide resources such as labor, publicity, and finances, differentiating them from the aggrieved and the bystander public. If mobilized effectively, conscience constituents can have significant impact on a movement. For example, the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) and the

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) recruited Freedom Summer volunteers, many of whom were white, northern college students, to register black voters and teach literacy classes in Mississippi during the summer of 1964 (Andrews 2004; McAdam 1988). In addition to providing labor, Freedom Summer volunteers attracted national media attention as it was "argued that only violence against whites would generate a meaningful response from federal authorities and the broader public" (Andrews 2004:54; McAdam 1988). Similarly, the United Farm Workers (UFW) in the late 1960s and early 1970s effectively activated a conscience constituency to support its table grape boycott through the efforts of volunteers, who not only spread the news of the national boycott, but also organized community boycotts in hundreds of small towns across the United States (McVeigh 1993; Mooney and Majka 1995).

But there is also evidence that conscience constituents can sometimes disrupt a movement and affect its organization, goals, and framing. As McCarthy and Zald (1987) hypothesized and Oliver (2013) recently restated, "tensions and conflicts abound between oppressed beneficiary constituents and their relatively privileged conscience allies" (252). For example, SNCC, the student arm of the Civil Rights Movement, abandoned the organizational form of participatory democracy in favor of a hierarchical structure after the influx of white, middle-class, college student participation made this organizational style appear "white" as opposed to "black" (Polletta 2006; Roth 2010). Another case is the Ogoni ethnic group of Nigeria, whose movement reframed its image from "political" to "environmental" to gain transnational support from nongovernmental organizations. With the acquisition of such support raising the morale of the movement, the Ogoni people took risky action that was sometimes locally counterproductive, including a protest that brought forth state repression and temporary destruction of the movement (Bob 2002).

Examples of conscience constituent participation abound, such as "intellectuals in labor unions, males in the women's liberation movement [and] whites in the civil rights movements" (McCarthy and Zald 1987:33). Much attention has been given to reasons why participants may choose to support a particular cause or SMO, including biographical roots, organizational infrastructure, pre-existing ties, and appeals to emotions and moral frameworks (Clawson 2003; Frundt 2000; Goodwin, Jasper and Polletta 2000; Jenkins and Perrow 1977; McAdam 1982, 1988; McVeigh 1993; Nepstad 2004; Seidman 2007). But less attention is given to conceptualizing social movement allies as distinct from conscience constituents.

How can we differentiate between "conscience constituents" and "allies"? McCarthy and Zald (1987) implicitly point to the distinction when they ask: "How can an SMO speak *for* [my emphasis] a beneficiary group when it does not have any beneficiary constituents" (34)? It is true that CIW allies could be defined as conscience constituents according to McCarthy and Zald's (1987) definition in that they provide labor, publicity, and finances. However, a consistent theme throughout this dissertation is that that CIW allies do not speak *for* Immokalee farmworkers. Instead, allies emphasize that they work *with* farmworkers for corporate reform. Greg Asbed, a CIW staff member, explained the difference between an "ally" and a "supporter" to me:

> We have always opted to use the term "ally" as opposed to a "supporter" because "ally" implies two equal but separate forces that are fighting the same enemy, or for the same cause, while "supporter" (especially in the traditional farm labor organizing context) implies an unequal relationship based on sympathy.

When trying to understand how it is that marginalized and privileged groups work together, the distinction between "ally" and "supporter" (or conscience constituent) is an important nuance to consider. At least within the context of this dissertation, an ally is decidedly different from a conscience constituent. An aggrieved-allied relationship is one that is not based on sympathy or charity. Instead, it is built on a shared self-interest for desired change. For CIW members, that

change is higher wages and improved working conditions. For CIW allies, that change is corporate reform. In spite of McCarthy and Zald's (1987) hypothesis that "an SMO that attempts to link both conscience and beneficiary constituents to the organization through federated chapter structures, and hence solidarity incentives, is likely to have high levels of tension and conflict" (33), my research examines how *allies* are activated, how they are integrated, as well as how they are distinguished from the aggrieved, designated beneficiary population (Immokalee farmworkers).

1.1.2 Social movement structure

In the field of social movement studies, tension exists "between those who think organization promotes mobilization (e.g., McCarthy and Zald 1977) and those who think organization is disastrous for mobilization (e.g., Piven and Cloward 1977)" (Soule 2013: 108). More specifically, scholars have debated which is the more effective model: a formal, centralized structure or an informal, decentralized structure. Centralized organizing may provide benefits such as movement stability, collective action capacity, an efficient division of labor, and increased visibility (Gamson 1975; Wehr 1986; Staggenborg 1989; Taylor 1989; Staggenborg and Lecomte 2009), but can also lead to the narrowing of tactics and strategies, internal conflict, and a decline in grassroots membership and personal ties (Piven and Cloward 1977; Jenkins 1983; Staggenborg 1989; Taylor 1989; Jasper 2004). Conversely, a decentralized structure offers the possibility of tactical innovation, consciousness-raising, and a reduced risk of cooptation (Gerlach and Hine 1970; Piven and Cloward 1977; Case and Taylor 1979; Breines 1980; Useem and Zald 1982; Jenkins 1983; Jenkins and Eckert 1986; Staggenborg 1989; Jasper 2004), but at the same time, may hinder movement stability and collective action capacity (Staggenborg 1989;

Jasper 2004). Although a centralized structure is often more formalized than a decentralized one (Staggenborg 1989; Corrigall-Brown 2012), this correlation is not always the case (Jenkins 1983; Gundelach 1984; Kriesi 1996; Rucht 1996; Buechler 1990; Polletta 2002). This study examines how the Fair Food Movement combines a relatively formalized structure alongside a decentralized allied network. However, the *geographic* centralization of the movement offers an alternative to the usual model of centralized organizing that appears in the scholarly literature.

McAdam and Boudet (2012) call our attention to the local origins of social movements, such as Montgomery, Alabama and Greensboro, North Carolina in the Civil Rights Movement and New York City in the Gay Liberation Movement, and examine local Not In My Backyard (NIMBY) mobilization to point to factors that contribute to movement scale shift. But in the case of the Fair Food Movement, shining a spotlight on the place of movement origin, Immokalee, Florida, reveals the ways in which geographic centralization contributes to movement stability and collective action capacity after scale shift has occurred. Face-to-face movement forums in Immokalee expose allies to "moral shocks," facilitate worker-ally solidarity, and promote the coalescing of ideas (Fantasia 1989; Ribeiro 1998; Ganz 2000; Bandy 2004; Bandy and Smith 2004; Jasper 2004; Bob 2005; Anderson 2006; Nepstad 2007). In addition, the movement's information and communications technologies (ICTs) are managed from Immokalee. Therefore, ICTs enable the Immokalee-based movement to reach out and to connect with its many allies while simultaneously maintaining a geographic focus (Juris 2008; Earl and Kimport 2011). Mobilization is not limited to Immokalee. It is intricately tied to the Fair Food Movement's geographic place of origin. But in the spirit of McAdam and Boudet (2012), this project also seeks to understand how scale shift to and from Immokalee occurs.

In *Dynamics of Contention*, McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly (2001) subscribe to a structuralist approach to the study of social movements, but take culture into account by examining the processes and social mechanisms linking structure and agency. One such process is scale shift, which is a change in both the quantity and the geographic level (local, regional, national, international) of collective actions. In order to understand scale shift in the Fair Food Movement, I examine how organizational and interpersonal ties are built among social movement participants across race, class, gender, ethnic, age, and language boundaries. Specifically, social movement bridges, which have been demonstrated to cultivate social ties (Sink 1991; Robnett 1997; McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly 2001; Nepstad and Smith 2001; Martin and Miller 2003; Obach 2004; Mayer 2009; McAdam and Boudet 2012), operate as the mechanism that facilitates *ongoing* upward and downward scale shift. Some social movement scholars have argued that it might not be feasible for marginalized and privileged groups or ethnically diverse groups to come together for long-term mobilization and movement building efforts (McCarthy and Zald 1987; Oliver 2013; Rucht 2013). But the Fair Food Movement's structure and mechanisms, as I empirically demonstrate, offer a model in which this does occur.

1.1.3 Social movement unionism

The labor movement in the United States has recently received significant attention. Scholars have addressed the reasons for its post-World War II decline, recommended prescriptions for its revitalization, and have tried to understand its current successes, some of which were surprises like the CIW's recent victories (Walsh 2012). Although a vibrant social movement in the 1930s, labor's business unionism model of the 1950s-1990s, characterized as "bureaucratized, hierarchical, and oligarchical" (Levi 2003:51), has often been neglected in social movement

literature. However, "new trends" in labor have brought a renewed interest in the history and trajectory of the labor movement by both labor and social movement scholars under the conception of "social movement unionism."

Social movement unionism is a type of unionism that seeks to organize beyond the workplace and promote member involvement and activism (Turner and Hurd 2001; Fantasia and Voss 2004). This contrasts with business unionism, which can be described as possessing 1) a reliance on formal procedures within a bureaucratized system and a top-down structure, 2) a passive membership, 4) a focus on workplace grievances, and 5) an opposition to labor militancy (Fantasia and Voss 2004; Clawson and Clawson 1999). Social movement unionism theorists argue that labor "must return to its 'movement' roots and build a social movement of workers" (Nissen 2003:138). Scholars have devoted much attention to an array of trends that encompass the varied descriptions, strategies, and processes that the term encapsulates including: 1) rank-and-file mobilization, 2) changes in leadership, 3) community-based organizing, 4) worker centers, 5) corporate campaigns, and 6) transnational components (Walsh 2012).

Although the CIW is not a formalized labor union and does not have the capability to become one because of the NLRA exclusion of agricultural workers, it works toward the acquisition of higher wages and improved working conditions for workers. Since the business unionism model is not an option for farmworkers, they are striving for labor goals via other means, many of which fall into the categories that seem to characterize social movement unionism. Because Florida agricultural workers are not striving for labor rights using a traditional business unionism model, the CIW provides an ideal case study towards a broader and perhaps a more conceptually succinct understanding of social movement unionism along with how it is implemented and sustained. If labor scholars are correct with their prescription that

social movement unionism is a superior strategy for workers in the United States today, then this analysis of the CIW and its corresponding Fair Food Movement may provide a model for other labor organizations to follow, especially those working with allies toward corporate reform.

1.1.4 Immigrant organizing

Although a predominantly immigrant workforce (especially undocumented immigrants) is sometimes characterized as unorganizable because of a fear of deportation and repression from authorities, "labor organizing among Mexican and other Latino immigrants took off in the 1990s" (Milkman 2007:96; Delgado 1993). What can we learn from the mobilization of immigrant workers? Why and how are immigrant workers mobilizing, often successfully, while the US labor movement generally has been in a steady decline? Wells (2000) notes that immigrants tend to relocate and settle where there are established friendship and kinship connections, "a tendency enhanced by recent immigration laws that favor family reunification" (Wells 2000:113). Kinships and friendships that can assist in finding work and providing housing may make certain locations more desirable, as evident in the fact that "most recent arrivals from Mexico, including the undocumented, are reported to find jobs within a few days thanks to the assistance of family and friends" (Portes and Rumbaut 1990: 232). Consequently, since migration patterns depend upon these preexisting ties, they are likely to aid in the facilitation of a community based upon a common national origin (Moody 1997; Portes and Rumbaut 1990).

While documentation exists regarding the positive effects that pre-existing strong ties have on U.S. immigrant labor organizing, how are strong ties built when they do not already exist? While many (but not all) members of the CIW may share a common Latino background, this by no means guarantees a strong tie. Immokalee farmworkers possess varying ethnicities, mother

tongues, and countries of origin and are quite transient, often staying in Immokalee for just one season. Additionally, the allied base of students, people of faith, and food justice advocates contribute yet another layer of participant heterogeneity. The Fair Food Movement's twelve successful campaigns prompt us to ask: How do farmworkers and their allies come to work collaboratively and collectively to achieve movement goals despite multiple layers of difference? Not only does this dissertation look at the structural underpinnings that make such collaboration possible, but also at the microdynamic processes that both affirm and transcend the heterogeneity of Fair Food Movement participants.

1.2   SUMMARY

The driving force of this dissertation is to provide a case study in which privileged groups mobilize *with* (as opposed to *for*) marginalized groups. Some scholars do not believe that this type of collaboration is easily accomplished (McCarthy and Zald 1987; Oliver 2013; Rucht 2013). But besides this overarching theme, I also challenge several sometimes-generalized assumptions within the social movements literature. First, I seek to complicate the notion of outsider or non-beneficiary support. More precisely, I show that outsiders who see themselves as mobilizing on their own behalf (allies) are different from outsiders who contribute labor, publicity, and finances on behalf of others (conscience constituents). Second, I show that the incorporation of formalization within a social movement does not mean that a movement must abandon its commitment to decentralization. Instead, the benefits of formalization can be reaped alongside the benefits of decentralized organizing. Third, I agree with McAdam and Boudet (2012) that place does matter. But I also contend that a focus on the geographic origin of a

movement continues to be important even after scale shift has occurred. Finally, despite my focus on the structure of the Fair Food Movement, I demonstrate that it is also necessary to dig into the microdynamic processes between and among activists in order to understand *how* scale shift occurs.

This dissertation is organized into seven chapters. Following this introduction, chapter two details the emergence of the Fair Food Movement. Specifically, it traces the origins of the CIW as well as its three allied SMOs: Interfaith Action of Southwest Florida, Student Farmworker Alliance, and Just Harvest USA. It also presents the overarching network of CIW allies, the Alliance for Fair Food. Chapter three presents my methodological approach and data collection techniques, which include multi-site ethnographic observation, semi-structured interviews, and the analysis of web and archival documents. Chapters four, five, and six are this study's main empirical contribution. Chapter four examines the meso-level structure of the Fair Food Movement and pays particular attention to the ways in which the movement is relatively formalized alongside its decentralized allied network. I argue that organizational formalization complements the movement's decentralized ideology as opposed to launching it into a centralized or bureaucratic organizing model. Although I argue in chapter four that the movement's formalized elements may contribute to movement stability and collective action capacity, I contend in chapter five that there is another contributing factor, geographic centralization. By bringing allies to Immokalee by way of various social movement forums, many allies are invigorated and are given the opportunity to build and to strengthen relationships with CIW members. Not only do I find that face-to-face interaction continues to be important even in the age of web organizing, but also that the Fair Food Movement counters the corporate food system strategy of invisibility by drawing allies to this agricultural hub. Chapter six

examines how the Immokalee-centered Fair Food Movement is interpreted to the decentralized allied network and how it subsequently evolves in local ally communities. While chapters four and five focus on the movement's meso-level structure, chapter six examines the microdynamic processes of ongoing upward and downward scale shift in the Fair Food Movement. Specifically, I explain how consciousness-raising works to bridge the CIW's concrete demands with broad ideologies, yielding a diverse, yet inclusive allied base. Chapter seven concludes this dissertation by suggesting that the Fair Food Movement's strategy of visibility is a potent movement weapon against the corporate food industry that is dependent upon invisibility to thrive.

2.0 ORGANIZING FARMWORKERS AND THEIR ALLIES: THE EMERGENCE OF A FAIR FOOD MOVEMENT

On March 8, 2005, the Coalition of Immokalee Workers (CIW) and its allies had planned to protest in Louisville, KY outside of the headquarters of Yum! Brands, the world's largest fast-food corporation and parent company of Taco Bell, Pizza Hut, Kentucky Fried Chicken, Long John Silver's and A&W. In a surprising turn of events, the planned protest quickly transformed into a celebration as the CIW and Taco Bell executives signed a Fair Food Agreement that formally ended the four-year boycott against the fast-food chain. Before the celebration had ended, the CIW publically named its next corporate target. It called upon the McDonald's corporation to also come to the table and sign a Fair Food Agreement. In April 2007, after a two-year campaign, the CIW and its allies were travelling to Oak Brook, IL to protest outside of McDonald's headquarters, and as was rumored, to announce a boycott against the fast-food giant. Prior to their arrival, McDonald's agreed to the CIW's three demands and a Fair Food Agreement was signed on April 9, 2007 at the Carter Center in Atlanta, GA (Ten Eyck 2007). Afterwards, the CIW continued to make its way to Illinois to celebrate the McDonald's win with its allies at the *Chicago House of Blues*. Just as had occurred during the Taco Bell celebration, the CIW called on Burger King during the McDonald's celebration to sign an agreement, thereby naming its next target. Since that first win in 2005, the CIW has signed Fair Food Agreements with twelve fast-food, grocery, and food-service corporations. In addition, the farmworkers and

their allies are currently targeting five other corporations (Publix, Kroger, Giant, Ahold, and Wendy's). But besides these impressive wins, a Fair Food Movement of farmworkers and allies that takes its lead from the CIW has emerged.

The participation of allies is a major component of the CIW strategy that has helped to produce these impressive corporate victories. In comparison to CIW members, their allies often have more privileged socioeconomic backgrounds. Ally participation alongside that of Immokalee farmworkers has resulted in a Fair Food Movement, which takes its cue from the CIW. In this chapter, I detail how the Fair Food Movement developed at the organizational level and introduce its social movement organizations (SMOs): the CIW, Interfaith Action of Southwest Florida, Student Farmworker Alliance, and Just Harvest USA. I also explain the Alliance for Fair Food, an umbrella mechanism established in 2006 that serves as a collective home for all individual and organizational CIW allies. I conclude with a discussion of the ways in which the Fair Food Agreements have positively impacted farmworker wages and working conditions in Immokalee.

2.1   THE EMERGENCE OF THE COALITION OF IMMOKALEE WORKERS (CIW)

Immokalee sits just east of Naples in southwest Florida's Collier County and is the home to many immigrants of Mexican, Guatemalan, Mayan, and Haitian descent who earn their living by working in Florida's agriculture industry. Farmworkers in the United States have been historically subjected to low wages and poor working conditions due in part to farmworker

exclusion from the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA).[3] Immokalee's population swells during the picking season, September through May, and workers often live in sub-standard housing (Sellers 2009:8). For example, half of all mobile homes in the United States can be found in south Florida. While retirees occupy those that are more upscale, landlords in Immokalee take advantage of farmworkers' lack of transportation and charge up to $800 per week in rent, which can force up to 15 farmworkers to crowd into dilapidated single-wide trailers (Philpott 2009). Immokalee's overcrowded and expensive housing "routinely violates federal regulations" (Oxfam America Report March 2004: 2). In addition to high rents, farmworkers have consistently put in extremely long hours for less than minimum wage.[4] At approximately 5:00 A.M. each morning, farmworkers compete for a spot on a crew leader's bus in local parking lots and often do not return to Immokalee until 7:00 or 8:00 P.M. that evening. Prior to the recent penny per pound wage increase brought about by the Fair Food Agreements, a farmworker earned $0.40-$0.50 per 32lb bucket of tomatoes picked. At this rate, a worker needed to pick 13 buckets of tomatoes *per hour* in order to earn minimum wage (Oxfam America Report 2004). And up until the recent implementation of the Fair Food Agreements, there were many hours of the day that went unpaid, such as time spent waiting for the dew to dry on the plants,[5] waiting for the loading truck, or needing to stop picking because of rain. Additionally, workers do not receive overtime pay, health benefits, sick leave, vacation time, or pensions. However, the CIW's Campaign for Fair Food has not only brought visibility to these issues, but has also addressed them in a way that has resulted in positive changes for Immokalee farmworkers.

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[3] The NLRA "forbids employers from firing a worker for joining, organizing, or supporting a labor union" (Oxfam America Report March 2004:39).

[4] As of January 1, 2012, the minimum wage for Florida is $7.67 per hour.

[5] Since tomatoes are dropped into a bucket, tomatoes must be dry before they are harvested from the vines (Lewis 2007).

In the early 1990s, an informal group of collaborators consisting of Immokalee farmworkers, community outreach workers affiliated with Florida Rural Legal Services (FRLS), and staff members from Guadalupe Social Services (GSS), began meeting in Immokalee's Our Lady of Guadalupe Catholic Church to launch an educational project for farmworkers. Funded by two grants obtained by GSS from the local diocesan Catholic Campaign for Human Development (CCHD) and The Kellogg Foundation, this educational project became known as the Southwest Florida Farmworker Project (SFFP). While the essence of the SFFP can be traced to influences outside of Immokalee, such as popular education movements in Haiti and Latin American base communities (Seipel 2005; Sellers 2009), my discussion of CIW emergence begins in Immokalee just prior to those first meetings of the SFFP. As I discuss momentarily, the SFFP changed its name to the CIW in 1996.

Father Richard Sanders, pastor at Our Lady of Guadalupe beginning in 1981 (Thissen 2002), started to implement a church vision that led "people from the injustice of poor housing conditions, low wage work, immigration limitations, and structural oppression to a new hope of accompanying one another and working together toward fair pay and working conditions and living situations," said Joel[6], a former colleague of Fr. Sanders at Our Lady of Guadalupe. Not only did Fr. Sanders learn Spanish and Haitian Creole to better communicate with parishioners, but he also trained and hired sixty-three lay ministers to assist him in realizing his vision on a community level (Thissen 2002). Members from Immokalee's various ethnic communities conveyed their needs and were provided with the tools necessary to address and solve matters for themselves. For example, Joel, a Social Issues Advocate for GSS, the social services program of Our Lady of Guadalupe, took "a group of Haitian parishioners to a public hearing on the

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[6] Unless otherwise noted, pseudonyms are used to protect anonymity and all interview quotes are from author interviews conducted between September 2009-September 2011.

disbursement of Community Development Block Grant money at the county building."
According to Joel, while not a lot was accomplished at that first meeting, it was the Haitian
community leaders who were best able to articulate their needs and hence, spoke at the hearing
while Joel benefitted from being introduced to the local political scene. Examples such as this
abound[7]. Father Sanders, the School Sisters of Notre Dame (SSND), lay ministers, and
community members worked together for structural change in Immokalee while simultaneously
ensuring that the farmworkers voices were amplified.

In March 1985, Fr. Sanders died suddenly and, as Joel told me, "the interim pastors did
not have the same vision of church and community work as did Fr. Sanders." Over the next
decade, advocacy and organizing taking place at Our Lady of Guadalupe and specifically, GSS,
would slowly decline. However, Joel, then new director of GSS, continued to work with the
church's community organizer to "identif[y] issues and organiz[e] the parish and the Immokalee
community for change" even though "support for the vision of faith-based organizing, advocacy
and social services was not as certain under the new pastors." In 1989, Joel was "invited to the
Center of Social Concern Washington, D.C. summer institute." He said that this is where he was
introduced to the Freirean "model of organizing written about in the training manuals by Anne
Hope [and Sally Timmel (1995)]."[8] In the early 1990s, Joel "elected to put the once parish-based
Guadalupe Social Services under Catholic Charities of the Venice (Florida) Diocese, rather than
going completely independent as a private non-profit organization." Despite GSS's separation
from Our Lady of Guadalupe, GSS continues to operate on church grounds.

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[7] For a more detailed description of how Our Lady of Guadalupe Catholic Church worked with the Immokalee
Community, see Thissen (2002).
[8] In addition to Hope and Timmel (1995), see Freire (1970) for more detailed information on popular education.

In 1992, two outreach workers who had international experience with Freirean organizing models joined the FLRS team, which had been collaborating with GSS to assist undocumented workers who were trying to apply for legalization status after the passage of the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (Bowe 2003). In 1993, Immokalee farmworkers, "including Haitian peasant 'animators' (trained organizers from the *Mouvman Peyizan Papay*, Haiti's largest peasant movement)" (Asbed 2008:7), the two FLRS outreach workers, community members, and GSS staff members formed the SFFP. An undertaking of GSS, Joel told me that this educational project "attempted to develop grassroots leadership among the farmworkers through education, leadership training, community organizing, and legal advocacy." One of SFFP's first steps was to survey Immokalee farmworkers in order to uncover "the area's most important issues through the eyes of farmworkers," which included "bad housing, fear, discrimination, disrespect, low wages, individualism, insecurity and alienation" (Payne 2000:9). SFFP provided a space for Immokalee farmworkers to articulate and to address their own concerns.

In addition to bringing farmworkers together to discuss the issues most important to them, SFFP also sought to build a collective farmworker identity within the Immokalee community. Although some researchers suggest that racial and ethnic tensions are reasons farmworkers do not collaborate on common labor issues (Tootle and Green 1989), one of the FLRS outreach workers stated in Seipel (2005:154) that she saw isolation as the cause of mistrust among workers as opposed to such racial and ethnic tensions. The majority of farmworkers in the early 1990s were single men who traveled to Immokalee without their families, worked in different fields on a daily basis, and lived in a town with workers who spoke Spanish, Haitian Creole, and various indigenous languages. The SFFP addressed these isolation

issues by running trilingual meetings (Spanish, Haitian Creole, and English) and providing workers with an "opportunity to communicate with each other across ethnic lines about the issues that affected them" (Seipel 2005:154-155).

In November 1995, Pacific Land Co., one of the region's largest tomato growers, decreased its hourly wage from $4.25 to $3.85. In response, Immokalee farmworkers collectively launched their first general strike against all growers (not just Pacific), which lasted for five days. As a result, Pacific reversed its decision to cut wages (Laughlin 2007). But the strike produced another outcome. GSS had dedicated some of its staff and funding to support the strike effort, such as the purchasing of food for the striking workers. Consequently, some growers referred to Our Lady of Guadalupe as "strike central" in the media (Laughlin 2007). Our Lady of Guadalupe and GSS were pressured to stop all work that supported the strike effort, which "made continued housing [of the SFFP] at GSS no longer tenable," said Greg, a CIW staff member. But by this point, the SFFP had enough stability to stand on its own (Laughlin 2007). Therefore, the organization found its own office space, changed its name to the Coalition of Immokalee Workers (CIW), and as Greg told me, became a "formally independent organization in early 1996."

To this day, the CIW continues to be defined as a worker organization and includes farmworkers as well as all other low-wage workers within the Immokalee community. While CIW members originate from several different countries, speak a variety of languages, and work in different agricultural as well as other low-wage jobs, they have formed a coalition that, according to Greg, continues to "be driven by worker leadership." CIW membership is constantly changing because of the transient nature of agricultural work yet the membership base increases with each growing season. Despite resident transience, Immokalee workers have

formed a worker-led coalition that has grown to over 5,000 members. The CIW's choice to move to an independent location did not jeopardize the strong alliance the farmworker organization had developed with the Diocese of Venice, Catholic Charities, GSS, and other persons and institutions of faith.

2.2   THE EMERGENCE OF INTERFAITH ACTION

While there were certainly established ties with persons of faith when the CIW became an independent organization in 1996, the formation of Interfaith Action of Southwest Florida, which was originally called Religious Leaders Concerned (RLC), did not occur right away. In December 1997, the CIW launched a second general strike after two thousand postcards were gathered "from workers requesting a raise" (Laughlin 2007:25; Navarro 1998). Only one grower, Garguilo Inc., responded to the strike by raising the company's piece rate $.10 to $.50 per bucket, but all other local tomato growers continued their refusal to dialogue with the workers. Consequently, "CIW staff and members consciously launched an effort to break Immokalee's isolation," said Greg, and made a decision "to 'build a bridge to Naples' in the hope that, by exposing the barbarity of conditions in Immokalee to the outside world, the clash of agriculture's backward, abusive reality with the more modern, more humane culture of Naples would result in irresistible pressure to bring conditions in Immokalee up to 20th century standards." It was this analysis that led six members of the CIW to embark on a 30-day hunger strike during the Christmas season (December 1997-January 1998) in the hopes of publicizing the workers' desire to talk with local growers. The CIW successfully caught the attention of religious leaders and

persons of faith in neighboring communities such as Naples, Bonita Springs, and Ft. Myers (Laughlin 2007; Navarro 1998).

Prior to the hunger strike, CIW actions and marches were "pretty contained within the agricultural industry and within Immokalee" according to Anna, a former Interfaith Action staff member. But a month long fast during the holiday season had religious leaders coming "out of the woodwork," said Morgan, Interfaith Action's first staff member. She went on to say, "[I]t's Christmas, the holidays, and people haven't eaten for weeks and it's very public…it was this really kind of organic outpouring of support" that included people of faith visiting, bringing water to the workers, and sitting to pray with them, including Diocese of Venice Bishop John Nevins and Archbishop of Baltimore Cardinal William Keeler (Laughlin 2007). At an ecumenical service held at St. Ann's Catholic Church in Naples on Day 17 of the hunger strike, "the priest urged those [over 600 people] at the service to 'fast today—not by avoiding food, but by taking an hour to call or write letters to politicians, growers and media'" (Rogers 1998). In addition to southwest Florida media coverage, the hunger strike also garnered some national attention from media outlets such as the *New York Times*. At the urging of U.S. President Jimmy Carter and the Catholic Church, the workers broke the 30-day fast on January 18, 1998 during a mass celebrated by Bishop Nevins of the Diocese of Venice in St. Ann's Church (Edwards and Higgins 1998). Lucas Benitez, co-founder and staff member of the CIW, summarized the outcome of the hunger strike best when he stated the following (in Spanish with English translation) at the Day 17 ecumenical service, "It's a historic day. The two towns of Naples and Immokalee have joined together in solidarity for a single cause" (Rogers 1998). While the region's tomato growers continued their refusal to dialogue with Immokalee farmworkers, the CIW had animated an important ally in persons of faith.

The significance of the ties with faith communities in Naples cannot be overstated. While Naples and Immokalee are both located in Collier County, the two towns are socially though not geographically isolated from one another despite being connected by a 40-mile, two-way thoroughfare named Immokalee Road. As a Naples retiree sitting next to me on a plane to southwest Florida asked after I told her I was traveling to Immokalee, "I live on Immokalee Road. Is Immokalee close by?" The difference between Naples and Immokalee is best illustrated by the disparity in per capita income. In 2009, Immokalee had an estimated per capita income of $8,738[9] while that of Naples, a retirement, coastal, and tourist community, was estimated at $66,497,[10] which is close to eight times the per capita income of Immokalee. So while the hunger strike made some local religious leaders more aware of a town called Immokalee, low farmworker wages, and the lack of dialogue between the growers and farmworkers, they knew that some of their congregants were unaware of the farm labor situation despite the close geographic proximity. Some congregants were conscious of the "pathetic state of abject poverty" and "contributed large sums of money to try to alleviate the cutting edge of that poverty" (Gray and Tabbert 1998), but were unaware of the systemic causes that made charitable donations necessary. As Rev. Noelle Damico asked persons of faith attending a Christian Church Farmworker Justice Breakfast in 2007, "why should farmworkers who work ten to twelve hours a day, six and sometimes seven days a week, need donations of food and clothing? Why can't farmworkers live in dignity and obtain food and clothing for themselves and their families?" (Damico 2007). It was this type of analysis that prompted local religious leaders to meet regularly, first as a group and then as a non-profit called Religious Leaders Concerned (RLC),

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[9] Immokalee, Florida. Retrieved November 14, 2012, (http://www.city-data.com/city/Immokalee-Florida.html).
[10] Naples, Florida. Retrieved November 14, 2012, (http://www.city-data.com/income/income-Naples-Florida.html#b).

which officially convened in March 1998 (Laughlin 2007). The RLC sought to discover the root causes of the poor working and living conditions faced by Immokalee farmworkers. As Anna put it, RLC "discerned" with the CIW and decided, "that the best thing that they could do would be to educate faith communities about the conditions in the fields and to partner with the farmworkers" as a separate organization.

Brother John Harlow, the new director of GSS and an active member of RLC, created a Catholic Charities farmworker justice advocate position, which was supported by the Diocese of Venice. Morgan, who had just completed a one-year volunteer position in Immokalee through Humility of Mary, a volunteer organization, was hired for the position in order to support the efforts to improve wages as well as working and living conditions for farmworkers. Although the CIW was not explicitly mentioned in her job description, she spent a few days a week at the CIW office and continued to become more involved with RLC in addition to her day-to-day tasks at GSS. She told me "it started to get really intense where I was working like during the day over at Guadalupe Social Services [GSS] and the evenings and weekends with the CIW." She spent two years in the farmworker justice advocate position.

RLC and Morgan were instrumental in helping to coordinate the logistics for the CIW's 234-mile march for Dignity, Dialogue, and Fair Wage. When a third general strike in December 1999 failed to bring growers to the table to talk with Immokalee farmworkers, a decision was made by the CIW to march in February 2000 from Fort Myers to Orlando, the home of the Florida Fruit and Vegetable Association (the grower's lobby) (Laughlin 2007). Three weeks before the march commenced, RLC called upon the Diocese of Venice and Bishop Nevins for support. According to Morgan, the diocese sent a fax to all of the churches along the route to ask them to open their doors to the farmworkers and allies who would be marching 15 to 17 miles

per day. Not only did many of the churches welcome the marchers, but they also provided lodging, dinners, breakfasts, and packed lunches. The CIW sent a letter to RLC that began: "The march, which in most important respects was a great success, was in large part the joint production of the Coalition of Immokalee Workers and the Religious Leaders Concerned" (Laughlin 2007:42). RLC had emerged as an organization to educate local communities about Immokalee's living and working conditions, but it was becoming clear that RLC was focusing a lot of effort on CIW campaigns. This partnership would solidify with the CIW's first corporate campaign against Taco Bell.

With growers still refusing to dialogue with Immokalee farmworkers, the CIW turned its efforts to corporations that purchase Immokalee tomatoes. *The Packer*, a weekly fruit and vegetable industry journal, revealed to Immokalee farmworkers that Taco Bell had a long term purchasing contract with 6'Ls Packing Company[11], a southwest Florida tomato supplier (Laughlin 2007; Sellers 2009). From 1999-2000, the CIW wrote Taco Bell "asking the restaurant chain to use its market influence over 6 L's to encourage improvements in farmworkers' wages and working conditions" (Sellers 2009: 91). Like the Florida tomato growers, Taco Bell ignored the farmworkers. On Martin Luther King, Jr. Day 2001, CIW members, along with a handful of allies, convened outside a Taco Bell restaurant in Fort Myers and threatened to boycott the fast-food chain (Sellers 2009). Taco Bell executives neither really noticed nor took the group of farmworkers seriously, but on April 1, 2001, the CIW launched a national boycott against Taco Bell. The effort to urge Taco Bell to sign a Fair Food Agreement became (and is now) known as the Campaign for Fair Food (Laughlin 2007; Sellers 2009).

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[11] 6L's changed its name to Lipman Produce in 2011.

RLC had originally intended to address other issues affecting residents of Immokalee, including housing and landlords. But as Morgan noted, "That eventually changed because the campaign launched on a national scale, got so big, and the focus so specific and so much work [had] to be done just with the national boycott that they couldn't address some of the housing concerns." Through a vote at a meeting, RLC became Interfaith Action of Southwest Florida in the summer of 2001 to better reflect the identity of the organization. While religious leaders were "concerned," many felt that the word was not strong enough to reflect the sentiment of persons of faith who were involved. In addition, there were also "congregants that were taking action and supporting and wanting to be involved," said Morgan. Thus, the name change reflected a coalition of Christian and Jewish participants that hoped to attract people of other faiths in the future. As of 2012, current members of the Interfaith Action coalition include individuals and organizations of or affiliated with: United Church of Christ, United Methodist Church, Unitarian Universalist, Episcopal Church, Islamic Shura Council of Southern California, Catholic Diocese of Venice, Rabbis for Human Rights, National Farmworker Ministry, Interfaith Worker Justice, and Agricultural Missions, just to name a few.[12] With Interfaith Action choosing to dedicate its efforts solely to partnering with the CIW, Morgan was hired as the SMO's national coordinator

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[12] Faith or faith affiliated organizational endorsers of the CIW's current campaigns are: The Episcopal Church USA, General Board of Church & Society of the United Methodist Church, Unitarian Universalist Association of Congregations, United Church of Christ Justice & Witness Ministries, Louisville Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Church World Service, Pax Christi USA, National Farm Worker Ministry, Rabbis for Human Rights—North America, Interfaith Worker Justice, Sojourners, Center for Concern, Tikkun Community/Network of Spiritual Progressives, National Catholic Rural Life Conference, Union Theological Poverty Initiative, Agricultural Missions, Inc., Rural & Migrant Ministry, Sisters of Charity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Buddhist Peace Fellowship, Unitarian Universalist Service Committee, Episcopal Network for Economic Justice, Apostolic Catholic Church, Episcopal Diocese of Southeast Florida, Church Women United in Illinois, Kentucky Interfaith Taskforce on Latin America & the Carribean, American Friends Service Committee-Colorado Office, Fox Valley Association of the United Church of Christ-IL, Northern Illinois Chapter of the Methodist Federation for Social Action, Office of Peace & Justice, Diocese of Venice, Southwest Florida, St. Maurice Catholic Church, Workers Interfaith Network, Carl's Corner Community Fellowship, Ecumenical Ministries of Oregon, Unitarian Universalist Church of St. Petersburg, Church Women United-Venice, FL, St. Hildegard's Community, First Unitarian Church of Orlando, South Florida Interfaith Worker Justice (http://allianceforfairfood.org/org.html#faith).

in July 2001 and worked from the CIW's office in Immokalee. Two to three Interfaith Action staff members continue to coordinate faith constituents from the CIW community center.

According to Morgan, "No one in Immokalee was like orchestrating or telling their religious leaders to keep meeting. I mean, they were meeting because they were like fired up and wanted to be supportive." While CIW members attended RLC/Interfaith Action meetings, she said it was "basically as people who would offer information, it was just a spontaneous thing with the religious community." When I asked David, a CIW staff member, how the decision was made to form separate organizations for allies as opposed to including everyone into the CIW, he said, "A big decision was not made." Instead, students and people of faith "began to organize themselves basically." From the beginning, Greg said, "there was never any consideration given to making allies members of the CIW. Rather, the idea was for allies to form autonomous organizations that would give their members an organized voice in support of farmworker justice." While farmworkers were mobilizing other farmworkers in Immokalee, persons of faith were mobilizing other persons of faith through a national, decentralized network. This model would be replicated in the formation of the CIW's student allied SMO, the Student Farmworker Alliance.

2.3   THE EMERGENCE OF STUDENT FARMWORKER ALLIANCE (SFA)

Around the time the CIW's third general strike was gaining Floridian news coverage in December 1999, Brian[13], a graduate student in Latin American Studies at the University of

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[13] All quotes from Brian are taken from an interview conducted by Daphne Holden, Ph.D. See Appendix A.

Florida, made his way to Immokalee to learn more about the farmworker organization from an academic research perspective. Although CIW members had begun to build relationships with "outsiders" such as people of faith after the hunger strike, Brian noted, "It was a weird thing to have this graduate student show [up] and say he wanted to research about them." While he was given permission to complete his graduate field research, the results would be much more than a completed MA thesis. After graduation, Brian moved to Immokalee, eventually co-founded the Student Farmworker Alliance (SFA), became the first SFA staff person, and ultimately worked alongside Morgan in the CIW office.

As part of his research, Brian participated in the preparation as well as the actual March for Dignity, Dialogue, and a Fair Wage from Ft. Myers to Orlando in 1999. Brian recalled that "students from all over the state of Florida ended up coming out at different stages and we all [met] on the march and got to know each other." In addition, these same students began to build relationships with farmworkers and other outsiders to the Immokalee farmworker community. He reminisced that during those 234 miles, student participants "joked throughout the march that we were going to form some group. We threw out the name SFA in a joking way…but never actually thought it was going to become something." Brian, as well as the other students to whom he refers, had never been involved in organizing so the thought of being able to form what would eventually become a national organization didn't seem plausible. According to Brian, "In a serious way, it was what we wanted to see. But, we didn't think we could pull it off."

When Brian moved to Immokalee after graduation, it was not with the explicit intention to start a national student organization. Instead, Brian "moved down, just looking for ways that I could be involved and support the work they were doing." He stayed in contact with the other students he had met on the march. In January 2001, the CIW and its faith allies were pressuring

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Jeb Bush, Florida governor at the time, to persuade the growers to dialogue with workers. The CIW launched a "March for Farmworker Justice from Quincy to the governor's mansion in Tallahassee".[14] It was during that march that Brian "spent a lot of time connecting with the other leadership of student groups" and "that's when we started calling ourselves SFA."

With the Taco Bell campaign officially launched in January 2001, this core group of students called for a month of protests aimed at Taco Bell restaurants in Florida from February 3-March 4, 2001. CIW and SFA members traveled to five different Florida universities: University of Florida, New College, Eckerd College, Florida State University, and the University of Miami. Each stop included interactive workshops with students and community activists and culminated in a demonstration in front of a local Taco Bell restaurant that garnered 100-200 protesters.[15] According to Brain, "that's what really solidified what SFA was going to be. Out of five universities, four of them started up a local chapter to organize on their campuses."

Once the national Taco Bell boycott was announced by the CIW in Orlando on April 1, 2001, SFA took on the student and youth[16] side of organizing and chapters at 300 universities and 50 high schools sprung up across the United States.[17] SFA launched the "Boot the Bell" campaign in which "students actively organized to cut or preempt contracts between their schools and Taco Bell."[18] In spring 2002, SFA started to work its way toward acquiring non-

[14] Coalition of Immokalee Workers. 2001. "Actions to Date in the Taco Bell Boycott!!" Retrieved November 14, 2012 (http://www.ciw-online.org/complete%20action%20list.html).
[15] Ibid.
[16] SFA represents both students and non-students who can be classified as "youth" (approximately under 30 years of age, although a formal or rigid age cut off does not exist).
[17] Student Farmworker Alliance. 2012. "victory over taco bell." Retrieved November 14, 2012 (http://www.sfalliance.org/tacobell.html). Besides SFA, eight other national student organizations endorsed the Taco Bell boycott from April 2001-March 2005: 180 Movement for Democracy and Education, Campus Greens, *Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan* (MEChA), Student Environmental Action Coalition, Student Peace Action Network, Students Transforming and Resisting Corporations, Student Labor Action Project, and United Students Against Sweatshops.
[18] Ibid. Schools where contracts were prevented or cut during the "Boot the Bell" campaign include: Sunflower Catholic School, West High School, Catholic Schools of the Diocese of Gary, IN, University of California-Berkeley,

profit status by applying for grants and developing an informal board of directors. In 2003, SFA earned its non-profit status and by 2004, the framework of SFA as an independent organization, separate from the CIW, but dedicated to following the farmworkers' leadership, had been established. Brian stayed on as the SFA staff person and worked out of the CIW office in Immokalee until 2004. Since then, at least two SFA staff members plus an intern continue to work alongside Interfaith Action and Just Harvest USA staff members in the CIW community center's ally office in order to coordinate SFA's large, decentralized network of youth, students, and student affiliated organizations across the United States.[19]

By 2004, not only was the CIW continuously mobilizing farmworkers in Immokalee, but Interfaith Action and SFA were also organizing people of faith and students and youth respectively in the United States through decentralized networks. Both Interfaith Action and SFA emerged as SMOs that were designed to be allied organizations of the CIW. While both allied organizations express solidarity with other campaigns, organizations, and movements, they work almost exclusively on CIW campaigns. When I asked James, a former SFA staff person, about the significance of farmworkers, students, and people of faith belonging to different SMOs, he responded:

Duke University, UCLA, University of San Francisco, Milwaukee Area Technical College, Notre Dame, Samford University, Carmel High School, Middle Tennessee State University, San Diego City College, University of Chicago, University of Pennsylvania, University of Memphis, University of Michigan, Loyola University, Tampa Preparitory School, University of Texas-San Antonio, California State University-San Bernadino, Portland State University, and Washington University-St. Louis (http://www.sfalliance.org/resources/BTBvictories.pdf).
[19] Student or student affiliated organizational endorsers of the CIW's current campaigns are: United Students Against Sweatshops, *Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano/a de Atzlán* (National MEChA), National Latina/o Law Student Association, United States Student Association, Student Labor Action Project, People & Planet, Campus Progressives, Student Action with Farmworkers, Student Environmental Action Coalition, United Students for Fair Trade, The Real Food Challenge, Students United for a Responsible Global Environment, Campus Greens, Center for Participant Education-Florida State University, Yale Committee on Social Justice, Student Action Committee at the Iliff School of Theology, Yale Divinity Latina/o Association, Physicians for Human Rights-University of Miami, Miller School of Medicine, and The Young People's Project. Alliance for Fair Food. 2012. "Organizational Endorsers." Retrieved November 14, 2012, (http://allianceforfairfood.org/org.html#student).

> It's important here in the community to have a presence that the workers can feel like [it] is run by them or people like them for their benefit and is something that is accessible to them and is something that feels comfortable to them, because if it was just the CIW -- one organization that included all the students and then all the people of faith and everybody else and we're all just kind of occupying this space here, I feel like it would create a dynamic where it would be something that's kind of foreign to people here or intimidating even.

Likewise, it would be "foreign" for people of faith or students to be mobilized exclusively by farmworkers. Instead, each group mobilizes its own community yet all three SMOs are interconnected. To paraphrase an SFA staff person, the three SMOs (CIW, Interfaith Action, and SFA) are like the "Sacred Triangle" of the Fair Food Movement in that all three are integral to the movement and work side by side in the CIW Community Center, but continue to exist as three distinct organizations that mobilize different constituencies. But as the movement grew, it became evident that there were other populations that had the potential to be strong allies of the CIW, such as food justice advocates who are concerned with the larger food system. When the CIW signed an agreement with Whole Foods, farmworkers and allies began discussing how to invite food justice advocates into the Fair Food Movement.

2.4   THE EMERGENCE OF JUST HARVEST USA[20]

During Labor Day weekend 2008, Greg Asbed and Lucas Benitez, co-founders of the CIW, spoke at the Slow Food Nation gathering in San Francisco at which over 60,000 food activists

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[20] Not to be confused with Just Harvest of Pittsburgh, PA that works to end hunger and poverty: http://www.justharvest.org.

came together to discuss "good, clean, and fair food."[21] Eric Schlosser, author, food justice activist, and CIW ally, began the keynote panel entitled "Toward a New, Fair Food System" by asking, "Does it matter whether an heirloom tomato is local and organic if it was harvested with slave labor?" In order to help redefine "good food," Greg discussed how the sustainable food movement often failed "to adequately address the exploitation of farm labor over the past thirty years, a period that has seen the growth of the sustainable food sector from a boutique market to a mainstream phenomenon."[22] Lucas told the story of CIW emergence, struggle, and success and ended with the surprise announcement that the CIW had reached an agreement with Whole Foods Market. While there was some excitement for the Campaign for Fair Food from conference attendees, the CIW was critical of the lack of labor discussions over the course of the five-day gathering, but remained optimistic that food justice advocates would join in the CIW struggle for "fair" as well as "good" food. As Gerardo Reyes, a CIW staff member stated in the magazine section of *The New York Times* a month later, "You cannot call sustainable food sustainable when it's not fair" (Food Fighters 2008).

This conference was not the first time that the CIW and its allies attempted to redefine "good" food by incorporating the word "fair." When the CIW's McDonald's campaign kicked off in 2005, Chipotle Mexican Grill was an implicit target since McDonald's was Chipotle's major investor from 1998-2006. However, when McDonald's divested and Chipotle went public in January 2006 (Brand 2006), the CIW wrote Chipotle CEO Steve Ells in February 2006 stating

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[21] Coalition of Immokalee Workers. 2008. "CIW at the 2008 Slow Food Nation Gathering." Retrieved November 14, 2012, (http://www.ciw-online.org/CIW_at_SFN.html).
[22] Coalition of Immokalee Workers. 2008. "CIW at the 2008 Slow Food Nation Gathering." (http://www.ciw-online.org/CIW_at_SFN.html).

that, " your company's manifesto – 'Food with Integrity' -- gives us hope."[23] The CIW invited Chipotle to join in a Fair Food Agreement with them in order to promote the restaurant's mission statement. While the company was already boasting about paying its workers above minimum wage and purchasing free-range pork, it seemed logical that it would also subscribe to higher wages and ethical standards for the farmworkers at the bottom of its supply chain (Brand 2006). This and subsequent letters to Chipotle by the CIW and its allies as well as tactics aimed at intensifying pressure and raising consumer awareness, such as CIW "Chipocrisy" truth tours and ally actions at Chipotle sponsored *Food Inc.* screenings, finally resulted in the signing of a Fair Food Agreement with the CIW in October 2012.[24] The over six-year Chipotle campaign has been the longest one to date.

During the CIW's Chipotle campaign, a third allied organization, which would mobilize food justice advocates, began to form in 2008. As Lena, a former Just Harvest USA staff member, stated, "It kind of was like a fad to be talking about—and it still [is]—to be promoting sustainability ideas of going green, but over and over again workers' voices were being left out of the picture. So I think that that was a part of the analysis that the CIW had." Workers began to notice a gap between their campaigns for higher wages and codes of conduct for farmworkers and what food justice groups were doing at the local, regional, and national levels. Morgan, Interfaith Action's first national coordinator as well as Just Harvest USA's first national coordinator, stated, "people get into a little bit of a bubble and they only shop at the local farmer's market." But, because many food justice activists are concerned about their health, the environment, animals, and people, they've been receptive to the CIW's Campaign for Fair Food

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[23] Coalition of Immokalee Workers. 2006. "CIW news." Retrieved November 14, 2012, (http://www.ciw-online.org/Chipotle_letter.html).

[24] Coalition of Immokalee Workers. 2012. "Chipotle signs agreement with CIW to join Fair Food program." Retrieved November 14, 2012, (http://www.ciw-online.org/chipotle_agreement_news.html).

and "kind of get it pretty quickly." While Morgan sometimes hears comments such as, "I wouldn't eat those conventional tomatoes anyway," she emphasized that a louder response tends to be, "Oh I didn't realize there were millions of people working in really bad conditions and earning miserable wages just to get this food to us," especially when they learn that over ninety-eight percent of food in the United States comes from conventional channels.

While Just Harvest USA is not yet a 501(c)3,[25] a delegation to Immokalee that included prominent food justice writers and activists, such as Raj Patel and Frances Moore Lappé, helped to bring visibility to the newest CIW allied organization. Interfaith Action and SFA have an organizational structure "that allows them to reach people when they need them so they can tap these allies and say, 'We've got this campaign. Here's some literature. We're going to be coming through your part of the country on these dates," said Jim, a small farmer and food justice delegation member. He went on to say, "we [food justice advocates] wanted to have something similar to reach out into the sustainable agriculture community and that's the impetus. That's the reason we exist."

Structured similarly to Interfaith Action and SFA, Just Harvest USA is an organization that focuses primarily on CIW campaigns and has staff housed within the CIW community center. Yet, it differs from the other two allied organizations in one distinct way. Interfaith Action and SFA have the advantage of mobilizing people of faith and students in physical locations. As Morgan told me, "the negative part about it [mobilizing food justice advocates] is that it is kind of everywhere and everyone on some level, because everyone eats." Whereas

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[25] A 501(c)3 is a United States tax-exempt, non-profit organization that is designated to operate for one or more of the following purposes: religious, charitable, scientific, testing for public safety, literary, educational, fostering national or international sports competition, or the prevention of cruelty to children or animals. A 501(c)3 is not permitted to engage in campaign activities for or against a political candidate. IRS. 2012. "Part 7. Rulings and Agreements." Retrieved November 14, 2012, (http://www.irs.gov/irm/part7/irm_07-025-003.html#d0e732).

Interfaith Action and SFA mobilize in churches and universities respectively, Just Harvest USA accesses its constituency through food justice gatherings, food justice nonprofits, and other organizations that are addressing food justice issues. Despite Morgan's history and experience with the Campaign for Fair Food, she still "spent just the first year in Just Harvest researching and getting to know different organizations around the country," according to Lena. Just Harvest USA is still establishing its constituency and organizational infrastructure, but has accomplished two important tasks considering the infancy of the SMO: First, it has brought food justice advocates into the Fair Food Movement and second, it has increased attention given to labor within the broader sustainable food movement.[26]

2.5   THE EMERGENCE OF THE ALLIANCE FOR FAIR FOOD

After Taco Bell agreed to the CIW demands and signed a Fair Food Agreement on March 8, 2005, the boycott effectively ended. Because the campaign against Taco Bell involved a national boycott, individuals, national churches, labor unions, and a host of other organizations were able to formally endorse it. With the Taco Bell campaign over, the CIW immediately began targeting other fast-food restaurants that purchase tomatoes from southwest Florida. After fast food, the

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[26] Current Sustainable Food, Agriculture, and Environment organizational and responsible business endorsers of the CIW's current campaigns are: National Family Farm Coalition, Family Farm Defenders, Food First/Institute for Food & Development Policy, Pesticide Action Network North America, Organic Consumers Association, Just Food, The Food Project, Center for Food Safety, Oakland Institute, Institute for Agriculture & Trade Policy, National Campaign for Sustainable Agriculture, The Ethicurean, Local Fair Trade Network, Cool Foods Campaign, Food and Water Watch, Nation Farmers Union, Alabama Sustainable Agriculture Netowrk, The Kitchen Table Project, REAP Food Group, Maverick Farms, People's Grocery, Farms Not Arms, Food Systems Integrity, Peacework Organic Farm, Interfaith Food & Farms Partnership, Ecology Action of Texas, Sustainable Food Center, California Food & Justice Coalition, New Entry Sustainable Farming Project, Slow Food Glades to Coast, Harvest for Humanity, Slow Food Columbus, No Sweat Apparel, Equal Exchange, Just Coffee, Living Stems, and Oké USA, Alliance for Fair Food. 2012. "Organizational Endorsers." Retrieved November 14, 2012, (http://allianceforfairfood.org/org.html#sustainable).

CIW turned to food service providers and grocery stores. However, given that CIW campaigns first begin with letters asking corporations to sign a Fair Food Agreement and then are escalated through farmworker and consumer awareness and pressure, endorsers of the Taco Bell boycott were in a position to have to endorse each and every campaign separately.[27]

Meghan, a former SFA staff member, told me, "we were trying to think of a way for people to formally endorse the campaign without having to go to Burger King, McDonald's, et cetera." Anna explained the reasoning behind the formation of the Alliance for Fair Food:

> [F]or many national religious institutions[,] they need a policy framework to do their work. Having endorsed the boycott[,] you had this resolution that was passed by the church and that meant [they] are going to support the boycott. When the boycott ended and we were in the amorphous campaign with McDonald's, we didn't necessarily have a formal policy…That made it somewhat difficult.

Therefore, the Alliance for Fair Food became a way for allies to endorse the CIW regardless of the specific corporation being targeted. There was a hope that subsequent campaigns would not take as long as Taco Bell (as many have not) and that the CIW could move from company to company (as it has).

The Alliance for Fair Food provides a structure for individuals, institutions, and organizations to be "able to commit to working in partnership with the Coalition[28] to institute the principles of social responsible purchasing practices and the human rights for farmworkers [and be] able to make a commit[ment] to the longer struggle," said Anna. The five founding members of the Alliance for Fair Food are: 1) SFA, 2) Interfaith Action, 3) Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), 4) Robert F. Kennedy (RFK) Memorial Center for Human Rights, and 5) The National Economic and Social Rights Initiative (NESRI). While not a 501(c)3, the Alliance for Fair Food is an

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[27] To date, the CIW has only launched a boycott against one corporation, Taco Bell. Subsequent Fair Food Agreements have been achieved without a boycott.
[28] Among CIW staff and members as well as allied organizational staff, the CIW is simply referred to as "*La Coalición*" or "The Coalition."

umbrella structure that houses all of the CIW allies. As of November 2012, the Alliance for Fair

Food had 41 individual endorsers[29], including U.S. senators, authors, filmmakers, musicians,

Nobel Peace Prize Laureates, and many more as well as 203 organizational endorsers[30], which

includes human rights, labor, student and youth, food and agriculture, responsible business, and

community organizations. Unlike SFA and Interfaith Action, which solidified as allied SMOs

after students and persons of faith had established partnerships with the CIW, the other three

founding members of the Alliance for Fair Food emerged either prior to or separately from the

CIW and its Campaign for Fair Food.

2.5.1   A partnership with the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.)

In addition to being one of the five founding members of the Alliance for Fair Food, Presbyterian

Church (U.S.A.) has been a strong and active ally since the first years of the CIW's Taco Bell

Boycott. This alliance began in 2002 when Presbyterians in the Tampa Bay area who were CIW

allies brought an overture[31] to the Tampa Bay Presbytery (the regional governing body). The

overture sought formal endorsement of the boycott by the church. Since the overture gained

overwhelming support at the regional level, it was sent to the national General Assembly

meeting in Ohio. According to Rev. Noelle Damico[32], even though the Presbyterian Church

"hadn't supported a boycott since the JP Stevens Shirtwaist Factory Boycott back in 1979," the

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[29] To see a list of individual AFF endorsers, please see: Alliance for Fair Food. 2012. "Individual Endorsers."
Retrieved November 14, 2012, (http://allianceforfairfood.org/individual.html).
[30] To see a list of organizational AFF endorsers, please see: Alliance for Fair Food. 2012. "Organizational
Endorsers." Retrieved November 14, 2012, (http://allianceforfairfood.org/org.html).
[31] "An overture is an official communication from a lower governing body to a higher governing body requesting
the latter to take a particular action or approve/disapprove or endorse a particular statement or resolution" (The
Presbytery San Fernando 2003:1). The Presbytery San Fernando. 2003. "The Overture Process." Retrieved
November 14, 2012, (http://www.sfpresby.org/OvertureProcess.pdf).
[32] Rev. Noelle Damico is an ordained minister who serves as the Associate for Fair Food in the Presbyterian Hunger
Program, coordinating the Presbyterian Church (USA)'s Campaign for Fair Food.

overture passed and the national Presbyterian Church became the second mainline denomination[33] to formally endorse the boycott. Noelle, an ordained minister of the United Church of Christ hired by the Presbyterian Church to implement the overture on a national level, told me that the pace at which the overture was passed was rare. She said, "if you look historically at other boycotts that the church has supported in its past, typically it studied it for years and years before supporting it. I mean ones that other denominations were on, the Presbyterian Church was still studying and debating years and years and years."

Noelle attributed the passage of the overture to three key pieces and expressed the view that each one was crucial. First, several Presbyterians who were already supporters of the boycott testified at the General Assembly. She recalled how her husband, a Presbyterian minister who worked with youth, spoke about the boycott being "a phenomenal opportunity for people in their teens and even younger to begin to integrate their faith into public life in a way that was powerful, in a way in which they were truly leaders," said Noelle. In addition to talking about how youth were integrating the boycott into their faith statements required for confirmation, his students also signed up to give their own testimonies. Florida Presbyterians, who had been allies of the CIW from its earliest stages and who initiated the overture, also spoke. These testimonies focused on farmworkers' poverty wages. Noelle summarized their statements as,

> Look we have been giving food and clothing to poor farmworkers in Immokalee for generations…We're obviously subsidizing the growers who are not paying enough…What we need is for corporations to take appropriate responsibility for the way that their purchasing power is impacting our sisters and brothers who are harvesting in the fields.

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[33] In July 2001, the United Church of Christ became the first religions denomination to formally endorse the Taco Bell Boycott on a national level (Laughlin 2007). However, because the Presbyterian Church (USA) provided resources that funded Rev. Noelle Damico's position to implement the overture, the Presbyterian Church (USA) became a more prominent ally within the Campaign for Fair Food, as explained to me by an interviewee.

Florida Presbyterians were vocal about their analysis of charity in the form of food and clothing. They felt that despite its best intentions, charitable donations were contributing to the status quo and not addressing the larger systemic issues such as the corporate profits being made from keeping farmworker wages low. Second, Gerardo Reyes, an Immokalee farmworker and CIW staff member, also came to Ohio to testify at the General Assembly. He responded to questions from the committee, described a day in the life of a farmworker, and explained how and why the CIW chose to boycott Taco Bell. While the committee was very moved by Gerardo's testimony, the third piece, data from the Department of Labor, substantiated the testimonies of Gerardo and of the Florida Presbyterians. The data illustrated how the piece rate for tomatoes had remained stagnant since 1978 and that average farmworker earnings were $7,500-$10,000 a year. While all three pieces contributed to a strong vote in favor of the overture, Noelle believes that it was Gerardo's testimony conveying the message that it was farmworkers calling for the boycott and not "an idea that the church has cooked up to try to help other people" that tipped the balance.

A few hours after it was passed, Noelle was hired on a part-time basis to implement the overture. Her roles included writing "biblical commentary so that people could preach on the Taco Bell Boycott using the Lectionary text for that particular Sunday,"[34] flying around the country talking with various groups of Presbyterians, and becoming a strong presence at CIW actions and events, such as marches, hunger strikes, fasts, and truth tours. When the CIW signed a Fair Food Agreement with Taco Bell and turned its attention to McDonald's, the Alliance for Fair Food was born in 2006. As the logistics of the Presbyterian Church's Taco Bell Boycott endorsement illustrates, passing an overture for each and every CIW campaign would be a

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[34] This means that she is writing a reflection on the scripture passage of the day.

laborious and uncertain process. But as an endorser of the Alliance for Fair Food, the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) has been a consistent CIW ally for over a decade.

2.5.2   A partnership with the Robert F. Kennedy (RFK) Center for Human Rights

Established in 1987 by Kerry Kennedy, the daughter of the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy (D-NY), The RFK Center for Human Rights' "core programs focus on the power of the individual, working through alliances and organizations, to generate change."[35] Each year, the Robert F. Kennedy Human Rights Award is given to an individual or group "whose courageous activism is at the heart of the human rights movement."[36] The award includes a monetary contribution as well as a six-year partnership for justice. The Coalition of Immokalee Workers (CIW) won this award in 2003 and it was the first time that "the prestigious award had gone to a U.S.-based non-governmental organization (Sellers 2009:24). Three CIW members, Lucas Benitez, Romeo Ramirez, and Julia Gabriel, accepted this award on behalf of the CIW (Sellers 2009:23) and a partnership was established between the CIW and the RFK Center. Since 2003, the RFK Center has become a strong ally of the CIW and is "dedicated to advancing the human rights of farmworkers."[37] For example, the RFK Center helped to facilitate visits to Immokalee by Ethel Kennedy, Senator Bernie Sanders (I-VT), John Sweeney, president of the AFL-CIO from 1995-2009, and other AFL-CIO officials in order to witness farmworker conditions first hand. Members of the Kennedy family and RFK Center staff have participated in several CIW actions

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[35]Robert F. Kennedy Center for Justice and Human Rights. 2012. "About Us." Retrieved November 14, 2012, (http://rfkcenter.org/chi-siamo-4?catid=247&lang=en).

[36] Robert F. Kennedy Center for Justice and Human Rights. "Human Rights Award." Retrieved November 14, 2012, (http://rfkcenter.org/human-rights-award-10?option=com_content&view=article&id=869&lang=en).

[37] Robert F. Kennedy Center for Justice and Human Rights. "2003: Coalition of Immokalee Workers, United States" Retrieved November 14, 2012, (http://rfkcenter.org/coalition-of-immokalee-workers-united-states-19?lang=en&view=article&catid=249).

such as the march to Taco Bell Headquarters in Irvine, CA in 2004, CIW Truth Tours, which aim to raise awareness of the Campaign for Fair Food in several cities across the United States, a nine-mile march to Burger King Headquarters in Miami, FL, a Publix rally in 2009, and "shout-outs" to the CIW on Twitter.[38] The Center sponsored events on Capitol Hill, such as organizing two briefings in 2004 where CIW staff and members had the opportunity to speak with members of Congress resulting in twenty-nine Congressional members signing onto a letter supporting the CIW's Taco Bell Campaign, hosting a kick-off for a national petition campaign to end sweatshops in the fields, and securing "a hearing before the Senate HELP [Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions] Committee on working conditions of tomato pickers in U.S. Fields."[39] The Center also held conversations with Taco Bell and Yum! Brands executives and board members, McDonald's corporate staff, and major "investors in Burger King, including Goldman Sachs, Texas Pacific Group, and Bain Capital Group."[40] Finally, in addition to becoming a founding member of the Alliance for Fair Food in 2006, the RFK Center worked to garner high-profile media coverage in publications such as *The Washington Post* and *Rolling Stone*.[41] Winning the RFK Center's Human Rights Award was more than an honor. It helped to create avenues to broader audiences to which the CIW had yet to have major access.

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[38]Robert F. Kennedy Center for Justice and Human Rights. 2013. "RFK Center and the Coalition of Immokalee Workers: A Partnership With Results." Retrieved April 29, 2013 (http://rfkcenter.org/rfk-center-and-the-coalition-of-immokalee-workers-a-partnership-with-results-2).
[39] Ibid.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Ibid.

2.5.3 A partnership with the National Economic and Social Rights Initiative (NESRI)

In 2004, NESRI was founded "in response to growing interest from activists in bringing human rights home, and holding the United States accountable to meeting the full range of basic human rights standards for all its people."[42] Like the RFK Center, NESRI adopts a partnership-based approach and works to support already established local organizational efforts. NESRI's first partnership was with the CIW.[43] The six elements of NESRI's work are: 1) research, analysis, and documentation, 2) advocacy support, 3) network building, 4) communications, 5) transnational links, and 6) training.[44] According to NESRI's executive director, its role in the CIW's Campaign for Fair Food "was to bring the human rights community on board." Besides being a founding member of the Alliance for Fair Food, she explained that NESRI has supported the CIW and its Campaign for Fair Food in a variety of ways. They have done alliance building within the Human Rights Movement, conducted "background research on issues [often legal] as they came up," participated in strategic planning conversations and helped to build the new Fair Food Standards Council.[45] More specifically, NESRI signed onto Amicus letters in support of the Taco Bell and McDonald's campaigns, issued public statements about Fair Food Agreements and farmworker working conditions, circulated reports from CIW actions, testified with the CIW at a hearing before the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights,[46] and helped with fundraising. For example, since Just Harvest USA is not yet a 501(c)3, NESRI is the

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[42] NESRI. 2012. "Our History." Retrieved November 14, 2012, (http://www.nesri.org/about/history).
[43] Ibid.
[44] NESRI. 2012. "Our Work." Retrieved November 14, 2012, (http://www.nesri.org/about/our-work).
[45] The Fair Food Standards Council oversees the implementation of the CIW's Fair Food Agreements. Fair Food Standards Council. 2012. "What We Do." Retrieved November 14, 2012, (http://fairfoodstandards.org/index.html).
[46] http://www.nesri.org/resources?theme=All&type=All&author=All&keys=CIW

organization's fiscal sponsor[47]. Like the RFK Center, NESRI partners with the CIW to amplify its Campaign for Fair Food. As the executive director concluded, NESRI's role is "sort of whatever they [the CIW] need approach."

2.6   THE IMPACT OF THE FAIR FOOD AGREEMENTS[48]

Immokalee farmworkers are experiencing tangible results of the Fair Food Agreements. In addition to "a penny per pound" wage increase for the percentage of tomatoes bought by participating corporations, workers are enjoying other less visible wage increases. Prior to the Fair Food Agreements, crew leaders and farms often required workers to overfill the 32-pound bucket. The agreement "gives [farmworkers] the right not to overfill [his or her] buckets" (Coalition of Immokalee Workers 2009: 6). Given that workers are paid by the piece (bucket), this stipulation contributes to an additional wage increase. The agreement also dictates that farms "must have a good system for recording all of the hours that [farmworkers] work" (Coalition of Immokalee Workers 2009:4). Farms now have time clocks where workers can punch in and out. This ensures that farmworkers receive minimum wage for hours worked each day.

Besides wage increases, there have been dramatic improvements made to health and safety at work. Each farm is required to establish a health and safety committee, of which farmwokers volunteer to be a part, that monitors and reports accidents and dangers such as lightning, excessive heat, and pesticides (Coalition of Immokalee Workers 2009:9). In addition, workers now have access to shade, access to first aid, and adequate breaks, including lunch. The

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[47]This is according to November 1, 2011 personal email correspondence with CIW staff member.
[48] I continue the discussion of the Fair Food Agreements and the Fair Food Program in the concluding chapter.

Fair Food Agreements also have a zero tolerance policy for sexual harassment, discrimination, and abuse in the fields. For example, "no one at the company can make fun of [a farmworker] because [he or she] speak[s] an indigenous language, make negative comments about different races, or fire [a worker] because [she] is a woman" (Coalition of Immokalee Workers 2009: 11). For workers who are not permitted to leave a camp, are hit or threatened, or do not receive their wages, the Anti-Slavery Office of the CIW exists to provide support, aid, and recourse (Coalition of Immokalee Workers 2009: 12). If any part of this agreement is violated, workers have the right to complain without fear to their supervisor, the CIW, or the Fair Food Standards Council.

Given that "the farmworker community in Immokalee experiences near-complete turnover as new workers constantly arrive—including many recent immigrants—as others leave in search for better-paying jobs," (Sellers 2009: 10), CIW staff are constantly educating workers. CIW staff members travel to the fields to talk with farmworkers about their rights under the Fair Food Agreements. The CIW also speaks with workers about the various points of the agreements on Wednesday evenings, when the CIW holds its weekly member meeting. Finally, pamphlets entitled, "Know your rights and responsibilities under the new Fair Food agreements" are circulated in Spanish and English for workers who are literate.

2.7   CONCLUSION

The CIW first attempted to address poor wages and working conditions by targeting local Florida tomato growers for whom its members worked. However, this farmworker organization realized "that localized struggle alone would not bring about the systemic changes in the agricultural industry they sought" (Student Farmworker Alliance 2010:66). The CIW began to reach out to

students and persons of faith, in order to build strong alliances "with people outside of Immokalee" (Student Farmworkers Alliance 2010:67). When the Taco Bell boycott was launched by the CIW on April 1, 2001, the Campaign for Fair Food was born (Laughlin 2007; Sellers 2009). Since then, the Fair Food Movement has evolved and expanded to bring farmworkers and consumers, including persons of faith, students, senators, and anarchists, just to name a few, together to strive for a more just food system. The movement's goal is "to organize intensive pressure on the major corporate purchasers of tomatoes, who in turn are compelled to yield to reforms, changing their purchasing practices to demand (and to help enforce) better wages and human rights standards in their tomato suppliers' operations" (Student Farmworker Alliance 2010:67). Within a decade, twelve corporations have yielded to this pressure from farmworkers and consumers.

The CIW helped to build strong alliances outside of Immokalee through a decentralized, fluid network. Interfaith Action, Student Farmworker Alliance, Just Harvest USA, and the Alliance for Fair Food emerged to aid in the facilitation of the CIW's diffuse and heterogeneous allied base. As Sam, a long-time CIW ally who has worked with both faith and food justice allies, said "I think part of the strength of the movement is it builds—it's the organizing of local solidarity committees all over the country and on campuses and in churches." However, the Fair Food Movement continues to be rooted in Immokalee and spearheaded by the CIW.

3.0   METHODOLOGY

When I began this project, I made the decision to find a home within the tensions of "dual loyalties—to academia and to a political struggle that often encompasses, but always reaches beyond, the university setting" (Hale 2006:100). I struggled to maintain the standpoint of an "outsider" during my Master's thesis research, but this striving for "objectivity" prevented me from catching nuances and subtleties in my data and consequently, my analysis (Walsh 2005). For example, I had made the assumption that everyone who worked in the CIW Community Center was a member of the CIW staff. As I discuss in chapters four and five, staff members from four distinct SMOs work in the CIW Community Center. Not only was my academic work hindered, but also my personal commitment to the CIW's Campaign for Fair Food. But, this is not to say that jumping to the other side of the insider/outsider dichotomy was the solution for this dissertation project nor was it a possibility, given that I am not an Immokalee farmworker. The structure of the movement itself and my place within it as a CIW ally cannot be found on either side of this dichotomy. However, positioning myself somewhere between the poles of "insider" and "outsider" is not possible, because I occupy both spaces. I am an ally of the CIW, which means that while I work with the CIW by participating in actions and campaigns, I am neither "inside" the CIW nor "outside" of the movement. Naples and Sachs (2000) argue that "feminist analysis of the insider-outsider debate suggest that either-or representations are problematic because they are static, bipolar, and oversimplistic. A person may be simultaneously

an insider and an outsider" (210). While a researcher's position may continually shift (Naples 1996), I argue that one's position as an "insider" or "outsider" is best achieved by finding a home between these two extremes. I identify as a CIW ally, which is an "insider" of the larger movement and an "outsider" in reference to CIW members. I launched my dissertation research project from this standpoint in an effort to embrace my dual loyalties to academia and to the Fair Food Movement. Since I consider myself to be a member of the group I am studying (Fair Food Movement), I find using the first person to be most effective and continue to do so throughout this dissertation (Emerson et al. 2001).

As a CIW ally, I learned the ways in which praxis sometimes lends itself to successful organizing, since the CIW and its allied SMOs are committed to the popular education model, a discussion I take up in chapter six. As developed by Freire (1970), popular education begins by reflecting upon concrete experiences and perspectives, taking action, and further reflecting upon these new experiences (praxis). Engaging in activism as I simultaneously gathered data gave me the tools necessary to begin what would become an ongoing process of reflection and action (praxis) in my academic research (Freire 1970). As social science researchers, how do we incorporate theoretical reflection and collective action into each stage of the research process not only about the topic at hand or the population involved, but also in regards to our own position of privilege, as academics, and its relationship to the production of knowledge? This is not an innovative or new idea as scholars who advocate participatory action research or action research are committed to the Freirean model of knowledge production (Maguire 1987; Apple 1990; Hall 1992; Gaventa 1993; Gitlin and Russel 1994; Gaventa and Cornwall 2001; Greenwood and Levin 2003; Chiu 2006; Fine and Torre 2006; Nygreen 2006). However, I argue that *starting* from the standpoint of a CIW ally enabled me to design and carry out my dissertation research as

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an activist scholar and in turn, provided me with valid research results. This is evident when I compare these findings with those of my Master's thesis, which has been appropriately critiqued as positivist by other activist scholars within the Fair Food Movement. For example, Sellers (2009) states that I failed to account for counter-hegemonic processes that "enable the individual and collective identity-formation necessary to spark and sustain social movement activity" and instead, "explain the success of the Coalition through the lens of positivist social movement theory" (68). I don't dispute this critique of my Master's thesis since my dissertation research findings point to the same conclusions. In what follows, I detail the ways in which I have incorporated theoretical reflection and collective action (praxis) in alliance with the CIW into my research.

3.1   CONDUCTING RESEARCH AS A CIW ALLY

In 2005, I was invited to join Duquesne University's annual cross-cultural mission experience (a.k.a., "alternative spring break") to Immokalee as a co-facilitator. In 2006 and during the first half of 2007, I participated in CIW and SFA actions and campaigns that urged McDonald's and Burger King to sign a Fair Food Agreement. This included flyering outside of McDonald's restaurants, tabling at a local university during an information fair, talking about the Campaign for Fair Food in university classes when invited to do so, and urging students to sign petition letters outside of a campus Burger King. However, it was not until I attended the annual SFA *Encuentro* (gathering, conference, or meeting) in August 2007 that I began to understand what it meant to be an ally of the CIW as well as how to embark on activist scholarship.

Throughout this four-day conference, which I discuss in detail in Chapter five, strategizing about post-*Encuentro* actions is an important component of the weekend. But there is a particularly strong emphasis on reflecting on the concepts of power, privilege, solidarity, and ally in both small and large groups. Additionally, participants are urged to reflect on their connections to Immokalee and to mobilize in their home communities, not simply as supporters of the CIW, but as true allies whose local struggle coincides with the farmworker struggle. After the *Encuentro*, participants are encouraged to take action in their home communities while also continuing the reflection process, which occurs not only with other local SFA activists but also online through a listserve with the year's *Encuentro* participants.

During my *Encuentro* participation, I became increasingly aware of CIW members' convictions that they are prepared and determined to speak and struggle for themselves. I also learned quickly, and sometimes brutally, that existing allies had little patience for those who did not understand that outsiders were not needed (or wanted) to speak *for* the CIW. For example, on the second day of the conference, a longtime youth ally asked me how I first became involved in the movement. I told her that I had conducted my MA thesis research on the CIW, had initiated and participated in a few actions in Pittsburgh, and wanted to continue my research on the movement as I pursued my Ph.D. She took a few steps closer to me, forcefully said, "Academia is bullshit!" and walked away. Although she granted me an incredibly open and insightful interview three years later, she and others during the *Encuentro* weekend let me know that there was little tolerance for academic study of the CIW or the Fair Food Movement that was paternalistic or detached from the movement. During my interviews with allied SMO staff, I learned that there were frequent requests for academic, top-down "study" of the CIW, likely contributing to this participant frustration.

The CIW places its members in the position of "expert" in regards to the diagnosis of the problem and the prescription for action, because they are the ones who know their community best. Consequently, I realized that my academic research must follow the same protocol if I wanted to design a project that coincided with the larger mission of the Fair Food Movement. Since I am an outsider to the CIW—although I am an ally—designing a project that started from within the CIW, of which I am not a member, made little sense in thinking about the production of knowledge. However, researching the Fair Food Movement from the starting point of CIW allies, of which I am a member (and CIW members are not), did. There are simply different kinds of "expert" positions that are valued within the Fair Food Movement. Just as an Immokalee farmworker is an expert within his or her community, I am an expert within the university and ally community. As I discuss in the chapters that follow, these varying expert positions work to sustain the movement both within and outside of Immokalee. My research took the same approach and began from my expert position as an ally within a university setting. Not only did this study design align itself with movement goals and ideology, but it also meant that there were more people, I suspect, willing to talk to me about their participation than if I did not take this approach. As one of my interviewees told me, despite multiple requests from other academics, our 90-minute interview was the first one he had agreed to in three years. But I'm not suggesting that this approach applies for all research on all movements. For example, scholars who study hate movements are not likely to approach academic research with sympathy and support of movement goals. However, even when a researcher explicitly expresses disagreement and opposition to a movement (Blee 2002), research techniques may still coincide with movement goals in implicit ways. For example, Blee (2002) has noted that her experiences of fear during interviews with women who identified with the Ku Klux Klan and Neo-Nazis coincided with a

movement goal to inflict fear on others. So while I am not advocating my research approach as a model for all research on social movements, I contend that the approach may be applicable even in situations where the research is adamantly opposed to the movement under investigation.

Approaching my research in this way also indicated to interviewees that I understood some of the nuances of the movement. Consequently, the questions I asked went beyond surface exploration. As one interview stated after our interview, as he sat back in his chair with a surprised smile, 'That wasn't anything like I thought it was going to be. It was good. Those were very thoughtful questions.' My participation as a CIW ally provided me with the ability to contextualize interview questions based on what I had experienced and better assess whether or not my experiences were isolated or consistent with others' experiences. Sometimes my experiences were different from what some of my interviewees experienced, but more times than not, I found consistencies. But beyond being able to impart my understanding to others, especially during interviews, this approach dramatically increased my own understanding of the ways in which allies fit into the Fair Food Movement. For example, it was not until I hosted CIW and allied SMO staff members in my own community that I fully understood the process of scheduling CIW presentations. After acquiring this understanding, I could take it back to my interviewees and assess whether or not my experiences represented a norm within the movement.

3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

3.2.1 Research questions and objectives

While researchers committed to participatory action research might insist that the research question should be chosen via a collective process, it can be argued that this is not always possible or wanted by the group or organization. The CIW and its allied staff members who work in Immokalee are extremely busy. The harvesting season is roughly September through May and the bulk of movement organizing takes place during this short nine-month period. To take the time to work through yet another project, in addition to strategizing around current campaigns, would not only be an extra burden for CIW and allied SMO staff, but would also take away valuable time that could be spent on organizing and collective action aimed at corporate targets.

Melissa Forbis (2008) speaks to this potential danger and states that activist research "has such an emphasis on putting oneself at the service of the group or organization one is working with" that it "can run the risk of reinscribing the anthropologist as an 'expert'" (19; Sellers 2009:17-18). It may feel good to think about academic research as a form of "help" and a contribution to the movement. But in the case of the CIW, they do not desire ally "help," but do invite and welcome a working alliance. A "collaborative and participatory research [project risks] reproducing the same unequal power relations as more conventional research" (Nygreen 2006:17). In an attempt to avoid this danger, I reflected upon my previous activist experience with the movement in order to arrive at a research question that coincided with its philosophy.

After the 2007 SFA *Encuentro*, I spent considerable time trying to arrive at a research question that took into consideration my position as an ally and to bring my research in line with the CIW and allies' commitment to horizontal organizing, knowledge production, and the

awareness that farmworkers can and do speak for themselves. At the same time, I struggled to design a research question that would capture what I saw as a unique model that had not been explicitly discussed in the social movement or labor literature. What question would fill a gap in the academic literature? What research question would enable me to collect data that would address the nuances I suspected to exist in the movement as opposed to a generic overview of it? I began my project with the original research question: "How does an aggrieved population (Immokalee farmworkers) work with an 'external' support base (allies) while simultaneously maintaining its autonomy and control of the movement?" As a CIW ally, I learned to email allied SMO staff members in Immokalee about campaigns, local updates, and national actions. Therefore, I knew whom to contact regarding my proposed dissertation research. As I was designing my study, I sent a brief description with my research question and my hypothesis, which was the assumption that the CIW constructed autonomy and maintained control and my project would try to understand the process by which this was achieved. A staff member wrote me back to say that it looked to be an interesting project but urged me to think about autonomy creation and maintenance as a dual process, one that is constructed by CIW members *and* by allies. I welcomed this suggestion and recognized that my original research question still began from *within* the CIW and not from the starting point of allies. But it was not until I asked an interviewee why the Fair Food Movement was structured in a way that involved multiple SMOs and not a single SMO in which both farmworkers and participants were members. His answer to my question was, "People of privilege have a tendency to take everything over." It was this statement that helped to modify my research question to: "How do marginalized and privileged groups mobilize together without slipping into an organizing model that is paternalistic and charity driven?" What is the process by which people of privilege *don't* take over?

3.2.2   Data collection methods

As Stanley (1990) contends, "the point of [research] is to change the world, not only to study it" (15). Therefore, my research design required two goals that would attend to my dual loyalties to academia and to the CIW struggle (Hale 2006): 1) to collect the appropriate data in order to answer my research questions and 2) to continue to work in alliance with the CIW in its campaigns and collective actions. I found that semi-structured interviews, participant-observation during collective actions and movement forums, and archival data produced by and about the CIW and its allied organizations best provided me with the answers to the questions I asked. They also allowed me to access the organic emergence of the movement as well as how allies made sense of their participation. Finally, these particular methods made it relatively easy for me to collect data as I simultaneously participated in CIW campaigns and collective actions.

I collected and analyzed data on 1) tactics and strategies used by the CIW to recruit and incorporate Immokalee farmworkers and allies into current campaigns, 2) principles and practices that have come to characterize the Fair Food Movement, 3) the structure of the various organizations separately as well as the ways in which they interacted, 4) the historical emergence of each organization, and 5) interpretations of Fair Food Movement participants regarding their reasons for participation, how they perceive their role in the broader movement, and how they construct and (re)define CIW goals. Given that I try to parse out distinctions that may appear indistinguishable from afar, I found an inductive, qualitative methodology to be most appropriate for trying to understand movement participants' meaning making processes and interpretations (Denzin and Lincoln 2003).

After receiving written permission from the CIW Community Center to launch my research, I collected and analyzed three data sets including: 1) semi-structured interviews with

current and former SMO staff and members (CIW, SFA, Interfaith Action, Just Harvest USA) as well as allies who reflect either organizational or individual membership in the Alliance for Fair Food, 2) participant-observation within activist communities, and 3) analysis of organization-based documents, media written and constructed by or about the CIW, SFA, Interfaith Action, Just Harvest USA, and the Alliance for Fair Food, and internet-based material including SMO websites, listserves, radio interviews, and calls to action. All interviews, with the exception of one, took place over the course of an eighteen-month period (August 2009-January 2011). Given my position as a CIW ally, my participant-observation and archival data collection continued throughout the writing of this dissertation. I observed situations and events in which CIW staff and members and allied SMO staff and members were physically in the same location and acting collectively. I also observed situations and events in which they were not such as Immokalee, a college campus, a place of worship, or another place where activists regularly met. I provide the specific details of each of these three major data sets in the following sections.

3.2.2.1 Semi-structured interviews

In order to guide the interview process within the context of my research question, I sought to discover and understand how movement staff and participants articulated their experiences in relation to their participation in the SMOs, and in campaigns and collective actions, as well as other experiences that have been shaped by their participation. I also tried to comprehend how staff and movement participants expressed their role in the larger movement as it relates to their identity in their everyday lives. Finally, I hoped to understand if and how participants understood their actions and beliefs in relation to the established goals of the CIW.

I began each interview by briefly explaining the purpose of my research, offering confidentiality and requesting that the interviewee permit audio digital recording. I turned off the

digital recorder immediately after completing the interview and informed interviewees when the digital recorder was turned on and turned off. I continued to interview until I reach a "saturation" point, that is, when no new information was being elicited. I strove for variation, especially in regards to SMO staff and movement participants who were not SMO staff members, to assess when a "saturation" point had been reached.

My semi-structured interview data set consists of 37 interviews,[49] all of which were conducted by me, that took place either in person (17),[50] via phone (17), or via email (3). Supplementary follow-ups with interviewees occurred either in-person during participant-observation or via email. The shortest interview was twenty-two minutes and the longest was one hour, fifty-two minutes. The average interview length was fifty-four minutes and the median fifty minutes. In-person interviews were conducted in Immokalee, Florida (11), Naples, Florida (3), and Austin, Texas (3). Ally interviewees came from sixteen cities and ten states in the United States.[51] Interviews were conducted in both English (32) and Spanish (5) and with the permission of my interviewees, were recorded on a digital recorder. I did not have any interviewees deny audio recording. A native English speaker transcribed interviews conducted in English and a native Spanish speaker transcribed interviews conducted in Spanish. Because I am a native English speaker and speak Spanish as a second language, it was important for me to draw upon the assistance of a native Spanish speaker for transcription for two reasons: 1) it was a way for me to ensure transcription accuracy and 2) in my consultation with my Spanish language transcriptionist, I was able to verify the accuracy of my Spanish during the interviews.

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[49] See Appendix B for my interview template.
[50] Throughout this section, numbers in parenthesis indicate the number of interviewees per category.
[51] The cities were: Oakland and Santa Ana, California; Denver, Colorado; Immokalee, Naples, and Miami, Florida; Carbondale and Chicago, Illinois; Louisville, Kentucky; Baltimore, Maryland; Omaha, Nebraska; New York City, New York; Austin, Houston, and the Rio Grande Valley, Texas; and Madison, Wisconsin.

My first set of interviews was selected on the basis of status as staff within CIW (6), Student Farmworker Alliance (SFA) (4), Interfaith Action (3), and Just Harvest USA (1) as well as those who have formerly occupied such positions. I also interviewed one person who had been staff for both SFA and Interfaith Action and one person who had been staff for both Interfaith Action and Just Harvest USA for a total of sixteen staff interviews across all four SMOs. There is a maximum of ten CIW staff, three SFA and Interfaith Action Staff, and two Just Harvest USA staff at any given time. Therefore, my interviews cover the SMO staff population. In this first interview set, I interviewed both men (8) and women (8). All staff interviewees either currently live or have previously lived in Immokalee, FL.

Based upon my first interview set, I used both snowball sampling and a call for interviews on the SFA listserve to identify further CIW ally interviewees. My second set of interviews consisted of CIW allies (21) who both identify with SFA (8), Interfaith Action (7), or Just Harvest USA (2)[52] and who do not or have never occupied a staff position. I also interviewed allies who do not necessarily identify with one of the allied SMOs, but instead, with the Alliance for Fair Food (3). I had one interviewee who was a CIW ally when he lived in Immokalee in the early 1990s, but who is no longer active in the movement. In this second interview set, I interviewed men (11) and women (10). This interview set also includes current and former allied SMO administrative body members (7). Interviewees ranged in age of approximately mid-twenties to mid-sixties. With both interview sets combined, my interviewees were overwhelmingly in their twenties (25). However, I also interviewed movement participants in their thirties (5), forties (4), fifties (2), and sixties (1). Over half of the interviewees became

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[52] Because Just Harvest USA is the newest CIW allied SMO and its participants are diffuse and not concentrated in sites such as universities and places of worship, I was unable to acquire a good sample of Just Harvest USA participants who were not staff or administrative body members.

involved in the movement as university students (21), but at the time of the interview, only five were current university students.[53] Twenty-two interviewees currently have occupations as activists, organizers, and/or educators. All but one of my interviewees had been involved in the movement for at least one year. This is a not so obvious limitation to this dissertation project. Since I focused on interviewing participants entrenched in the movement, I do not have data from allies who are new to the movement. My interviewees did reflect upon their initial participation, but the inclusion of 1) allies who have recently become active in the movement, 2) allies who have left the movement, and 3) potential allies who chose not to participate, could have enriched this dataset.

I had one CIW member turn me down for an interview. An allied SMO staff member informed me that this person is particularly critical of academic research and had also turned down other academic interviews. I had two potential interviewees (SFA members) who contacted me to participate in the study after the interview call went out on the SFA listserve, but a follow-up resulted in no response. Two other potential interviewees whose names and contact information were provided to me by previous interviewees (CIW allies who were not identifying members of one of the allied SMOs) initially scheduled an interview, but later cancelled because of scheduling conflicts. Despite my efforts to reschedule these interviews, subsequent contact was met with no response. While it is possible that these potential interviewees changed their minds about wanting to participate, it is also possible that scheduling conflicts made it difficult to find the time to do so. This hypothesis is based upon other interviewees who cancelled and rescheduled yet during the interview, apologized for needing to reschedule and explicitly stated that they really enjoyed the interview and were happy to participate in the study.

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[53] Because SFA includes students and youth who are not students, the fact that many members are not currently official students does not pose any identity issues for SFA.

Besides interviews I conducted myself, I also drew upon secondary interview transcripts with current and former SMO staff from the CIW, SFA, and Interfaith Action. Daphne Holden, Ph.D., and her research assistant, Brent Perdue, gave me permission and access to use transcripts from eight interviews with CIW staff (3), SFA staff (4), and a CIW ally (1), which they had conducted in Immokalee prior to when I began my data collection. Of the eight transcripts, three SFA staff transcripts and one CIW ally transcript overlapped with my interview sample. When combined with my primary interviews, this dissertation incorporates a total of 41 interviews[54] comprised of CIW staff (9), allied SMO staff (11), and CIW allies who are not staff (21).

Verta Taylor (1998), in a discussion of her research of women suffering from post-partum depression, states, "It seemed voyeuristic to lay bare the lives of the depressed women I studied without articulating the meaning of depression in my own life" (370). Similarly, the answer that stems from asking a CIW allies to talk about why s/he is mobilizes in solidarity with a group of Immokalee farmworkers for respect and dignity often reveals personal struggle. Therefore, I contextualized questions based on my own experience within the Fair Food Movement and strove for an interview process that involved shared reflection and vulnerability, similar to conversations at the SFA *Encuentros*. But as Hiller and DiLuzio (2004) note, informed consent explicitly reveals that the interview "is heavily tilted toward hearing from the interviewee" and that "however friendly the interchange may be, does not expect to dialogue with the interviewer as one might in a normal conversation" (5). I found Hiller and DiLuzio's (2004) statement to ring true in the case of my interviews in that the interviewee spoke eighty to ninety percent of the time. However, I also found that there were situations when it was appropriate to offer my own reflections, especially when asked by the interviewee, which I

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[54] See Appendix A for my list of interviews.

argue, created more open and unscripted interviewee responses. For example, one interviewee said to me after I shared my personal story of involvement with the Fair Food Movement prior to the start of our interview:

> Thanks for sharing your story. I'm really glad that you thought that important to share. I've interacted with many folks within academia who forget that they are people too and not just some walking tape recorder that gets to digest everyone else's information without sharing their own. That's really important that you recognized that and it gives me more *ganas* (desire) to do the interview.

This response and the positive feedback I received from others who also asked me about my current and prior involvement during the interview process further validated my belief that exposing some of my own experiences in the movement not only did not compromise my interview data, but also enhanced the data collection process.

Participating in the Fair Food Movement not only facilitated access in many cases, but it also provided me with a way to draw on my personal experiences for facts and interpretation. For example, students who travel to Immokalee during their Spring Break are often invited to come to the parking lot where Immokalee farmworkers look for work each day at approximately 5:00 in the morning. I have been a co-facilitator for four of these trips and on each trip, there is always at least one student who refuses to go to the parking lot, claiming that it is disrespectful to watch others look for work when it is just a part of their day. When I recalled this story for my interviewees, I received a variety of responses to it. One interviewee, an allied SMO staff member, told me that she would go to the parking lot early in the morning as a way to remind herself why she was working such long hours. Another allied SMO staff member told me how it frustrated him when students claimed disrespect as he interpreted a student's choice not to go to the parking lot as a way to avoid looking privilege in the mirror. A facilitator of a Spring Break trip at another school informed me that he had similar experiences yet another facilitator did not.

Had I not been a co-facilitator of these student trips, I would not have known that some students were not at the parking lot in the pre-dawn hours nor would I have known why.

But there were also instances in which I misunderstood something based on my own position. For instance, watching the CIW and allied staff members try to manage events for eight to ten student groups in a week's time means that signs of exhaustion are apparent on everyone's faces. Thinking about my own exhaustion of trying to co-facilitate just one group of fifteen students made the thought of working with several groups at once seem daunting. Therefore, one of my questions to allied SMO staff members was, "Do [SFA, Interfaith Action or Just Harvest USA] and the CIW like allies to visit or is it a nuisance?" While most interviewees just answered the question by telling me why it was important for visitors to come to Immokalee to witness farmworker conditions first hand, one interview said, "I mean, part of it's like that's a question I wouldn't even think to ask because it has to happen." My experience as a co-facilitator prompted this question, but as I discovered, how staff (CIW or allied SMO) felt about it did not matter to the larger goal of inviting and welcoming allies to Immokalee. So while I contend that overall, my personal experience of being a CIW ally positively contributed to access and analysis, this approach also had limitations, such as misinterpretation based on my own emotions. However, by expressing these emotions to interviewees, my misinterpretations were pointed out to me.

Besides finding it necessary to selectively offer my own reflections of my movement participation throughout the interview process, I was vigilant about the safety and protection from harm of all interviewees. Names and identities remain confidential (unless the interviewee requested that it be disclosed) so that jobs, personal safety, and SMO safety remain secure. Safety includes the treatment interviewees receive from the employers, government officials, and adversaries of the Fair Food Movement. For some interviewees, confidentiality gave them the

opportunity to be openly critical or to take an unpopular position. Others still thought that their interview responses should sound more sophisticated and preferred that I use a pseudonym. For example, on interviewee, after glancing at his interview transcript, stated that an organizer should sound more articulate than he believed his responses exemplified and therefore, preferred that I use a pseudonym. I made certain that confidentiality existed and that data, if lost or stolen, was not jeopardized in any way by anonymizing people in my notes. Finally, because I was sometimes entering communities that were not my own, I made certain that I did not appear threatening or intrusive.

While the Institutional Review Board (IRB) explicitly states that it serves the research subjects and participants, it can also contribute to unequal power dynamics. However, without proper experience, dialogue, and communication with the group in questions, it is sometimes difficult to see where the inequality lies from the privileged perspective of an academic researcher. For example, the CIW uses popular education (e.g., drawings, paintings, and theater) to articulate the farmworker experience with fellow Immokalee workers. The reasoning behind this, at least in part, is 1) many languages are spoken in Immokalee and so visual representations transcend linguistic boundaries and 2) not all workers are literate and those who are do not read a common language. I had two options. One, I could either forego informed consent and therefore, would not have been permitted to record any identifiers or link multiple interviews or archival data or two, I could integrate informed consent into my research procedures. While I had assumed at the beginning of this study that the CIW and Fair Food Movement participants would have chosen the former, a conversation with allied staff members working in Immokalee revealed the preference for the latter since there may be some workers and members who felt it necessary to use their names. This shows that my attempt at power deconstruction could have

had the opposite effect in the eyes of the interviewee. However, to make the assumption of literacy or illiteracy is problematic and can create vulnerability and embarrassment. Therefore, I petitioned and was granted an oral informed consent from the IRB at the University of Pittsburgh in an attempt to navigate this uncomfortable aspect of the interview process.

Finally, I need to make a brief note about research funding. Many funding opportunities come with requirements, one being the public availability of data. Considering that the bulk of the transcripts are not my words, I realized that this decision could not be made by me. My research was funded in part by a National Science Foundation Dissertation Improvement Grant and one of the requirements of accepting this grant is the public availability of the data. Prior to accepting this award, I contacted the CIW Community Center and received permission to make all of my primary interview transcripts public with all identifiers removed. Transcripts will be housed in the CIW Community Center.

3.2.2.2 Participant-observation

My second data set complements and informs my interview data with approximately 350 hours of participant-observation. Participant-observation involves "participat[ing] in the daily routines of [a social] setting, develop[ing] ongoing relations with the people in it, and observ[ing] all the while what is going on" (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw 1995:1; Lichterman 1998). This qualitative method helps "us understand how groups and settings shape people's thoughts, feelings and interactions" (Lichterman 2002:122). It is a way to uncover the ways in which activists explicitly put abstract philosophies and ideas into practice (Lichterman 1998).

Because I am an ally in the Fair Food Movement, my participation also allowed me to scrutinize myself as a source of insight into how activists think and feel in certain situations. Corbin (1998) discusses introspection as one way of knowing that "draws upon past knowledge

and experience to provide the basis for making comparisons" (123). For example, on the second day of a three-day march from Tampa to Lakeland, Florida, I drove several vanloads of CIW allies back to their cars after the march had concluded for that day. My bag of clothes and sleeping bag were missing and since there was no time to go searching for them until the end of the march, I walked two days (twenty miles) in the hot Florida sun in the same clothes with minimal sleep. As I drove the vanloads of marchers who chose to march for just one day and were going home to their own beds (and a shower), each passenger wanted to be dropped off in a different location, causing me to get lost on the way back to the sleeping quarters for the night and to miss dinner. I was not jovial like the allies in the van. Instead, I was exhausted, hungry, and consequently, irritable. When I returned to the church we were staying in for the night, I realized that CIW staff and allied SMO staff had similar (yet more pronounced) signs of exhaustion on their faces and in their body language. This was a dramatic contrast to the jovial vanload of allies I had just dropped off at their cars. It is at this point that the varying levels of ally participation clearly stood out to me. I was exhausted, but not nearly as much as the CIW or allied SMO staff, but much more so than the allies I drove in the van. I was able to then use this introspection from participant-observation to tap into the thoughts and feelings of movement participants during subsequent interviews.

For my dissertation project, I took part in events and routines that had come to characterize the ways in which the CIW and their allies interact, both between and among them. The only SMO that has a geographical centralized location is the CIW, which works out of its community center in Immokalee. While SFA, Interfaith Action, and Just Harvest USA staff also works in the CIW Community Center, these allied SMOs are decentralized and therefore, members regularly meet on college campuses, places of worship, community centers, and cafes

(just to name a few places) in an array of geographical locations across the United States, not to mention the Alliance for Fair Food that does not have any type of geographical home. Hence, it was impractical as well as almost impossible to isolate allies and allied SMOs in order to be a participant-observer. Given the topic at hand, the interaction of aggrieved and allied activists within the confines of a single movement, I sought to be a participant-observer in settings in which CIW members and allies were working together. But this also means that there were events that I did not attend that may have been relevant to my story. For example, had I spent most of my time working in the CIW Community Center on a daily basis, I may have learned more about the intricacies of decision making processes there. However, I did spend some time in Immokalee when CIW members and allied SMO staff were not physically interacting with the broader allied base.

I selected events for participant-observation based upon the past history of the Fair Food Movement's collective actions and movement forums. I used the events, dates, and places from August 2007 to October 2008 to identify in advance likely episodes of fruitful participant-observation during my eighteen months of official data collection (August 2009 to February 2011). However, I also spent considerable time doing informal participant-observation over a longer time-span that extended from 2005 to 2009. Because of my activist participation and my long term familiarity with the movement, I learned which venues and events to expect, such as one to two large actions, a designated week of action, and a truth tour in the fall and in the spring, movement forums with students in September and March, and movement forums with people of faith on weekends. However, I also left room for the possibility that actions I was not anticipating might arise and would adjust accordingly. For example, in November 2009, the CIW and their allies held weekends of actions against Publix Supermarket in cities throughout the

state of Florida. Therefore, I arranged to attend one of these weekends of action in Tampa/St. Petersburg, Florida and monitored news coverage of the other three weekends to assess the representativeness of my participant-observation of this event and found that the weekend I attended was structured similarly to the other three.

My participant-observation included: 1) three movement forums and four walking tours in Immokalee, 2) eleven small scale picket and flyering events in front of Publix and Trader Joe's grocery stores, 3) approximately twenty instances of tabling and flyering at places of worship, universities, coffee shops, bookstores, and bars in Florida and Pennsylvania, 4) twenty-nine CIW presentations, 5) two marches, 6) two rallies, and 7) informal time with CIW staff, allied staff, and CIW allies before and after events listed above in Immokalee, Tampa, St. Petersburg, Naples, and Lakeland, Florida as well as Erie and Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania and Austin, Texas. One event I was unable to attend was the CIW participation in the Converging on Fort Benning (Georgia), for the annual "SOA [School of the Americas] Watch" held each year in November. This would have given me an opportunity to learn about CIW and CIW ally participation in an event that the Fair Food Movement did not organize and not being able to do so was a limitation of this study. At the events during which I was a participant-observer, I took on a variety of tasks that included, but were not limited to: a) shuttling participants to and from parking lots and picket, rally, and marching sites as well as to and from local airports, b) participant registration, T-shirt distribution, crowd organizing, parking and safety patrol, and aid station set-up before, during, and after rallies and marches, c) rally set-up, d) grocery shopping, cooking, and serving food during movement forums, e) compiling spreadsheets, f) cleaning toilets, emptying garbage, and other janitorial duties after marches and rallies, g) painting signs and other artwork, h) loading and unloading vans and busses, i) housing or finding housing for

staff, j) printing flyers, k) conducting teach-ins, l) watching children, and m) event participation

(i.e., walking twenty-two miles during a three day march). Informal time included several meals,

traveling in cars and flying on planes, sports (soccer, volleyball, and swimming at the beach),

and shared housing spaces before, during, and after events with CIW staff, allied staff, and CIW

allies. Of course, I did not engage in all of these activities in every event but I engaged in some

of them at every one. In addition, I also spent time in the CIW Community Center with both

CIW and allied staff during regular working hours and during movement forum events. For each

session of participant-observation, I took notes during the session when appropriate to do so, but

most often wrote up my fieldnotes after the session was over.[55] My participant-observation

included routinely entering and leaving the field. This was beneficial since I was provided with

an opportunity to reflect upon my participant-observation data away from the day-to-day

operations of the movement. It also allowed for me to compare my observations with reports of

the movement both on organizational websites and in news coverage. However, this was also a

limitation since I observed less "down time" of movement operations. By emphasizing "actions"

over "non-actions," my data rely heavily on movement performances.

3.2.2.3 Internet and archival data

My research question capitalizes on the availability of Internet and archival data. I

collected approximately 100 documents from the CIW Community Center and its archive. But

the Fair Food Movement also makes great use of Internet communication. I collected over 1300

documents from or about the CIW and its allies, including organization websites, flyers,

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[55] See Appendix C for my participant-observation template.

brochures, press releases, newspaper articles, codifications, information sheets about campaigns and collective actions, documentary videos, radio transcripts, song lyrics, blogs, photo diaries, and academic theses (undergraduate and graduate). I used these documents to supplement my interview and participant-observation data by looking for consistencies, inconsistencies, and examples of what I was told and what I observed regarding the ways in which the CIW and its allies depict the movement and its issues. In addition, I incorporated daily updates that I receive via SMO listserves and I routinely checked the SMOs' and the Alliance for Fair Food websites for new developments within the movement that also became a part of my data collection. These documents provided me with a better understanding of how each SMO represents itself and the other SMOs (and has done so over time) as well as how the movement is portrayed by student, mainstream, and independent media. Moreover, I also focused on how the CIW represents itself to allies and potential allies as well as how allies represent the CIW.

3.2.3   Data interpretation

I initiated my data analysis by importing all of my interview transcripts and participant-observation fieldnotes into an NVivo 9 software file and began open coding. This occurred prior to the conclusion of my data collection so that I could return to my interviewees as needed to elicit information missing from my data. After this first pass through of the data, I established my initial set of 104 codes and eventually condensed this first set into twenty codes. As I began writing, I conducted selective coding of both my interview and participant-observation data and at this point, began incorporating my Internet and archival data.

While it may be a utopian goal to make data analysis and interpretation a purely collective endeavor, this is a logistically difficult. As previously mentioned, the CIW and its

allied staff and members are under enormous time constraints and to burden each participant with mountains of fieldnotes and interview transcripts would not serve the larger goals of the movement. Therefore, I involved participants in the data analysis as an invitation. Allies launch creative actions in their own communities as an illustration of solidarity with the Immokalee community and routinely send report backs of local actions via organizing listserves to obtain feedback and assistance. Members of the network who are able and willing to respond do so. Taking a cue from this established protocol, I did something similar, but limited it to my interview sample. I sent an email to individual interviewees asking if they would be interested or willing to look over drafts of dissertation chapters. Four interviewees asked me to send my drafts to them, which I did. One interviewee responded with constructive feedback, which I was able to incorporate into this dissertation. Specifically, he suggested incorporating more information on the implementation of the Fair Food Program, which can be found in chapters two and seven, and also provided me with an article he and a CIW member had written as well as its corresponding bibliography in order to make this addition. With identifiers removed, Jonathan Coley, a Ph.D. candidate at Vanderbilt University who studies social movements and is a CIW ally (not a part of my interview sample), read three dissertation chapter drafts and provided me with constructive feedback such as giving me suggestions on how to sharpen my analysis of how centers and forums contributed to movement stability and collective action capacity, a discussion I take up in chapter five. He also suggested that I elaborate on the concept of solidarity and provided me with a bibliography to do so. While this was a valuable and pertinent suggestion, I chose not to incorporate it, but plan to elaborate on this point in future publications based on this study. I also informally bounced several ideas regarding my own interpretations off of current allies who live in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, including Kate Lecci and Brittany Urse. My own

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work has benefitted from the expertise of all of these contributors, for which I am grateful for their time and energy. I accept full responsibility for errors of fact and interpretation.

3.2.4 Dissemination of research

The dissemination of research involves disseminating both raw data and final results. My raw data include fieldnotes and interview transcripts. I also have compiled archival sources, which may be a benefit to the CIW and the Fair Food Movement to have in a cohesive data set as well as to other researchers who study this movement. As stated earlier, my raw data will be de-identified and housed in the CIW Community Center in Immokalee, Florida. My final results, this dissertation, will become a part of the bibliography that is posted on the SFA website and will be publicly available.[56] A few of my interviewees expressed the need for academic research in general to be made accessible to the farmworkers who live in Immokalee. Specifically, this would mean removing academic jargon, condensing my findings into conclusions that movement participants would want to know, and translating these conclusions either into Spanish or into a format that does not require literacy, such as popular education drawings. I hope to work with allied SMO staff in Immokalee to work toward disseminating my results to the larger CIW membership by condensing my results into a series of drawings or cartoons or perhaps developing a short presentation. Finally, because the allied SMOs are so integrated with (yet distinct from) the CIW, this project, as one of my interviewees told me, may provide the allied SMOs with ways to distinguish themselves from the CIW that they need to write convincing grants for continued funding of the allied SMOs (separate from the CIW). Therefore, this

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[56] Student Farmworker Alliance. "CIW/SFA selected bibliography." Retrieved November 6, 2013 (http://www.sfalliance.org/bibliography.html).

dissertation will be disseminated to the CIW, Student Farmworker Alliance, Interfaith Action, Just Harvest USA, and the Alliance for Fair Food. Since the bibliography of academic work written by and about the Fair Food Movement can be found on the SFA website and this dissertation will become a part of that collection, other movements, organizations, and activists will have access to this dissertation and may find it useful for their own work.

3.2.5   Validation of research

Throughout this research process, I have worked to continually validate my research and my findings. This began even before I officially started to collect data. When I sent my dissertation proposal to allied SMO staff in the CIW Community Center, my working hypothesis was critiqued. My initial research question and hypothesis made the error of focusing on the CIW as opposed to a dual focus on the CIW *and* their allies. Once I began my interviews, I was able to check my interpretations during participant-observation events with my interviewees and at times, they informed me that my interpretations could be slightly tweaked, something similar to how I needed to alter my research question and hypothesis when I began this project. On other occasions, interviewees would inform me of something they noticed as striking at a particular event, but that I had missed, either because my focus was elsewhere or because I was not physically present given the vastness of some of the collective actions. Because I began my data analysis as I was collecting data, I was sometimes asked about my initial findings, which allowed me to assess whether or not my findings coincided with what someone who had been a long time participant in the movement might suspect. I also conferred regularly with Fair Food Movement participants who were not interviewees in order to validate my findings. A year after I concluded data collection, I presented some of my findings at a conference in which a CIW staff member

and an allied SMO staff member were in the audience. Their positive feedback regarding my interpretation of the Fair Food Movement not only gave me confidence in my analysis, but also added yet another layer of validity to my research results. Since I began this project, I have been preoccupied with the validity of my analysis, but feel confident in my results.

3.3   CONCLUSION

3.3.1   Limitations

As with any sociological study, this research project has limitations. First, although I conducted five interviews in Spanish, I am not a native Spanish speaker and this likely impacted my ability to probe more effectively. More specifically, some of my interviews with CIW members elicited more scripted responses. However, this may have had less to do with my Spanish and more to do with being a white academic who is a citizen of the United States. Or, these scripted responses may be a reflection of my level of skill as an interviewer. In comparison to CIW members, I am clearly an outsider, but at this point, familiar and always greeted warmly. However, I found these sometimes scripted responses to be interesting data. Although one interviewee stated, "People of privilege have a tendency to take things over," it is quite possible that people of privilege have a more difficult time taking over when there are subtle boundaries between farmworkers and allies. The second big limitation to this study is that I focused primarily on participants who were well established within the movement. Because of my involvement with the movement, I came to know the individuals who were entrenched in the movement. It is quite possible that their interpretation of the movement, because many of them have been involved for so long, is quite

different from someone who is new to the movement or from someone who is recruited but chooses not to participate. Moreover, I spent considerable time thinking about how relationships between farmworkers and allies are cultivated and sustained. However, what about allies or potential allies who come into contact with the Fair Food Movement, but are isolated and lack an organizational infrastructure such as a university, place of worship, or a community organization? What about potential allies who want to become active, but lack Internet or phone access, and therefore, are unable to stay current with actions and nation-wide conference calls? This limitation also points to the possibility of variance among those who have been participating intensely for an extended period of time, those whose participation is more limited, and those who hope to participate but are not connected enough to do so. Had I not been an ally within the movement, but instead, had approached this project as more of an "outsider," it is quite possible that I may have found myself interviewing movement participants who were newcomers or less involved.

3.3.2   Final thoughts

When I began this project, I had considerable uncertainty as to whether or not I could find a home between the tension that exists, sometimes irresolvably, between being a scholar and being a CIW ally. However, I now feel quite comfortable in this space. At the beginning of data collection, I was concerned that choosing to embrace my identity as a CIW ally might compromise my ability to conduct a rigorous study and concerned as well that adhering to the standards of academic rigor might compromise my commitment to the movement as a CIW ally. As I write this dissertation, I lament not being *more* active in the movement. I realized that the more involved I became, the more I learned about movement operations and participant

motivations for staying in the movement for over a decade. It is from this standpoint that the analysis in the chapters that follow begins.

4.0   A FORMALIZED COMMITMENT TO DECENTRALIZATION

4.1   INTRODUCTION

Immokalee farmworkers, many of them immigrants, and their allies have had remarkable success in persuading wealthy multinational fast food, grocery, and food service corporations to sign Fair Food Agreements. To explain this success, we need to examine the organizational complexity and alliance structure of this Fair Food movement. This case study offers an opportunity to discover pathways for the effective incorporation of groups often considered to be marginalized as well as groups often considered to be privileged into a single movement. In this chapter, I analyze the meso-level structure of the Fair Food Movement (Staggenborg 2002). The CIW and its allied SMOs are relatively formalized. However, the CIW has generated a larger decentralized network of allies. And while centralized movements are more often thought to be formalized (Corrigall-Brown 2012; Gamson 1975; McCarthy & Zald 1977), the structures of the Fair Food Movement have incorporated elements of formalization that complement, as opposed to detract from, a decentralized ideology. In addition, I discuss the usefulness of incorporating more than one level of analysis in order to highlight these different structures and processes. By considering the CIW and its allies as SMOs, as a coalition, and as a social movement community (SMC), I show the presence of formalization within the Fair Food Movement. At the same time, I illustrate how the existence of these formalized features and practices do not launch the movement into a

centralized or bureaucratic model of organizing. Instead, the movement, especially its alliance structure, is committed to maintaining a relatively decentralized organizing model.

4.2   LEVELS OF ANALYSIS: MUST WE CHOOSE JUST ONE?

When studying social movements, McCarthy and Zald (1977) highlight the SMO as the predominant unit of analysis. However, "social movements are not discrete entities, akin to organizations" (McAdam 1995:218) and "if we focus only on organizations, we are in danger of unwittingly conventionalizing the very aspect of collective action that attracts people and challenges elites and makes social movements important for political and social change" (Tarrow 1988:431). While Tarrow (1998) and Staggenborg (1998) both acknowledge the value in having a firm grasp on the ways in which SMOs play a role in social movements, they also point out the importance of informal social networks that do not necessarily fit into neat, fixed, SMO boundaries. As Staggenborg (1998) states, "if we treat movements simply as collections of SMOs, we miss some of the less visible ways in which movements emerge and survive" (181).

Thus far, I have broadly referred to Immokalee farmworkers and their allies as the Fair Food Movement. But this does not imply that the social movement is the most appropriate or useful level of analysis for this case study. As Van Dyke and McCammon (2010) note, when a social movement is taken as the unit of analysis, there is the assumption that they "are simply homogenous social entities" (xii). As the story of CIW and allied SMO emergence illustrates, the Fair Food Movement includes multiple constituencies (farmworkers, students, and persons of faith, just to name a few). To address such differences, Meyer and Corrigall-Brown (2005) highlight that "social movements are coalition affairs," which "are often comprised of multiple

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formal coalitions" (329). Thus, to understand the variation in "constituencies, ideological perspectives, identities, and tactical preference" (Van Dyke and McCammon 2010:xii), studying some social movements at the coalition, as opposed to the movement, level "affords both greater empirical validity and theoretical leverage" (Meyer and Corrigall-Brown 2005:340).

The labor movement is a prime example of this conceptual distinction. For example, the AFL-CIO, which houses 56 labor unions representing over 12 million people, is one coalition within the labor movement[57] as is the Change to Win Federation, which split from the AFL-CIO in 2005 and represents a coalition of four labor unions.[58] Furthermore, United Students Against Sweatshops, a student movement pressuring universities to carry "sweat free" logo apparel, and the Worker Rights Consortium, an independent monitoring system funded by 181 university affiliates to protect the rights of workers making university apparel, are also coalitions within the labor movement[59] (Clawson 2003; Seidman 2007). And some forms of labor activism—including the CIW—are not in the form of unions at all. Generally speaking, these coalitions strive for workers' rights. But while this is only a partial example of the labor movement's many coalitions, it represents the variation that might exist within a single movement. Likewise, using the social movement as the sole unit of analysis to examine the meso-level structure of the Fair Food Movement would not only ignore the distinction between farmworkers and allies, but would also miss its nuances and analytic contributions to the study of social movements.

Therefore, I argue that the CIW and its core allied SMOs (Interfaith Action, Student Farmworker Alliance, and Just Harvest USA) represent a coalition within the Fair Food

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[57] AFL-CIO. "About AFL-CIO: AFL-CIO Unions." Retrieved November 2, 2012 (http://www.aflcio.org/About/AFL-CIO-Unions).

[58] Change to Win Strategic Organizing Center. "About Us." Retrieved November 2, 2012 (http://www.changetowin.org/about).

[59] Worker Rights Consortium. "Affiliate Schools." Retrieved November 2, 2012 (http://www.workersrights.org/about/as.asp).

Movement.[60] But the partnership between the CIW and its three core allied SMOs does not fit the classic "coalition" definition of "two or more social movement organizations work[ing] together on a common task" (Van Dyke and McCammon 2010: xv; Meyer and Corrigall-Brown 2005), which implies, at least initially, a temporary and perhaps fragile structure. Instead, they present a unique and interesting case study for investigation. First, the CIW and its three core allied organizations developed into a more permanent coalition structure of four relatively autonomous SMOs. Specifically, the CIW generated these separate allied SMOs (either intentionally or unintentionally) to organize distinct and varied constituencies for the purpose of coalition work.[61] Each SMO is responsible for securing its own funding and finances. Second, these four SMOs do not work within a formal umbrella structure. But together, they work toward one main goal determined by the CIW, which is the signing of Fair Food Agreements. Additionally, the three allied SMOs do not regularly engage in work that is not affiliated with the CIW. Third, while individuals and organizations freely drift in and out of the allied SMOs, if any of the CIW allied organizations chose to leave or split from the coalition, it is likely that the allied SMO would morph into an entirely different type of organization working toward completely different goals since allied SMOs of the Fair Food coalition were established for the specific purpose of partnering with the CIW. At least at this point in time, the three core allied SMOs exist and are visible because they work so closely with the CIW. The significance of this framework is that the coalition within the Fair Food movement maintains its allied organizational

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[60] The organizational coalition within the Fair Food Movement is different from Stoecker's (1993) federated frontstage structure since it does not represent "a single unified constituency" despite the presence of "multiple, specialized organizations" (172).
[61] Three of the Alliance for Fair Food founding members (Presbyterian Church USA, RFK Center, and NESRI) also work with the CIW and its three allied SMOs (Interfaith Action, Student Farmworker Alliance, and Just Harvest USA). However, they emerged on their own as opposed to being generated by the work being done by the CIW and also dedicate significant time to other causes and goals. Therefore, their work with the CIW represents a more traditional coalition framework.

membership and structure regardless of the membership *within* the CIW, Interfaith Action, Student Farmworker Alliance, and Just Harvest USA.

Buechler (1990) offers a conceptual parallel to the SMO, namely the social movement community (SMC) (42). Like SMOs, SMCs are groups that identify with and attempt to implement the goals of a social movement, but "an SMC will have vaguer boundaries than an SMO" (Buechler 1990:43). As opposed to the SMO's formal organizational structure, the SMC is comprised of "informal networks of politicized individuals with fluid boundaries, flexible leadership structures, and malleable divisions of labor" (Buechler 1990:42). The SMC concept complements the SMO and "allows us to think of movements as including both social movement organizations and informal networks of activists who share a commitment to the goals of a social movement" (Staggenborg 1998:182). While Buechler defines an SMC as an alternative to an SMO, Staggenborg (1998) expands "the concept of social movement communities to encompass all actors who share and advance the goals of a social movement: movement organizations; individual movement adherents who do not necessarily belong to SMOs; institutionalized movement supporters; alternative institutions; and cultural groups" (Staggenborg 1998:182). Both Buechler and Staggenborg accomplish the important task of explicitly calling attention to the informal components of a social movement.

In the case of the Fair Food Movement, CIW allies who do not necessarily belong to one of its three allied SMOs (Interfaith Action, Student Farmworker Alliance, or Just Harvest USA), but who are active in the Campaign for Fair Food, have a conceptual home within either Buechler's (1990) or Staggenborg's (1998) definition of an SMC. The Alliance for Fair Food, discussed at length in chapter two, is not a formalized body, but instead, an umbrella structure for all CIW individual and organizational allies. While it has five organizational founding

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members as well as individual and organizational endorsers, it is neither a 501(c)3 organization nor is it working toward acquiring this nonprofit status. Consequently, it does not have the formalized division of labor found in the CIW and its allied SMOs, which is often a requirement for becoming a 501(c)3. Therefore, I refer to it as an SMC within Staggenborg's (1998) adaptation of the term, since it is comprised of both individuals and organizations.

While the components of the Fair Food Movement could technically be defined as an SMC or even a multi-organizational field,[62] neither do the conceptual work necessary to fully grasp and understand the complexities of the movement's meso-level structure. Since the CIW generated the emergence of formalized allied SMOs specifically established to work in coalition with Immokalee farmworkers in their Campaign for Fair Food, looking at each SMO as well as how they work together captures the interplay within, between, and among them. Just as only focusing on SMOs might render some aspects of the movement invisible, as Staggenborg (1998) cautions, not focusing on the SMO has the potential to create the same risk. While the SMC is a useful level of analysis in that it incorporates social movement elements such as cultural groups and participants not affiliated with an SMO, it does not give adequate attention to SMOs, namely the CIW and its allied organizations, which anchor the movement.

As I have briefly discussed, there are a variety of conceptual tools to help us understand the structural dynamics of a social movement. The concepts I have discussed are all useful analytical means in their own right depending upon the case study. However, the meso-level structure of the Fair Food Movement cannot be labeled as *only* a social movement organization, a coalition, or a social movement community. And while Staggenborg (1989) would see SMOs and coalitions as a part of an SMC, the different levels of analysis focus attention on different

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[62] Curtis and Zurcher (1973) discuss the multi-organizational field, which refers "to the total possible number of organizations with which the focal organization might establish specific linkages" (53).

features and processes of the movement. Each concept helps to provide a better understanding of how farmworkers and their allies work together to urge corporations who purchase mass quantities of tomatoes to sign Fair Food Agreements. In what follows, I use these terms as appropriate in order to highlight the ways in which the Fair Food Movement is organizationally formalized while maintaining its commitment to a decentralized ideology. For the sake of conceptual clarity, I will refer to the CIW,[63] Interfaith Action, Student Farmworker Alliance, and/or Just Harvest USA as SMOs. When discussing these four SMOs as a collective body, I use the term coalition. I will refer to the Alliance for Fair Food, which includes its five founding organizational members as well as individuals, cultural groups, and organizations not affiliated with its founding SMOs, as an SMC. The term Fair Food Movement is intended to be inclusive of all three elements.

4.3   A FORMALIZED AND DECENTRALIZED STRUCTURE

Gamson argues that centralized SMOs organize through a "single center of power" whereas decentralized SMOs distribute power among smaller groups or subunits (1975:93). Social movement scholars show the advantages and disadvantages of each model. For example, a centralized organizing model has been demonstrated to provide stability and maintenance, an increased ability to coordinate collective action, a clear division of labor, and increased visibility (Gamson 1975; Wehr 1986; Staggenborg 1989; Taylor 1989; Staggenborg and Lecomte 2009).

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[63] Readers may wonder why I categorize the *Coalition* of Immokalee Workers as an SMO. This name was chosen in order to emphasize "the formalized solidarity between the Mexican, Guatemalan, Haitian, and other worker communities in Immokalee" (Sellers 2009:72). However, as this chapter details, the CIW operates as a single SMO in spite of being comprised of workers with different ethnic backgrounds.

A decentralized model has been shown to generate solidarity and tactical innovation, raise consciousness, and decrease the risk of cooptation (Gerlach and Hine 1970; Piven and Cloward 1977; Case and Taylor 1979; Breines 1980; Useem and Zald 1982; Jenkins 1983; Jenkins and Eckert 1986; Staggenborg 1989; Jasper 2004). Likewise, both models have their disadvantages. Centralization can lead to a decline in direct action tactics, the narrowing of strategies, the potential for internal conflict, exclusiveness, and a decrease in grassroots membership and personal bonds (Piven and Cloward 1977; Jenkins 1983; Staggenborg 1989; Taylor 1989; Jasper 2004). By contrast, decentralization can undermine organizational maintenance and inhibit the large-scale coordination and implementation of the creative tactics and strategies often sparked by the decentralization model (Staggenborg 1989; Jasper 2004). For example, while Freeman (1972) found informal, decentralized women's groups to be effective at consciousness-raising, this structure could not meet the demands of coordinating large collective actions.

Centralized, hierarchical SMOs tend to be more formalized than decentralized SMOs. Formalized SMOs "have established decision-making and operational procedures, a developed division of labor by function, explicit membership criteria, and formal rules governing any subunits as chapters and committees" (Staggenborg 1989:76). Corrigall-Brown (2012) notes that although centralization and formalization are theoretically independent from one another, "in practice, they tend to be strongly correlated" (61). Staggenborg (1989) concludes, after empirically demonstrating through a comparative case study analysis of the Chicago National Organization of Women (NOW) and the Chicago Women's Liberation Union (CWLU), that "there is an inevitable tradeoff between innovation [in the CWLU decentralized model] and organizational maintenance [within the Chicago NOW formalized, centralized model]," but that "an organization which combined decentralization and formalization in its structure would enjoy

significant advantages" (89). As Staggenborg (1989) argues, formalization and decentralization are not inherently opposed despite centralized movements often being more formalized than those that are decentralized. In fact, she argues that formalization is a more important factor for organizational maintenance and stability than centralization. Formal rules and procedures can be in place without the existence of a single center of power. Thus, the benefits of decentralization, such as tactical and strategic innovation, can be protected alongside organizational maintenance.

Other scholars as well have theoretically and empirically demonstrated how centralization and formalization are not necessarily wedded together. Buechler (1990) explains that there "is a diverse range of movement organizations with varying degrees of formality, hierarchy, and structure" (62). In a discussion of new social movements (NSMs), Rucht (1996) notes, "the structures tend to be highly decentralized (Gundelach, 1984; Lofland, 1985) or even fragmented, but with some formal organizations included" (193). Kriesi (1996), also studying NSMs, found a considerable level of SMO formalization and that "it is a far cry from the decentralized, segmented, and informal organizational networks which have been said to be typical of NSMs" (173). Additionally, Jenkins (1983) points to the Civil Rights Movement as an example where "informal coordination between different SMOs based on shared ideology and goals might afford the advantages of decentralization while simultaneously allowing sufficient centralized thrust to reap the advantages of bureaucratization (McAdam 1982)" (542). Finally, Polletta (2002:172) discusses how "modified collectives are now the norm among feminist organizations" and that despite the implementation of "formal structures of accountability," feminist organizations strove "to retain the broad input that informal and collective structures had allowed them."

The meso-level structure of the Fair Food Movement maintains elements of formalization alongside an ideological commitment to decentralization. Polletta (2002) notes that the implementation of formal structures and procedures often stems from "the demands of securing external funding" since "government and foundation funders requir[e] strict financial reporting and, often hierarchical chains of command" (172). In order to receive foundation grants, SMOs often meet the standard organizational requirement of a "formal 501(c)3 Internal Revenue Service charitable registration" (Edwards and McCarthy 2004:123). The CIW and its three allied SMOs (Interfaith Action, Student Farmworker Alliance and Just Harvest USA) have complied with this formal expectation. With the exception of Just Harvest USA, which is currently fiscally sponsored by NESRI, a 501(c)3 and founding member of the Alliance for Fair Food, each SMO is an official 501(c)3, non-profit organization. Additionally, each SMO maintains its own website, has a mission or organizing philosophy, official staff, an administrative body, a membership base, and a decision-making process. This chapter examines these formalized processes and also illustrates how formalized and decentralized organizing exist in tandem and in different combinations without making the leap to a centralized, bureaucratic movement.

4.3.1 Division of labor

Similar to SMOs as described in the Resource Mobilization tradition, labor unions formalized, resulting in a rise of career leadership and paid staff that distanced labor leaders from the rank-and-file (McCarthy and Zald, 1987; Staggenborg, 1988; Clawson, 2003). However, this trend began to reverse itself in the 1990s. Bronfenbrenner and Hickey (2004) note that an increase in union election win rates is dependent upon "campaigns that include staff and rank-and-file leadership reflective of the unit being organized" (p.55). Similarly, in a discussion of the United

Farm Workers (UFW), Ganz (2000) notes how UFW leaders led lives with deep roots in the farmworker community, providing them with local knowledge of the community and the farmworker situation (Ganz 2000). This contrasted with the experience of the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC) that tried to organize farmworkers in California at the same time as the UFW (mid-1960s), but with less success, as most leaders were white non-farmworker men, as opposed to men *and* women farmworkers of color who might have better knowledge and more intimate connections with the farmworker communities (Ganz 2000). Although the CIW is neither a labor union nor is it affiliated with one, this literature emphasizing the importance of the rank-and-file as opposed to outside organizers in leadership positions informs my analysis of staff members within the Fair Food Movement.

While the CIW, SFA, Interfaith Action, and Just Harvest USA have paid staff members, they are not professional organizers. Instead, staff is derived from the rank-and-file of their respective SMO. Consequently, staff members possess a biography that is similar to the SMO's constituency. Likewise, administrative bodies of each SMO (board of directors, steering committee, or administrative committee) also consist of SMO members, as opposed to outsiders or professional organizers. While the division of labor of each SMO begins with paid staff members, it is also distributed among SMO members who do not occupy formal positions.

4.3.1.1 CIW staff

CIW staff members are, for the most part, farmworkers and specifically, farmworkers who work and live in Immokalee. There are approximately eight or nine people on the CIW staff at any given time and the positions are non-hierarchical, as stated in the CIW's bylaws (Asbed 2008; Sellers 2009). A few staff members have stayed on for years, since the birth of the organization, while other staff members have eventually chosen to return to their towns, cities,

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and/or countries of origin. When the CIW established its bylaws by way of general assembly meetings, it was stipulated that staff members' pay be "commensurate with prevailing farmworker wages" and "that staff spend a percentage of their time working in the fields each year" (Sellers 2009:73). Although staff members are paid, they earn the same wages as their fellow farmworkers who are working in the tomato fields. Additionally, since CIW staff must dedicate a portion of their time each year to farm labor, many CIW staff members pick watermelons during the summer months when most farmworkers leave Immokalee to travel up the east coast to follow the tomato harvest. Staff members are elected or re-elected at the annual general assembly meetings by the membership base. These formal requirements have remained in place since the CIW's inception.

CIW staff members take on a variety of daily roles and tasks. Because the SMO strives for a horizontal structure, most staff can be observed fulfilling these responsibilities at any given time. Staff members tend to arrive at the CIW Community Center by 10:00 AM. However, at least one person can always be found in the center since many, if not most, staff members manage *Radio Conciencia* for two to three hours of programming during the day and throughout the night. During the day and early evening hours, at least one staff member operates the CIW cooperative store where workers can buy food and other basic necessities at just above cost.[64] CIW staff members regularly convene to plan weekly farmworker meetings and in addition to the Wednesday night meeting, women CIW staff members plan and facilitate separate meetings

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[64] Because of Immokalee's isolation from other neighboring towns such as Naples or Ft. Myers, limited availability to public transportaiton, and the fact that most farmworkers do not drive, the CIW opened a cooperative store that operates out of the CIW Community Center as a way to combat price gouging by local stores.

for women farmworkers on Sunday afternoons.[65] When the season begins and new workers arrive in Immokalee during the months of September and October, David, a CIW staff member, explained to me how staff spend time going "house to house where the farmworkers live, explaining a little about the Coalition, and talking a little about their rights." Going house to house is a way for the CIW staff to meet the farmworkers who are new to Immokalee, to make them aware of the CIW, and to encourage them to attend the weekly farmworker meetings.

CIW staff members also interact with allies and potential allies when they visit the CIW Community Center. CIW staff members give 60-90 minute presentations alongside an allied SMO staff member. Their work with allies also includes traveling to campuses, places of worship, and community organizations in neighboring Florida cities and towns as well as throughout the country to give similar presentations. Other appearances include conferences, such as the Slow Food Nation Gathering in 2008, symposiums, including Duquesne University's fair trade symposium in 2012 entitled, "The Face Behind the Label: Exploring the Dignity of Work Through Fair Trade and Fair Food Practices," as well as other formal and informal gatherings. During the planning stages of large actions, some CIW members travel to corporate headquarter cities to plan logistics and mobilize support while others stay in Immokalee to continue facilitating meetings, helping workers with grievances such as wage theft, and maintaining the daily operations of the SMO. As with most SMOs, the CIW staff responsibilities vary depending upon the time of year, the point in a campaign, and the needs of the farmworker community. For example, the week before a big march and rally, staff members are attending to logistics from arranging transportation to making sure all of the sleeping bags are washed. As

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[65] While women are welcome at the Wednesday night meeting, the overwhelmingly single male farmworker population can sometimes be uncomfortable for women farmworkers. Therefore, Sunday afternoon meetings were designed to encourage women's participation in the CIW.

Francisca, former CIW staff member said, "you have to be here seven days a week, travel at night. You are doing things at night. It isn't anything easy."[66] First and foremost, CIW staff members are dedicated to meeting the needs as well as the education, organizing, and mobilizing of Immokalee farmworkers.

Despite the appearance of fluidity regarding the division of labor, these roles and responsibilities may be tied to individual, formalized job descriptions. While my data does not prove or disprove this conjecture, even if a formalized job description does not exist, there may be unwritten formalized responsibilities.[67] For example, one staff member dedicates most of her time to the CIW's anti-slavery campaign (Sellers 2009:25). Greg, a CIW staff member, told me that his "principal role has come to be focused in the implementation, monitoring, and enforcement of our growing number of corporate accountability agreements." Greg also writes and manages the CIW website. Since the allied SMOs model themselves after the CIW and the allied SMOs have a written, albeit general, job description for their staff, I can speculate that something similar exists for CIW staff.

But this does not mean that other CIW staff members do not contribute to these assigned (written or unwritten) responsibilities or that those involved in certain roles don't participate in other tasks at hand. Since I did not have access to CIW staff or general assembly meetings, I cannot say for certain whether or not this is the case. But based on my observations, I have noticed how most CIW staff members participate in many of the abovementioned duties. Carlos, a CIW staff member, explained to me how during the preparation for a large action against Publix grocery store corporation, different staff members took on different assignments. Some staff organized in a headquarter city, others organized in Immokalee, and a few travelled with the

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[66] This quote is taken from an interview conducted by Brent Perdue.
[67] There may actually be a written set of position descriptions that I have not seen.

mobile slavery museum and gave presentations at schools and places of worship. He summarized by saying that "we [CIW staff] did what we had to do."

4.3.1.2 Allied SMO staff

Just as CIW staff members are farmworkers, not professional organizers, allied staff members emerge from the existing allied base. Like the CIW, allied staff members are formally accountable to their administrative bodies.[68] The job description for allied SMO staff members is somewhat formalized. For example, in the SFA job description, it says that staff members:

> are responsible for SFA's day-to-day operations, including: communication (electronic, written, and in-person) with the CIW, SFA members and allies, developing campaign strategy with a team of farmworkers and student & faith organizers, tour conference, and mobilization logistics, fundraising and basic nonprofit administration, facilitating workshops, providing on-the-ground support to CIW, materials production.[69]

Allied staff members, like CIW staff members, are in their position for varying lengths of time. While an SFA staff person's term is formally stated as a maximum of three years, some staff members have stayed on longer. Often (but not always) SFA staff members join the staff after graduation and some have attended graduate school after their term is up. Part of the reason for the term limit relates to the general age of SFA's constituency. As I stated in chapter three, youth as opposed to "studenthood" is more salient for SFA membership. According to Meghan, an SFA staff member has "to be able to relate to students…We go there [colleges and universities] and we like to hang out and do stuff and talk, and once you get to a certain point, that becomes a little more difficult." From my observations, when SFA staff members reach their

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[68] Student Farmworker Alliance. "Network Structure." Retrieved December 7, 2012 (http://www.sfalliance.org/structure.html).
[69] Student Farmworker Alliance. "Live and Work in Immokalee." Retrieved November 28, 2012 (http://www.sfalliance.org/immokalee.html).

mid- to late-twenties, new staff transitions in and existing staff transitions out. The three-year term limit seems to be observed, at least loosely. But Meghan explained to me that while there is a term limit, SFA has questioned its effectiveness. She said,

> But in the recent years, it's become a little more difficult because we have those kind of ideals [term limits], but at the same time a lot of what we're doing is very specialized and it takes you years to figure it out, so it's kind of a fine line between deciding whether or not we want to keep doing that [maintain a term limit] or whether or not it makes sense to have people stay longer, so it's kind of a question that we're dealing with.

Term limits for Interfaith Action and Just Harvest USA are slightly different and less formal. Myles, an Interfaith Action staff member, explained to me that a staff member's age is not an issue when organizing faith allies as it is for SFA and so term limits do not exist. However, like the CIW and SFA, Interfaith Action staff members stay on for varying lengths of time. Some commit to staying for one year while others have stayed on for more than five. But even when allied staff transition out, they are usually still visibly involved in the Fair Food Movement.

Although the allied staff job description states a variety of tasks, I was eager to know the specifics of this position. I asked Cara, a former Interfaith Action staff member, "What sorts of things do you do as an Interfaith Action staff member in Immokalee?" She responded, "Oh, it runs the gamut." She went on to tell me that after our interview, she would be spending most of the day working on a spreadsheet making sure all of the Florida ally contact information is up to date and then cross checking the list with the list of allies who showed up at a recent march and rally. She told me that this "helps us figure out who can we expect to come out again in April [for the next big march]." Once this task was completed, she'd be "sending out emails to the [Interfaith Action] listserve, making phone calls to church folks, both lay people and pastors, to see if we can use their space for anything from eating to sleeping in their space." In addition, Cara said she was also planning to "contact religious leaders for signatures or religious leader

statements." During the 2009-2010 season, Cara, along with another Interfaith Action staff member, an SFA staff member, and a CIW staff member were stationed in Lakeland, FL, the corporate headquarters of Publix supermarket. With the CIW working to pressure Publix to sign a Fair Food Agreement with the CIW, Lakeland is where both the December 2009 and April 2010 actions occurred and consequently, as with all campaigns, an organizing team was sent to the corporate headquarter city to work on logistics and ally mobilization months ahead of the December and April collective actions.

In addition to working on logistics for large collective actions, allied SMO staff members are dedicated to the education of their constituents, outreach, fundraising, and web design. Interfaith Action contacts churches and other places of worship, SFA contacts schools and campuses, and Just Harvest USA makes contacts with organizations and community groups working on food justice "to see if they would like us to come in and do presentations," continued Cara. She went onto tell me that besides setting up the presentations, at least one of the allied SMO staff will be there to interpret for the CIW member giving the presentation, a seemingly formalized procedure, which I discuss at length in chapter six. Besides the educational piece, another Interfaith Action staff member, Myles, was hired for the purpose of fundraising to pay the remaining balance of the independently owned CIW community center. But as he told me, "It's not just kind of like a pinch-your-nose, ask-for-money kind of deal. It really is kind of more organizing with a wide range of people of faith, many of whom that's one way that they like to support." Myles went on to tell me that the really exciting part of his work is seeing "folks that have given several thousands of dollars to the Coalition also on the picket line." He continued by telling me about one particular faith ally, "We had to picket in Naples. It was raining super hard and she's given thousands of dollars, and she was out there in the rain, huge smile on her face

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with a CIW shirt on." So while fundraising is the basis of Myles' job description, he also participates in the education and organizing of faith allies. Similarly, SFA staff members fundraise by urging members to support the SMO with whatever they can give. For some, this is $5 a month and for others, it is $50 a month. In addition to these various tasks such as education and fundraising, Meghan was in charge of designing, updating, and maintaining websites for SFA as well as the other SMOs, including the CIW, when her assistance was needed. Like CIW staff, allied SMO staff, as a collective, performs the labor needed to keep the organization(s) and campaign(s) running.

Allied SMO staff members are also integrated with the Immokalee farmworker community since allied staff reside in Immokalee, work in the CIW Community Center, and, as Cara stated, are "also an ally to the CIW." Therefore, they pitch in when they are needed. Some allied SMO staff members provide childcare when the women farmworkers are meeting on Sunday afternoons. With allied SMO staff members being more likely to have a driver's license than CIW staff members, allied staff sometimes uses the CIW van to drive farmworkers to and from Wednesday night meetings or CIW staff members to a doctor's appointment. Even when a case of wage theft is being investigated, a CIW staff member might come in to the ally office and "need help with us calling to the person who didn't pay," said Cara. Therefore, the roles and tasks of the allied SMO staff really do "run the gamut," which may or may not be in their job description. They are both dedicated to facilitating decentralized networks of student, faith, or food justice allies as well as to the CIW and the Immokalee farmworker community.

4.3.1.3 SMO administrative bodies

In addition to formalized staff, each SMO has a volunteer administrative body, often a prerequisite to obtaining non-profit status, which meets either in person or via conference call on

a regular basis. The CIW, Interfaith Action, and Just Harvest USA have a board of directors and Student Farmworker Alliance has both a steering and an administrative committee. Like staff, those on the administrative bodies are also members of their respective SMOs. A CIW staff member representative also is sometimes on the allied SMO administrative bodies. Together with paid staff, these administrative bodies provide each SMO with another layer of a formalized division of labor, which arguably, contributes to organizational stability (Staggenborg 1988). Administrative bodies also offer an increased level of participation for SMO members who yearn for more active involvement while also providing the infrastructure necessary to carry out large-scale collective actions (Gamson 1975).

The administrative body of each SMO constitutes yet another level of organizational formalization. For example, in order to apply for funding as a non-profit organization, each SMO was required to have a board of directors or equivalent. For the CIW, despite the existence of positions such as "president, secretary, [and] so forth," said Gerardo, a CIW staff member, "it is simply [CIW] members that are on the board but understand all the principles of the Coalition and there are no differences of power" (Gonzalez 2005:41). When SFA started to apply for grants from larger foundations, the SMO was required to list a board of directors. The Steering Committee was designed to fulfill this role, which began as an interim board from Summer 2004 through Summer 2005 and then solidified into a formal steering committee after by 2006.[70] James explained to me that, since the Steering Committee member composition changed on a yearly basis, SFA developed the Administrative Committee to be the "legal entity that you need as a 501(c)3 organization." This was a paperwork problem that Interfaith Action did not experience since its Board was developed prior to the hiring of its first staff member in 2001. It

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[70] Student Farmworker Alliance. 2012. "Network Structure." Retrieved November 2, 2012 (http://www.sfalliance.org/structure.html).

also informed Just Harvest USA, the youngest allied SMO, of the required structure. Like the CIW, allied SMO administrative bodies are composed of members of each organization.

While the development of administrative bodies occurred, in part, to qualify the separate SMOs for separate funding opportunities, they also represent formalized responsibilities and structure. For example, members of SFA's steering committee have a set of roles and responsibilities as well as a list of commitments and expectations.[71] A term lasts for one year and a steering committee member can serve up to three terms. The committee is dedicated to being "comprised of at least 50% people of color and 50% women, with an additional focus on diversity in terms of class, sexual orientation, age, geography, campaign experience, and student/non-student status."[72] For the allied SMOs, administrative body members communicate campaign progress and calls for action to their constituents and informal networks in their geographic region, be it their specific faith community, college campus, or community organization. For example, Jon told me that the benefits to being on the Steering Committee include "having more opportunities and reasons to go to Immokalee and talk with more of the farmworkers and learn more" about how they are organizing, which provides "access to information that then I could bring down to [my own community]." SFA Steering Committee members are also expected to fundraise, regularly communicate via conference calls and email, work on collective Google documents when planning events such as the annual SFA *Encuentro*, develop local leadership, and facilitate and document Campaign for Fair Food actions in their local communities. They take on tasks such as helping to coordinate logistics for large-scale collective actions. SFA steering committee members can often be found shuttling farmworkers

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[71] Student Farmworker Alliance. 2012. "Steering Committee: Overview." Retrieved December 3, 2012 (http://sfalliance.org/sc.html).
[72] Ibid.

and allies to and from picket sites or running registration tables. They also aid in decision-making processes including the hiring of new SMO staff. However, their role is fluid and depends upon "who's on it and what kind of commitment they have and what they're willing to do," said Meghan.

4.3.1.4 Allied SMO members

Members' roles and responsibilities are not formally outlined. However, allied SMO members also take on a variety of tasks. First, allies coordinate, fund, and carry out the actions that take place in their own communities. For example, if a group of students or persons of faith host a film screening on campus or in their local church, they are the ones who 1) reserve the room and technological equipment, 2) fundraise, ask for donations, or pay for refreshments and any other costs that may incur, 3) publicize the event, 4) gather and print information materials, 5) facilitate the post-viewing discussion, 6) take photos, and 7) report back to the CIW and allied SMO staff regarding the outcome of the event. In addition, if a CIW and/or allied SMO member is being brought in to speak at an ally-sponsored event, allied SMO members generally fund their travel costs, such as plane tickets and lodging. But lodging could take the form of a hotel, an ally member's spare bedroom or couch, or a church basement floor. One CIW member said to me informally, in a joking manner, that he has become an expert at assessing the comfort level of a floor. Allies regularly write op-eds and editorials for local newspapers, campus newspapers, and church bulletins that discuss the Campaign for Fair Food as well as how their local community is mobilizing in conjunction with the campaign. Allies also regularly do teach-ins in college classrooms, church community groups, and organizational meetings, especially during the height of a campaign or during designated "Days of Action."

But besides the work that allies do when they host their own community events, they also provide necessary labor during large collective actions. For example, veteran allied SMO members or affiliates of the Alliance for Fair Food SMC who are neither staff nor administrative body members, but who are known and trusted among those most involved in the movement, often fill "staff like" roles. At times, the existing, formalized division of labor does not adequately meet the needs of the movement during collective actions such as a multi-day march. Therefore, longtime and/or trusted SMO members take on tasks such as (but not limited to) shuttling participants to and from a protest site, compiling housing spread sheets, setting up food and water aid stations during a march, and cleaning the bathrooms and toilets after a rally held on church grounds. This illustrates how at times, especially at large events, the lines are blurred between the categories of membership, staff, and administrative body. While a formalized division of labor does exist in the presence of SMO staff and administrative bodies in order to coordinate the national allied networks, there is more concern about the roles that must be filled during large collective actions, as opposed to limiting them only to those in official positions.

The individual SMOs as well as the larger Fair Food Movement engage in a process of structure creation when it is advantageous to do so, such as during large actions. However, creating an extra-layer of a division of labor during large actions does not appear to impinge upon the decentralized ideology, the existing level of formalization of each SMO, or the larger movement. It is an organic and temporary solution, which meets the needs of the task at hand. Consequently, participants, as several expressed to me, experience a seemingly flawless execution of large actions, which motivates many of them to participate over and over again.

4.3.1.5 How a formalized staff facilitates decentralized participation

Although the presence of formalized SMO staff and administrative bodies is often an indicator of a centralized organizing model, the SMOs within the Campaign for Fair Food strive for a more horizontal structure, which coincides with each SMO's decentralized ideology. One CIW staff member explained this to me by stating, "In our organization and in our struggle, we all participate and we all go up on the front lines. It's a lot of workers who don't have a leader or a president or anybody like that who's kind of like the public image. We're bringing all workers to the public image" (Walsh 2005:27). CIW staff members are elected by their fellow members to "animate" (as opposed to lead) the Immokalee farmworker community. This CIW staff member continued, "We call ourselves animators. You know, we're not directors or anything. We just animate the community and kind of facilitate that process of getting involved" (Walsh 2005:27). In Spanish, the *lingua franca* of Immokalee, "animator" or "*animador(a)*" means "presenter" or "events organizer" (HarperCollins 2005:64). Latin American peasant movements, such as the Landless People's Movement in Brazil (MST), Maya Communities, and the *Mouvman Peyizan Papay* (Haiti's largest peasant movement), have utilized animators instead of leaders in order to facilitate and guide discussion for the purposes of consciousness-raising, critical analysis, and collective liberation (Asbed 2008; Freire 1970; Horton and Freire 1990; Kane 2000; Lykes, Beristain, and Pérez-Armiñan 2007; Sellers 2009).

This concept of animator resembles what Polletta (2002) calls "a tutorial in leadership" (19). While an organizer might put forth a problem, issue, or topic for discussion, participants work through potential options, volunteer for particular responsibilities, and are encouraged to lead discussions. As she summarizes, discussions have "a *guided* character" (Polletta 2002:172). For example, according to Alex, a CIW staff member, they "try to encourage people to come to

the meetings or to participate in the different solutions or activities that we do with the whole community." During meetings, CIW animators focus on consciousness-raising within Immokalee's transient farmworker community. At one meeting I attended, which was so crowded that I crouched in a back corner on the floor, CIW animators invited their fellow workers to come to the front of the room to break a paint stir stick, such as the ones that usually accompany a gallon of paint purchased at any hardware store. The first person easily broke the first stick in half. The next person had little issue breaking two. And even the third person didn't struggle too much to break three at once. But when one worker was handed a large handful of paint stir sticks to break simultaneously, he couldn't do it despite his best efforts. The CIW staff members then used this activity to talk about how one, two, or even three workers could be broken by a boss. But if they stood together, they would be stronger than the boss and could not be broken. The staff members then proceeded to facilitate a discussion about farmworker wages and working conditions, the tangible effects of signed Fair Food Agreements, current corporate targets, and upcoming collective actions.

Consciousness-raising tactics employed during Wednesday night farmworker meetings is similar to those used by the younger branch of the women's liberation movement as described by Freeman (1999). She notes how "many groups of women who met to discuss women's oppression and plan their strategy on how to change it found themselves talking more and more about their personal experiences" (231). In turn, this would raise "awareness that would prompt people to organize and to act on a mass scale" (231). While the older branch used traditional forms of organizing, such as national associations, "the younger branch of the women's liberation movement was almost a paradigmatic example of the decentralized model, as it had no national organizations and consciously rejected hierarchy and a division of labor" (234).

While organizational stability is more often associated with centralized as opposed to decentralized organizing, the CIW believes that its commitment to a worker-led model is what will maintain the farmworker organization. Lucas Benitez, co-founder of the CIW, said in an interview, "It doesn't matter who of us in the organization or of the staff dies. We know that this is something that is going to continue because there are other people who have learned and they continue learning how to continue the struggle forward."[73] While Lucas has often been photographed shaking hands with a CEO after an agreement has been reached with a corporation and is sometimes mistaken as the leader of the CIW, he told a personal story to explain how any CIW member is an expert of the organization:

> A few years ago, Ramun Ramirez of PCUN of Oregon came and we were doing a march to Orlando. He bought the idea that he wanted to talk with me about the struggle. But, I was walking around doing different things, logistics, everything. So, I didn't have time to talk with him. After the two days, he was marching with us for days, the only thing he told me was, 'You know, I came thinking that I had to talk with you to understand everything. But, I already talked with the people who were marching, the workers. They already explained everything to me. I know everything.'[74]

This quote from Lucas highlights the CIW's overarching philosophy of "from the people, for the people," which guides how staff interacts with Immokalee farmworkers who either are or eventually become CIW members and for some, future CIW staff members. For the CIW, consciousness-raising works to maintain a division of labor by securing a stable membership and fostering a leadership base (Gonzalez 2005:25; Sellers 2009). With many workers only living and working in Immokalee for one season, CIW membership, and consequently, the leadership that is derived from it, must be constantly renewed by making the newest farmworkers in Immokalee aware of the CIW and by facilitating consciousness-raising during weekly meetings. Despite the presence of a division of labor through formalized paid staff, the philosophy that

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[73] This quote is taken from an interview conducted by Brent Perdue.
[74] Ibid.

guides CIW staff members and their role within the organization points to a decentralized variation on a formalized model.

Like CIW staff, allied SMO staff members animate the decentralized national networks. From listening to 29 presentations by CIW and allied staff to potential faith, student, and food justice allies prior to and during the course of my fieldwork, I found that SMO staff animate their constituents in ways that are similar to how CIW staff animate the Immokalee farmworker community during the Wednesday night farmworker meetings. For example, during a presentation to students at a large pubic university, an SFA staff member asked students whom fast food ads target? After asking if it was their grandmother who might need a "fourth meal" at Taco Bell, students responded by saying that fast food corporations were competing for their age group's attention. The discussion evolved into one that unveiled the low wages and poor working conditions behind the golden arches of McDonald's or the talking chihuahua of Taco Bell. For the students, people of faith, and food justice advocates who get involved in the Campaign for Fair Food, their participation often begins after taking part in a discussion such as this, which is intended to animate or spark a conviction to act in their own communities. But while allied SMO staff members sometimes provide ideas and guidance to those who are new to activism and to the campaign, they also take a "hands off" approach to those who are more comfortable in the SMO as well as with their own organizing skills. Chapter six discusses this process in more detail, but at this point, I want to emphasize that, like CIW staff, allied SMO staff work to "animate" their constituencies to participate in their own creative and comfortable way. At the same time, they help to guide participation. So on the one hand, the existence of allied staff members indicates a certain level of SMO formalization. On the other hand, allied staff works to facilitate decentralized participation thereby illustrating how formalization can support decentralization.

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Besides consciousness-raising, staff members also make available a large number of resources to allied networks to use for local events and actions, which also facilitates decentralization. For example, film discussion guides, answers to frequently asked questions, ready-made flyers, templates for manager letters, banners, zines, and educational curriculums are all available online.[75] Each SMO's website (CIW, Interfaith Action, SFA, and Just Harvest USA) provides its members with free, available resources for use in their local communities. For example, Illustration 4.1 (below) is a 7' x 2.5' banner that could be printed from the Just Harvest USA website during the CIW's Trader Joe's campaign:[76]

Figure 2. "Traitor Joe's" Banner

Sometimes, SMO staff designs these resources and other times, they are resources that local communities have developed and subsequently made available to the larger network by sending them to the staff to post on an SMO website. And with the Campaign for Fair Food over a decade old, the number of resources continues to grow. Additionally, any member can send an email or call the CIW or ally office to request a packet of information. Within a week, an ally can expect a large envelope or box of bumper stickers, DVDs, postcards, and pin buttons. While these resources are available at no cost, allies sometimes send a donation to assist with the cost of the materials as well as the postage.

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[75] A more thorough discussion of information and communications technologies is taken up in Chapters 5.
[76] Just Harvest USA. "Traitor Joe's Resources." Retrieved November 2, 2012 (http://www.justharvestusa.org/traderjoes/resources.html).

These available resources make it incredibly easy for allies to facilitate an event or action in their own community, thereby further encouraging decentralized, local participation. Printing off flyers to hand out in front of a supermarket chain certainly takes less time than members of a local community designing it themselves. In addition, printing a manager letter to take to a fast-food restaurant is minimal work in comparison to composing it from scratch. But this is not to say that allies only use ready-made materials. Sometimes they adapt them to better suit their campus, church, or community members. Although allies do not have to use these resources for locally planned events and actions, many of them do. But besides making it easy for allies to participate in the Campaign for Fair Food, these ready-made available resources also provide a formalized element of structure that controls the information being disseminated as well as the way it is presented and framed in communities outside of Immokalee. This is yet another instance of how formalized elements work to facilitate decentralized movement participation.

4.3.1.6 Negotiating a decentralized ideology alongside unspoken hierarchies

Farmworker transience means that a completely horizontal structure represents an ideal or a goal toward which to strive. Lucas Benitez, CIW co-founder, said, "We're not a top-down organization. All of our actions really depend on the rank and file, the grassroots, so in that sense, perhaps, that's our identity" (Gonzalez 2005:42). But another interviewee told me, "certain people certainly do have more say just from being around longer and being very smart individuals," a sentiment also echoed in other interviews. At times, a few told me, some voices are louder than others and some ideas carry a bit more weight. However, there was interviewee consensus that the CIW's commitment to a non-hierarchical structure tempers the unspoken hierarchies that sometimes play out (Gonzalez 2005). As Sean Sellers, an SFA staff member for several seasons wrote in his MA Thesis from his own personal experience, "To an impressive

degree, however, the staff operates as a consensus-based collective that encourages the participation and input of newer members while also drawing on the veterans' years of accumulated knowledge" (2009:73). This example demonstrates the need for a conceptual continuum regarding organizational structure. The fixed categories of formalization, centralization, or decentralization can sometimes oversimplify a more complex practice.

Similarly, just because administrative bodies were originally developed to represent a legal necessity for funding as opposed to a hierarchical structure does not mean that a commitment to horizontal, decentralized organizing is not questioned or challenged. While an allied organization like SFA identifies itself as "decentralized,"[77] subtle hierarchies do exist, especially since staff are living in Immokalee, the home of the Fair Food Movement, and those on administrative bodies as well as SMO members are located throughout the United States (with the exception of the CIW). Sometimes, SMO staff "who are down here in Immokalee just have to make quick decisions," said James, alluding to situations when the Steering Committee had not been consulted first. Cici, a former SFA Steering Committee member, explained to me that there had been some conflict with the SFA staff because of these quick decisions that had been made without a consultation with the Steering Committee. But she went onto say that on a recent conference call with both parties, Steering Committee members began discussing how they were perhaps overstepping their boundaries and "imposing on what should be done in Immokalee instead of actually listening to folks who have been in Immokalee and who are presently in Immokalee." The Fair Food Movement has an overarching commitment to respecting the knowledge gained through one's experiences. Since SFA staff members live in Immokalee, the Steering Committee, or at least Cici, came to a realization that it wasn't the SFA staff members

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[77] Student Farmworker Alliance. 2012. "Network Structure." Retrieved November 2, 2012 (http://www.sfalliance.org/structure.html).

who were imposing their views, but instead, some of the Steering Committee members who did not share the experiential knowledge that comes with living in Immokalee. This is not meant to water down the allied SMO's commitment to decentralization and horizontal organizing, but rather, to show how the organization can be depicted "as like concentric circles of like really involved people in the middle," said Louisa, an SFA steering committee member and later, an SFA administrative committee member. As with any organization, some people are more involved than others, but this does not necessarily have to result in a completely hierarchical or centralized organization. Instead, the SMOs strive for a horizontal structure while realizing that sometimes, this needs to be tweaked in practice.

4.3.2   SMO membership

"Membership" within each SMO is a loosely used term, which again, represents a hybrid of a formalized and informal, decentralized SMO. For example, while CIW members are able to acquire a formal CIW membership card for two dollars once they have attended two CIW Wednesday night meetings, "Any worker can participate, whether they are members or not," said Gerardo Reyes-Chavez, longtime CIW staff member (Gonzalez 2005:40; Leary 2005). Except for the General Assembly held once a year, the membership card does not function as a form of exclusion. Francisca, spoke of the deeper meaning of the CIW membership card. She said, "When you get the card, which has all that is necessary, your picture, your data, and that you belong to an organization, the card is not valid if you don't give it value" (Gonzalez 2005:35). The value Francisca speaks of comes from the consciousness-raising efforts that occur during CIW meetings and actions. Instead of being a piece of plastic, the CIW membership card represents the collective farmworker struggle. Francisca went on to say, "Anywhere you work

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and you work with other people, they can ask you what the Coalition is, and if you don't know and you only went to get your card, you are not going to know what is going on" (Gonzalez 2005:35). With farmworkers often traveling to and working in different fields on a daily basis, there are opportunities for CIW "members" to talk with "non-members" unfamiliar with the CIW and its struggle for higher wages and better working conditions. So while the CIW has an official membership card, true membership is defined as consistent participation in weekly meetings, protests, and events as well analyzing the reasons why farmworkers earn such low wages.

Allied SMO membership can be characterized as less formal than that of the CIW. Persons of faith can become "members" of Interfaith Action by subscribing to the listserve and making a one-time donation. Students, youth, and food justice advocates become "members" of Student Farmworker Alliance and Just Harvest USA respectively by simply participating in a campaign. This could take the form of attending a large CIW-sponsored action, hosting a film screening on campus, or mailing in a postcard to a grocery store CEO. No level of commitment is too small and all "members" of each allied SMO as well as endorsers of the Alliance for Fair Food SMC focus their efforts on mobilizing constituents in their local communities, places of worship, or college campuses.

When the allied SMOs were in their infancy, they were not only less formal because of the lack of formal membership requirements, but also so decentralized that members did not necessarily associate themselves with a particular organization. A CIW ally who has been involved in the Campaign for Fair Food as a faith, student, and now community ally, explained to me that no one necessarily considered him or herself to be a part of SFA at first because it was such a loose, decentralized network. She said that during SFA's first *Encuentro* (gathering) in Immokalee, which usually brings up to 100 people, participants were asked to stand up if they

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considered themselves to be a member of SFA. She said, "[M]aybe like four people stood and those four people were only folks who were living in Immokalee." She continued, "that was a really telling moment for us who had been involved" and subsequent gatherings of student and youth allies were "aimed to make us feel that ownership of SFA." This example illustrates how an experience such as this might lead to new structural decisions. Meaning, identifying with a national organization was perhaps as important as maintaining a commitment to decentralization. It also draws attention to what might prompt SMOs to create needed structure and formalization.

4.3.3   Decision-making

As I have highlighted, the presence of formalized SMO staff, administrative bodies, and CIW membership might suggest highly centralized decision-making. However, these formalized elements seem to facilitate decentralized decision-making processes at the SMO, coalition, SMC, and movement levels of analysis. As I will discuss, while decentralized decision-making does incur some risk, it also results in creative and innovative movement tactics and strategies. It also leaves room for the inclusion of cultural elements not officially associated with a particular SMO, but instead within the broader SMC.

4.3.3.1 SMO decision-making

Once a year, the CIW holds a general assembly with all its members. "It is the only meeting where you do have to have a membership card," said Gerardo (Gonzalez 2005:39). Here, formalized membership works as a safeguard against outsider takeover. For example, the Chicago Women's Liberation Union (CWLU)'s decentralized structure made the SMO vulnerable "when a number of women from the Socialist Workers' Party (SWP) and the Young

Socialist Alliance (YSA), began showing up at city-wide meetings as 'members' of the CWLU and tr[ied] to influence the organization despite their lack of participation in work groups or chapters" (Staggenborg 1989:84). But the loose yet formalized definition of a CIW member discussed earlier ensures that SMO decisions are "made by members who are people who have been in the organization and know how the process is managed" (Gonzalez 2005:39).

Not only did the CIW's General Assembly decide on this process, but this is also where CIW staff members and the board of directors are elected. When the SFFP moved off of the grounds of Our Lady of Guadalupe Catholic Church and into its own office space, became an official 501(c)3 organization, and changed its name to the Coalition of Immokalee Workers in 1996, it also "held a series of widely attended *asamblea general* (general assembly) meetings to establish its bylaws and codify its organizational principles and structure" (Sellers 2009:72). Members attending these meetings, thereby making up the general assembly, decided that the "staff would also be elected by and accountable to the general assembly and comprised of workers who knew farm labor and the dynamics of Immokalee firsthand" (Sellers 2009: 79). Staff members would be chosen "on the basis of their demonstrated commitment to the CIW's struggle" (Asbed 2008:8). Staff tends to include both veteran and newer members of the CIW.

CIW staff members do not seem to differ from a random selection of Immokalee farmworkers in regards to age, gender, and place of origin. However, there appear to be two factors that do influence who eventually becomes a CIW staff member, which are literacy and, as Greg Asbed (2008) explicitly stated, commitment. Elly Leary, a longtime CIW ally and occasional volunteer wrote in a 2005 article for *Monthly Review*, "It seems that only a small number [of CIW members] are capable even of taking minutes at meetings or writing on flip charts. These individuals tend to rise rapidly and usually get elected to the staff." While I do not

have other data to support or negate this claim, it is worth noting that literacy *may* influence which farmworkers do or do not become CIW staff members. But since literacy is a skill that can be acquired, especially given the CIW's dedication to popular education and the presence of a library within the CIW Community Center, a better indicator of who rises to CIW staff positions is a commitment to the farmworker struggle.

From my interviews and observations, a clearer determinant between a random selection of Immokalee farmworkers and CIW staff members would be an increased level of commitment and energy dedicated to the CIW and its campaigns. When I asked current CIW staff about how they were elected to this formalized position, they told me that they were encouraged to think about becoming part of the staff. For example, David felt that he was approached by existing CIW staff and believed it was because of his level of membership involvement. He told me that he participated in fifteen day farmworker tours to other cities that publicized the CIW's campaigns, volunteered in the Community Center, and ran radio programs on *Radio Conciencia*, (Consciousness Radio), "the organization's low-power FM station that broadcasts music, news, and informational programming in Spanish, Haitian Creole, and several Mayan languages" (Sellers 2009: 21). Similarly, Carlos talked about how he got to know the Coalition and the existing CIW staff got to know him by gradually becoming more and more involved, such as running radio programs, actively participating in the meetings, and giving presentations to farmworkers and allies. In my interviews with current CIW staff, no one mentioned literacy as a factor contributing to his or her election to this position, but everyone talked about how they were becoming more and more involved in the day-to-day activities of the organization.

I did not have access to the CIW staff or General Assembly meetings and therefore, was not able to witness the staff election process. Consequently, I do not have empirical data on the

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details of the once a year CIW elections, such as how someone's name gets put forward, if it is a secret ballot, or if there are covert rivalries. However, being a non-farmworker, not having access to general assembly or CIW staff meetings is not unusual or unexpected. Morgan explained to me that "you don't see like SFA or Interfaith Action attending CIW staff meetings…and when they have membership meetings, it's always just for members. Like, I never went once and I lived there for years. I never attended it." My inability to gain access as well as a similar lack of access for allied SMO staff who work in the CIW Community Center daily, but do not attend CIW staff or general assembly meetings are indications of yet another layer of SMO formalization as well as SMO autonomy. But based on my conversations with CIW staff and my own thoughts based on my observation and participation in the Campaign for Fair Food, I get a sense that CIW members with higher participation levels are the names that either they or others put forward at the General Assembly meeting. Over the years, I have met CIW members who are more visible in the movement but are not yet staff. A year or two later, these members have been elected to staff positions.

Just as CIW staff come from the CIW membership base, those who apply for allied SMO positions are already mobilizing in alliance with the CIW as a part of their student, faith, or food justice groups. Each allied staff member with whom I spoke applied for a staff position after s/he was already active in the Campaign for Fair Food. As James told me, an SFA staff member "can't just be like some random person off the street who like fills out a nice application." Natasha, another former SFA staff member, echoed James. In reference to a submitted application from someone who was unknown in the movement, she said, "It was a very random application. Like, you've never really worked on the campaign, just kind of knew about SFA and the CIW and thought maybe you should apply because you're looking for a job right now?"

Instead, as James continued, people who have been active in the movement for a while are either "more or less like recruited" or "encouraged to apply" for allied staff positions. Since the allied SMOs model themselves after the CIW, the subtle encouragement and recruitment of allied staff may suggest how the process operates within the CIW. Since the final choice of allied SMO staff positions occurs at the coalition level of analysis, I detail this process in the next section.

The current boards (or committees) and existing staff of the allied SMOs function in a similar way to the CIW regarding decisions on organizational processes, future staff members, interns, and administrative body members. However, unlike the CIW, where all of its members reside in one geographic location (Immokalee) and regularly meet as a collectivity, allied SMOs do not hold General Assemblies with all its members. This would be a nearly impossible feat given their loose definition of "member" and the geographic dispersion. Instead, allied SMO staff confer with their board or committee members regarding issues such as potential actions, hirings, and events. Despite the formalization of these positions and the reality that the committee makes decisions that can impact the SMO, the staff and board/committee members claim they come to their decisions "autonomously based on…members' experiences."[78]

While these administrative decisions are certainly more formalized and arguably, centralized, the decisions allied SMO members make regarding their own participation are much more decentralized as well as autonomous. For example, in 2004, during the Taco Bell boycott, students at Notre Dame University embarked on a rolling hunger-strike to persuade the administration to cut its contract with the fast-food corporation. Tony, a freshman student, decided to go on a 5-day hunger strike. When he didn't catch the administration's attention, 150 students launched a two-week rolling, wildcat hunger strike. A few months later, Notre Dame cut

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[78] Student Farmworker Alliance. 2012. "Network Structure." Retrieved November 2, 2012 (http://www.sfalliance.org/structure.html).

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its contract with Taco Bell. Laura, an active student participant and later, an SFA and Interfaith Action staff member, said, "it was a very like autonomous kind of decision. It wasn't like we said, Oh let's consult—we're going to consult [with SFA or the CIW] if we should do this." However, she said that when students called the CIW to tell them what they were doing, "it was very well accepted." She continued to say that when Tony called the CIW during one of the Wednesday night farmworker meetings, he was put on speaker phone "and all the farmworkers started cheering." According to another long time CIW ally, when Taco Bell asked the CIW to stop these wildcat hunger strikes, the CIW responded, "We can't. We're not in control of them. These are your consumers," thereby illustrating a powerful advantage to decentralization.

Similarly, at a Publix grocery store grand opening in Miami, FL, clergy from Interfaith Action (two Christian pastors, a Jewish Cantor, and a Quaker) engaged in a "pray-in" next to the tomatoes in the store's produce section. Clergy led prayers and songs in English, Spanish, and Hebrew. With Publix refusing to sign a Fair Food Agreement, local Interfaith Action members found a tactically innovative way to express their frustrations as persons of faith and as Publix consumers. They stated, "Publix has been refusing to dialogue, so all that's left is for us to pray."[79] Like the students at Notre Dame, faith allies made an autonomous decision to stage this action in their community, reflecting the process of decentralized decision-making.

While participants sometimes check-in with allied SMO staff in Immokalee, it isn't required. In fact, "check-ins" tend to become less frequent the longer one participates. Allies brainstorm incredibly creative tactics, such as passing out information cards about the Campaign for Fair Food accompanied by "a penny for justice" in front of a grocery store:

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[79] Interfaith Action of Southwest Florida. 2011. "Interfaith Religious Leaders Welcome Publix Grand Opening in Miami With a Pray-in." Retrieved November 2, 2012 (http://www.interfaithact.org/).
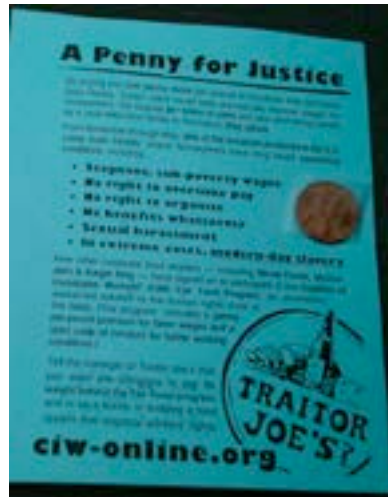
Figure 3. "A Penny for Justice"

In addition, allies also regularly engage in street theater. In New York City, community members dressed up like tomatoes in order to "decry the conditions in which they are picked."[80] In Chicago, adjacent to a Chipotle sponsored "Cultivate Festival," which was designed to proclaim the company's commitment to its slogan, "food with integrity," allies dressed up like pigs and wore signs that said, "Chipotle pays extra for me," while Immokalee farmworkers carried tomato buckets and wore signs saying, "Chipotle Ignores Farmworkers."

Figure 4. "Pigs and Workers Unite"[81]

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[80] This video tells the story of "eight tomatoes from Immokalee, Florida [that] traveled to Trader Joe's in New York City." CFAllianceNYC. 2010. "Trader Joes Tomatoes." Retrieved November 2, 2012 (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-w0FX1-7RjE).

[81] Just Harvest USA. 2012. "Cultivating Justice, Transparency, Partnership: Fair Food Nation's Alternative Festival at the 'Cultivate Festival' in Chicago." Retrived November 2, 2012 (http://www.justharvestusa.org/chipotle/ChipotleCultivateChicago.html).

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Besides street theater, another ally has written and performed several songs to accompany various campaigns, such as writing and performing new lyrics to Lady Gaga's "Alejandro" and renaming the song, "Traitor Joe's" during the Trader Joe's campaign.[82] These examples represent just a few of the many tactics used by allies in their own communities to urge corporations to sign a Fair Food Agreement with the CIW. So while each SMO is fairly formalized, the decentralized decisions members make regarding their own participation often results in a hotbed of creativity (Staggenborg 1989; Jasper 2004).

But with decentralized decision-making comes some risk, especially in regard to allies who initiate and carry out the Campaign for Fair Food in their own communities, sometimes thousands of miles from Immokalee. Meghan explained to me that having so many allies in SFA's decentralized network is not necessarily a danger, "but it's kind of a fine line between doing a very good job of communicating with people that we need to respect the CIW, we need to respect their leadership, and what they're asking for." For example, "filling up a shopping cart with tomatoes at Publix and like having it in the middle of the store is not something that we want to do," continued Meghan. When I asked her if this had happened, she responded with, "There have been rumblings about that happening. We're trying to quash them." So while each "member" is an individual who can make his or her own decisions regarding how to participate in the campaign, allied staff, on occasion, work to "quash" talk of actions that may be damaging to the CIW or portray the Campaign for Fair Food in a way that is contrary to Immokalee farmworker intentions.

But potentially damaging tactics and strategies are not always quashed. During the Burger King campaign, somebody spray painted "some kind of pro-CIW message on a Burger

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[82] FairFoodie88. 2010. "Traitor Joe's CIW Week of Action Preview." Retrieved November 2, 2012 (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yuEM2R8YxV8).

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King," recalled Meghan. And when I asked if this was a consequence of an increasingly larger and broader allied base, she said, "I don't think so. We actually, I think, were a lot more radical and out there in the past." She referenced "Tomato-tron," a giant papier-mâché tomato filled with rotten tomatoes and chained to a Taco Bell drive-through during the boycott. While it stopped the drive-through for a long time, it didn't bring Taco Bell to the table to negotiate with the CIW.

Figure 5. "Tomato-tron"[83]

So while there have been a few cases of actions carried out by allies that can sometimes be damaging to the CIW's reputation and tarnish the image of the Campaign for Fair Food, this seems to be a rare occurrence. Meghan said that allied staff try to emphasize to allied SMO members that "what we do will ultimately reflect back on [the CIW.]" And as James recalled, one reason allies communicate with him is "to check if something is going to be like too radical or too like—or like potentially damaging to the CIW or something and they just want to like clear it with us first." While the occasional occurrence of these sorts of actions provides evidence of the autonomous decision-making of individual allies, staff members who are a part of a formalized structure play an important role in communicating with decentralized allies about what type of action they might choose. However, since SMO members are engaging in tactics

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[83] Coalition of Immokalee Workers. 2001. "May Day 2001…" Retrieved November 2, 2012 (http://www.ciw-online.org/Recentactmayday.html).

within their own communities, corporate targets do not accuse them of being "outsiders." Instead, CIW allies are, as well as seen as, consumers who are community members expressing their grievances with a corporate target. This affirms Useem and Zald's (1982) argument that centralization might "suggest that the organization represents a non-local constituency" (153). Additionally, decentralized participation allows for an allied SMO member to communicate his or her grievance in the style and language that resonates best with his or her community. Finally, because each SMO is autonomous, potentially damaging actions are not explicitly associated with the CIW, thereby protecting the SMO from negative attention.

4.3.3.2 Coalition decision-making

One of the most salient philosophies of the Fair Food Movement is that all groups should have the right to speak for themselves and solve their own problems, based on the supposition that everyone knows his or her community and the situations that affect it best. Wood (2005) also discusses this philosophy in her examination of the Peoples' Global Action (PGA), which originally convened in Chiapas, Mexico. PGA participants "used their experiences of local, national, and transnational struggle to build an egalitarian coalition of diverse autonomous actors" (95). Members of the Fair Food coalition (CIW, Interfaith Action, SFA, and Just Harvest USA) endorse a similar message: community members are able to make the best decisions to address the problems that they face. This means that allies believe that farmworkers know the Immokalee community best, but in turn, farmworkers know that students best know their university community and church members best understand their congregations.

This is also a strategy that allows the message of the CIW and the Campaign for Fair Food to be carried to places where it might be difficult for CIW members or their allies to gain access. For example, Carlos explained to me that "students have more access to the universities

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and more people [other university students] are able to talk with them [SFA members]" and persons of faith can more easily "talk to people" within their churches. In reference to SFA, David said, "the alliance is a way to animate the students." In essence, then, each population is organizing or "animating" its constituency. The consequence of this overarching philosophy is that both the CIW *and* their allied organizations are for the most part, autonomous structures and therefore speak for themselves and from their own experiences. But as Carlos went onto say, there are "moments where everyone will have to focus on what we are doing [a large action]" and at that point, the separate SMOs become "one." This illustrates how the decentralized elements sometimes come together in unified action.

Despite the autonomy of the CIW and its three allied organizations, the Fair Food coalition's dedication to horizontal organizing, and the commitment of allies to work *with* as opposed to *for* Immokalee farmworkers, allied SMOs and their corresponding members take the CIW's lead. If the CIW is focusing its efforts on a campaign against Publix grocery corporation, allied organizations are not likely to launch a campaign against Dairy Queen. In a sense, the ultimate decision-making power lies with the CIW. For example, Sam, a long time ally who has a history of working with both faith and food justice allies told me:

> [W]e had a big protest organized with ecumenical folks in Fort Myers, but the Coalition asked us not to do it because they were in the middle of a negotiation. So we were headed to the protest and the TV stations were waiting for us there and everything. And we just had to no-show. We couldn't even show up and tell them why because it was confidential.

Sam went onto say that, as an organizer, canceling or no-showing at a protest is not something that anyone wants to do. But it was necessary "for the benefit of the movement itself" and that it is important for "people not to mistake that they're leading the movement or something because they're organizing a protest." However, the decision-making power of the CIW might be better

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stated as "requests" and should not be overemphasized. Sam told me of instances in which the CIW had asked a group to reel in an action and the request was not heeded. Sam was the only interviewee to explicitly tell me that he halted an action because of a CIW request and I do not have other data to support or negate his statement that actions went forward in spite of a request. However, I have witnessed CIW requests at other points in time. For example, in February 2012, dozens of allies were planning actions outside of Trader Joe's stores across the United States. Trader Joe's signed a Fair Food Agreement with the CIW just days before these simultaneous actions were scheduled to take place. Consequently, allied SMO staff in Immokalee either called or emailed contacts around the country to tell them: 1) Trader Joe's had signed with the CIW and 2) to cancel all planned protest events against the corporation. Whether or not all CIW allies heeded the request is unknown. But, the fact that requests are made by the CIW and that allies can choose whether or not to adhere to them is perhaps some of the strongest evidence of autonomous and decentralized decision-making.

The CIW also plays a role regarding the employment of allied SMO staff members. As James stated earlier, allied staff members who work in Immokalee for Student Farmworker Alliance, Interfaith Action, or Just Harvest USA are often (but not always) recruited or encouraged to apply. When Interfaith Action had a staff member opening, Anna called Cara to say, "[W]e're thinking of getting another staff person. Would you be interested in applying?" Cara, an ordained minister who had been particularly active in mobilizing faith allies during the McDonald's campaign thought about it and decided to apply for the position. She said, "[T]hey had a formal application process and I think twelve or thirteen people applied." The staff and board of directors of Interfaith Action went through the candidates and "when they narrowed it down to like two or three people, I heard that they took it to the CIW to see who they would want

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to work with, and supposedly they anonymously voted for me," said Cara. She suspects that the CIW chose her for the position because she "had actually been to Immokalee, had been to various actions, had shown prior support and interest and commitment to the movement." So while Interfaith Action recruited Cara as an applicant and chose her and two others as finalists, the CIW made the final decision. But as this example illustrates, Interfaith Action led the application process and then the CIW was asked to make the final choice. As we saw at the SMO level of analysis, the decisions at the coalition level of analysis are not entirely decentralized. Instead, the coalition is careful to make sure that Immokalee farmworkers, who are the ones that the Campaign for Fair Food directly affects via higher wages and better working conditions, make the final decisions on issues such as the hiring of allied SMO staff who work side by side CIW staff on a daily basis and co-coordinate a national, CIW allied network.

Beyond structure, the process of hiring allied SMO staff calls attention to the ideology of allies as well as the relationships that have been built with Immokalee farmworkers. For example, a message that each allied SMO regularly communicates with its constituency is: Immokalee farmworkers are the ones who are working in the fields, have analyzed the situation, and have arrived at the appropriate course of action. This message helps to prevent allies from offering "expert," patronizing advice as opposed to engaging in a collaborative partnership. According to James, CIW allies learn and know "how to respect the decisions that are made here in Immokalee or here in this community center and then kind of run with them and try to make those decisions happen even if it's not always one hundred percent in line with like all of your own sort of ideals." But a true partnership does not mean that allies should blindly follow the CIW without challenge. Myles, an Interfaith Action staff member, explained, "[I]t's an authentic relationship where it's not just you do everything that the Coalition [CIW] asks of you, but you

have enough respect for the relationship to just be real." James, a former Student Farmworker Alliance staff member, reiterated Myles' statement and said,

> [It's] not having this like patronizing attitude where it's like, Oh everything that poor farmworker says is right and I'm taking their leadership….It's about all of us kind of treating each other with respect, as equals, and if somebody does say or do something that you think is wrong, like say something about it because people can take criticism. They're not children.

So while the CIW makes the final decisions regarding corporate targets, the most appropriate courses of action, and allied SMO staff members, allies are encouraged to engage in equal, horizontal relationships with the CIW and its members. According to SMO staff, to withhold challenge and critique is as paternalistic as an ally telling CIW members that s/he knows what is best for them because of their academic expertise and privileged structural position. While allies learn to respect that CIW members know their needs and their farm labor situation best, CIW members recognize that students, persons of faith, and food justice advocates best know how to organize in their own communities across the United States. Therefore, the CIW may make the decision regarding the corporate target and the level of campaign escalation, but allied SMOs and consequently, its members, choose how to carry out campaigns in their own communities in a decentralized fashion.

4.3.3.3 Social movement community (SMC) decision-making

The Alliance for Fair Food functions as a collective body that represents all of the CIW allies. It is not a 501(c)3 and there are no staff members or board of directors. Instead, it is an informal yet structured collaboration of all organizational and individual CIW allies, which is why I characterize it as a social movement community using Staggenborg's (1998) adaptation of the concept. As Kelsey, who first began organizing with SFA and became an organizer in her

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community after graduation, said about the Campaign for Fair Food, "this is a whole community of people all over the country."

While the five founding SMOs (Interfaith Action, SFA, Presbyterian Church U.S.A., NESRI, and the RFK Memorial Center for Human Rights) have more formalized structures, the Alliance for Fair Food is the least formalized structure of the Fair Food Movement. Like each allied SMO and the Fair Food coalition, Alliance for Fair Food decisions are made in cooperation with the CIW, as implied on its website's background section:

> [A]s consumers from national and international religious, human rights, student, labor, sustainable food and agriculture, environmental, and grassroots organizations we join together in this Alliance for Fair Food to counter this resistance [from some within the retail food industry] and to advance real rights for farmworkers, in partnership with the CIW, throughout the Florida tomato industry.[84]

The Alliance for Fair Food is a social movement community of CIW *allies*, but it is also part of a broader community that includes the CIW. Since the purpose of the Alliance for Fair Food is to work toward the goals set forth by the CIW, Immokalee farmworkers are integrated into this SMC and play a role when it comes to making Campaign for Fair Food decisions.

For instance, according to Meghan, "twice a year [Alliance for Fair Food representatives] meet in Immokalee with the CIW and kind of brainstorm what's going to go on" about specific actions and strategies that will occur during the September-May tomato growing season. In 2009-2010, the decision to create a mobile slavery museum and to organize a Farmworker Freedom March from Tampa, FL to Lakeland, FL (home of Publix supermarket headquarters) came out of this meeting. Alliance for Fair Food representatives tend to be members (usually staff) from its five founding SMOs as well as Just Harvest USA. Depending on the particular campaign and/or action, representatives from various geographic committees may also be

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[84] Alliance for Fair Food. "Background." Retrieved November 2, 2012
(http://www.allianceforfairfood.org/about.html).

present, such as Chicago Fair Food (McDonald's campaign), Denver Fair Food (Chipotle campaign), and Fair Food Austin (Whole Foods campaign), to name a few.

On the first day of this collaboration, Alliance for Fair Food and CIW representatives develop a theme, a major action, and decide what it should look like. As Myles, an Interfaith Action staff member, told me, the meeting begins with a *lluvia de ideas* (rain of thoughts; brainstorm). "Everyone just [starts] spitting out thoughts and…putting them up on the board." All ideas, even silly ones, are encouraged "because it might be some stupid idea, [but] it still has some element that's golden that can be employed elsewhere." The following day or two are spent figuring out all the logistics and essentially, according to Lena, a former Just Harvest USA staff member, to "just flush out how we're going to make it happen." The top priority at these meetings is to figure out the best time for farmworkers to participate. As Lena went on to say, "[W]e would never do something in the middle of June, for example, because everybody [Immokalee farmworkers] would be gone." But that is not to say that the availability of the allied base isn't also taken into consideration. For example, SFA discusses what would be best for students and Interfaith Action talks about what would work best for persons of faith (and many Interfaith Action members in Florida are retirees, another consideration). As Lena explains, "it's kind of a combination. It's kind of looking at what strategically makes the most sense, how can we best pressure and influence some of these corporations, and look at where we have a strong ally presence or a base." Lena's statement illustrates how this meeting is also a network to SMC constituents that provides a source of strategic ideas, thus increasing its strategic capacity (Ganz 2000). By the end of the weekend, "some kind of sort of metaplan is arrived at," said James. It is then taken to the farmworker community for discussion and informal approval. From there, according to James, "it gets broken down into all the tiny pieces of like how to make it happen."

In sum, the CIW chooses the corporate target and action and Alliance for Fair Food representatives assist in strategizing with the CIW about the logistics and the nitty-gritty details of each strategy.

This is a particularly interesting component of the Fair Food Movement. It illustrates that the absence of formalization does not necessarily result in absolute decentralization. However, endorsers of the Alliance for Fair Food generally launch the Campaign for Fair Food in their communities in the best way they see fit. For example, while "National Days of Action" may be planned at the Alliance for Fair Food meeting, the decentralized allied base decides how they will participate. This may take the form of street theater, flyering, teach-ins, or pray-ins, just to name a few examples. Another important aspect of this SMC is that it provides a way to bring cultural elements, such as music and art, as well as informal networks into the larger movement (Gerlach and Hine 1970; Buechler 1990).

For example, *son jarocho*, a style of folk music that originated in Veracruz, Mexico in the eighteenth century and combines elements of Spanish, Indigenous, and African cultures, is now a mainstay at many Fair Food Movement actions and events. Son del Centro, "a music program based out of El Centro Cultural that encompasses free music workshops of traditional *son jarocho*" (Student Farmworker Alliance 2010:68) began collaborating with the CIW and the Fair Food coalition in 2004 during the Taco Bell campaign. With Taco Bell headquarters located in Irvine, CA, the Fair Food coalition found a temporary home in Santa Ana's "El Centro," which has been described as "the heart of the Mexican-American community in Orange County" (Arcos 2011). It was here that *son jarocho*, which "uses music as a vehicle to both educate and encourage action" (Student Farmworker Alliance 2010:68), was brought into the Fair Food

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movement. For example, youth from Santa Ana, Immokalee, Madison, and Texas wrote the following verse after the CIW and Taco Bell signed the first Fair Food Agreement:

Hoy les contaré una historia	Today I will tell you a story
de los campos de Florida	about the fields of Florida
que a una gente afligida	where upon its wounded people
les llovió agua de victoria	rained the waters of victory
y les dió esperanza a vida	giving them hope and life.
la esperanza no se pierde	Hope is never lost
si es un árbol bein sembrado	if it is a well planted tree
y desde el martes pasado	and since last Tuesday
el mundo se ve mas verde	the whole world looks greener.
el que dude, que se acuerde	He who doubts it should remember
de Immokalee, y su memoria	Immokalee and its memory.
Trabajadores de historia	Workers who have made history,
que en los campos encendidos	who from the blazing fields
piscaron, bien merecido	plucked, very-well deserved,
el fruto de la Victoria.	the fruit of victory.[85]

Son Jarocho has spread throughout the movement as CIW members and allies alike have learned to play *jaranas*, the small, eight string guitar that provides the familiar, steady beat at CIW actions.[86] As one interviewee told me, *son jarocho* has become the soundtrack of the Campaign for Fair Food, evidenced by *son jarocho* playing in the background of the CIW promotional DVDs. The music, beat, and lyrics nourish farmworkers and allies who may be marching to a corporate headquarter city, picketing in front of a corporate target, or celebrating after a corporate agreement is signed, such as the photo on the next page, which was taken during the Campaign against Chipotle:

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[85] This verse is given as an example of Son Jarocho lyrics in Student/Farmworker Alliance. 2010. "Harvesting Solidarity: Farmworkers, Allies, and the Fight for Fair Food" in *Uses of a Whirlwind: Movement, Movements, and Contemporary Radical Currents in the United States*, edited by C. Hughes, S. Peace, and K. Van Meter for the Team Colors Collective. Oakland: AK Press.

[86] To see and hear a son jarorcho performance at a CIW action, see: bakulost. 2007. "2007 SFA Encuentro BK Protest. Retrieved November 12, 2012 (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=V08-TdGS_vg&list=PL7CC2F3FDEE0727AB&index=3&feature=plpp_video).

Figure 6. Son Jarocho Performance[87]

In addition to providing energy and enthusiasm for allies and farmworkers, this musical style also serves the purpose of "bringing allies together" from around the country to *son jarocho* workshops, which have been hosted in Santa Ana, Madison, and Austin (Student Farmworker Alliance 2010: 69). The musical style found its way into the Fair Food movement before the emergence of the Alliance for Fair Food of which El Centro Cultural and consequently, Son del Centro, is a part. This further illustrates how the Alliance for Fair Food, while best characterized as an SMC, helps to facilitate organic and decentralized participation in the larger movement apart from more formalized SMOs. Nevertheless, endorsers of the Alliance for Fair Food continue to take their lead from the CIW regarding corporate targets and movement strategies.

4.4   CONCLUSION

The organizational structure of the Fair Food Movement and specifically, the CIW's allied SMOs, emerged organically. Faith, student, and food justice allies were not very structured in the

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[87] Coalition of Immokalee Workers. "Chipocrisy Tour 2008." Retrieved December 14, 2012 (http://www.ciw-online.org/2008_Chipocrisy.html).

beginning. Instead, "it was all like the heart and passion to start out with and then it ended up in the form of a nonprofit organization," said Morgan when reflecting on the emergence and crystallization of Interfaith Action and Student Farmworker Alliance. She continued, "It was never like, 'Oh the CIW will hire students on staff and so [they can] reach out to students or something'." As an allied SMO staff member, she said, "we didn't—we never thought of it at the time [having allies incorporated into the CIW]. Because it could have been structured that way. The CIW could have like a different branch." She explained to me that she wonders if that might have been a better structure, especially in regards to the ability of allied SMOs to acquire funding, but "that's not how history happened with the people that were kind of like the outpouring of support." So while the organizational structure of the Fair Food Movement consists of separate yet integrated SMOs, which all seek out their own sources of funding, as well as a broader SMC, it very well could have taken on a different organization form.

The resulting structure of the Fair Food movement demonstrates the usefulness of analyzing some social movements at multiple levels of analysis. For example, whereas a social movement unit of analysis implies a homogeneous group of actors, a coalition unit of analysis suggests "a range of groups, bringing with them different constituencies, analyses, tactical capabilities, and resources" (Meyer and Corrigall-Brown 2005:331). In the case of the Fair Food coalition, each SMO has a distinct audience. In addition, the Alliance for Fair Food represents an incredibly broad and diverse group of allies. If it is pivotal for social movements to be successful "in unifying and mobilizing groups that had previously embraced a wide range of issues, around a clear single demand" (Meyer and Corrigall-Brown 2005:337), then by understanding the Fair Food movement as consisting of SMOs, a coalition, and an SMC affords us the opportunity to

unravel how multiple constituencies are able to coalesce around a single campaign, such as "a penny more per pound."

Whereas past studies have discussed the ways in which formalization is or is not present within decentralized SMOs and movements (Freeman 1972; McAdam 1982; Jenkins 1983; Gundelach, 1984; Lofland, 1985; Staggenborg 1989; Kriesi 1996; Rucht 1996; Polletta 2002), the Fair Food Movement illustrates how elements of formalization work to facilitate and support a decentralized organizing model. Without making the leap to a centralized structure, the Fair Food movement has been able to carry out several large scale collective actions that occur at least twice per year including multi-day marches, hunger strikes and fasts, and protests, rallies, and theatrical productions outside of corporate and government headquarters. I argue that some of the movement's formalized components, such as SMO 501(c)3 status, paid staff, and detailed roles and responsibilities, equip the movement with the division of labor necessary to formulate logistics and to mobilize participants for collective action. At the same time, the decentralized aspects of the movement, especially regarding the allied networks, provide for the implementation of creative tactics, solidarity among participants occupying various socio-structural positions, and a moderate degree of autonomy for both farmworkers and allies. Available resources ease ally participation while simultaneously managing how campaign information is presented. In essence, formalization supports and paves the way for decentralized participation. However, as I argue in the next chapter, besides formalized features, the Fair Food Movement's geographic centralization in Immokalee as well as in corporate headquarter cities has contributed to its commitment to decentralized organizing as well as to the prevention of cooptation by the CIW's relatively privileged allies who originate and reside outside of Immokalee.

5.0 THERE'S NO PLACE LIKE HOME: GEOGRAPHICALLY CENTRALIZED ORGANIZING

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Combining several levels of analysis (SMO, coalition, and SMC), the previous chapter examined how the Fair Food movement incorporates facets of formalization (division of labor, membership, and decision-making) alongside a commitment to decentralized, non-hierarchical organizing. I contend that the movement's formalized elements have 1) provided some of the structure necessary to preserve its commitment to decentralization and 2) played a role in the movement's stability and its collective action capacity. But there is another contributing factor, geographic centralization. In this chapter, I examine how the Fair Food Movement is centralized in Immokalee and highlight the role of the CIW Community Center, movement forums, and information and communications technologies. In addition, I discuss geographic hubs outside of Immokalee such as corporate headquarter city organizing and fair food committees that reveal geographic centralization outside of Immokalee as well. I also consider some of the effects of these geographic foci on the movement and its participants. My findings show that despite a broad, heterogeneous, and decentralized allied base, the CIW continues to direct and sustain the Fair Food Movement from Immokalee. However, this geographic centralization has not given rise to a centralized social movement.

5.1.1 Movement stability

I use two indicators to assess movement stability since the launch of the Campaign for Fair Food in 2001: 1) the continued presence (as opposed to defection) of SMOs integrated into the movement and 2) relatively unchanging demands on corporations by the CIW and their allies. Each allied SMO (Religious Leaders Concerned/Interfaith Action, Student Farmworker Alliance, and Just Harvest USA) emerged independently from one another (1998, 2003, and 2008 respectively) and continue to work alongside the CIW. As I detail in this chapter, when the CIW moved from its rented one room office space to its independently owned community center in 2004, a room was designed and incorporated into the center to house allied SMO staff members, indicating a vision of allied SMO permanence. In addition, the five founding SMO members of the Alliance for Fair Food are still active in the movement. Not only have the five founding members remained, but also, 205 other organizations[88] have since endorsed the Alliance for Fair Food, thereby illustrating the continuity of allied SMOs.

Besides movement SMOs, the allied base, as a whole, also appears to have remained relatively stable over the years. Meaning, the same general constituencies continue to mobilize alongside Immokalee farmworkers. Not only have allies such as students and persons of faith remained a strong presence in the movement, but they also appear to have confidence in the CIW's analysis of the problem and its prescription for action. For example, the first point of the SFA's organizing philosophy, as stated on its website, is: "SFA is dedicated to working with farmworkers for change but we will not act on their behalf, instead taking our lead from the

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[88] As of October 15, 2012, the Alliance for Fair Food has 210 organizational endorsers.

workers themselves."[89] Similarly, Laughlin (2007) concludes from her interviews that "religious allies consistently emphasized that they took their lead from the CIW, drawing inspiration from the tenacity and unwavering faith of its members" (61). When I asked Greg, CIW co-founder and staff member, to talk about former allies, those who are no longer involved because of disagreements, he said, "as to 'former allies,' it is hard to think of many specific examples…We have had very few cases of allies who have become disenchanted or have strong feelings of disagreement with the CIW's strategy or approach (some early faith-based allies have grown more distant over time due to differences on the use of direct action, for example)." Specifically, some faith allies, with the launch of the Taco Bell boycott, "had doubts about the constructiveness of boycotts" (Laughlin 2007:53). But overall, student and faith allies have been a prominent force within the Campaign for Fair Food for over a decade. Greg attributes the stability of the allied base to the fact that the CIW's "fundamental organizing philosophy and approach have remained pretty consistent over the years… and that consistency has helped us maintain our alliances over the years." This consistency is also evident in the CIW's demands, which have remained unchanged since the organization's emergence.

Prior to the launch of the Campaign for Fair Food in 2001, the CIW targeted local growers in Immokalee as a way to address poor wages and working conditions. During this time period, the CIW demands were "a fair wage and a dialogue with the growers on working conditions," said Greg. When the CIW shifted its target to corporations that buy tomatoes, the CIW demands as Greg continued, were "an extension of our demands from the beginning of our organizing." The demands of the Campaign for Fair Food were developed in the beginning of the Taco Bell Boycott in 2001 and since then, have remained the same. Each corporation that signs a

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[89] Student Farmworker Alliance. 2012. "Organizing Philosophy" Retrieved November 2, 2012 (http://www.sfalliance.org/orgphilosophy.html)

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Fair Food Agreement with the CIW, be it a fast-food, food-service, or grocery store corporation, agrees to: 1) increase a farmworker's wage by a penny more per pound of tomatoes picked;[90] 2) join the CIW and tomato industry representatives in drafting a Code of Conduct; and 3) be part of a three-part dialogue with the CIW and tomato suppliers to discuss solutions to problems faced by Immokalee farmworkers. In sum, improved wages and working conditions as well as a dialogue with farmworkers, have been the CIW's demands since the SMO's inception.

5.1.2 Collective action capacity

Besides stability, the Fair Food Movement continues to possess collective action capacity. The launch of the Taco Bell boycott on April 1, 2001, began with "three hundred people—farmworkers and their student, labor, and faith allies—gathered in front of a Taco Bell restaurant in Orlando" (Sellers 2009:96), which officially launched the Campaign for Fair Food. Throughout the four-year Taco Bell campaign, CIW members traveled across the country on "Truth Tours" to mobilize consumer support and to build alliances outside of Immokalee (Sellers 2009). During the Truth Tours, CIW members traveled to multiple cities to speak at colleges, universities, and places of worship and routinely ended their tours with a collective action outside of Taco Bell or Yum Headquarters (Taco Bell's parent company) (Sellers 2009). In 2002, three hundred farmworkers and allies gathered outside of Taco Bell headquarters in Irvine, California (Sellers 2009). In 2003, seventy workers and allies endured a ten-day hunger strike outside of the company's Irvine headquarters (Munoz 2003). In 2004, workers and allies

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[90] A "penny more per pound" is the net wage increase for farmworkers who harvest tomatoes. Corporations who sign Fair Food Agreements "also reimburse the tomato growers for incremental payroll taxes and administrative costs incurred by the tomato pickers' farmworkers' increased wages–a total of 1.5 cents per pound of tomatoes" (Swanson 2008: http://socialjustice.blogs.uua.org/economic-justice/burger-king-signs-agreement-with-ciw/). Retrieved January 14, 2013.

culminated the tour with a 44-mile march from East Los Angeles to Taco Bell headquarters in Irvine. The rally at the end of the march brought over 1,500 participants.[91] In 2005, the Taco Bell Truth Tour was scheduled to end on Saturday, March 12, 2005 at Yum Headquarters in Louisville, Kentucky.[92] But Taco Bell agreed to the CIW demands on March 8th and the planned protest and rally was transformed into a celebration with farmworkers and allies.[93]

The CIW continued to use Truth Tours as a way to publicize its campaign to consumers as the organization moved onto subsequent targets. McDonald's signed a Fair Food Agreement on April 9, 2007, "just days before the CIW's McDonald's Truth Tour was scheduled to hit the Chicago area (where McDonald's corporate headquarters are located)" (Sarver 2007) and where a boycott announcement was planned.[94] As in 2005, the planned culminating protest and rally was transformed into a celebration at Chicago's House of Blues on Saturday, April 14, 2007.[95] Over 2,000 farmworker and allies attended the celebration and because of the venue's capacity, many more wanted, but were unable, to gain entrance into this space that was secured last minute because of inclement weather.

Besides Truth Tours, the CIW and its allied organizations have launched other large collective actions including: 1) a 9-mile march of over 1,500 farmworkers and allies to Burger

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[91] Coalition of Immokalee Workers. 2004. "Rally Outside Taco Bell Corporate Headquarters." Retrieved October 19, 2012 (http://ciw-online.org/tz_site-revision/breaking_news/2004Rally_mainreport.shtml).

[92] Coalition of Immokalee Workers. 2005. "Saturday, March 12-Mass Rally at Yum Brands!" Retrieved October 22, 2012 (http://www.ciw-online.org/tz_site-revision/breaking_news/2005march12.shtml).

[93] Coalition of Immokalee Workers. 2005. "2005 Taco Bell Truth Tour: Day Thirteen: Victory Celebration & Rally for Farmworker Justice." Retrieved October 22, 2012 (http://www.ciw-online.org/tz_site-revision/breaking_news/2005celebration.shtml).

[94] The CIW had T-shrits and pin buttons made to publicize the boycott, which were going to be distributed in Chicago at the rally marking the end of the Truth Tour, but the beginning of the boycott. Because McDonald's signed a Fair Food Agreement, these items were never circulated among farmworkers and allies.

[95] Coalition of Immokalee Workers. 2007. "2007 Truth Tour: Making Fast Food Fair Food." Retrieved October 22, 2012 (http://www.ciw-online.org/2007truthtour/day7.html).

King Headquarters in Miami, Florida[96] on November 30, 2007, 2) a petition campaign in which 84,952 signatures[97] were delivered to Burger King's Headquarters on April 28, 2008, 3) a "Walk for Farmworker Justice" and rally on December 6, 2009 in Lakeland, Florida, the home of Publix headquarters,[98] 4) a Farmworker Freedom March from April 16-18, 2010 in which over 200 farmworkers and allies marched 25 miles in three days from Tampa, Florida to Lakeland with another 1,500 joining in at the culminating rally (in the rain) in Lakeland,[99] and 5) a six-day Fast for Fair Food in front of Publix headquarters in which over 50 farmworkers and allies went without food from March 5-March 10, 2012.[100] As this section demonstrates, farmworkers and allies have mobilized together for regularly occurring large actions since 2001. With Immokalee being such a small community of which many are unaware, including residents who live in the same county, what influences the movement's ability to turn out hundreds, and sometimes thousands, of participants for these actions year after year? In what follows, I argue that keeping the spotlight on the CIW and on Immokalee helps to facilitate consistent coordinated events.

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[96] Coalition of Immokalee Workers. 2007. "2007 March on Burger King." Retrieved October 22, 2012 (http://ciw-online.org/2007_BK_March/march_report.html).

[97] Coalition of Immokalee Workers. 2008. "CIW, Allies Deliver 85,000 Signatures to BK Headquarters in Petition to End Slavery and Sweatshops in the Fields." Retrieved October 22, 2012 (http://www.ciw-online.org/petition_delivery.html).

[98] Coalition of Immokalee Workers. 2009. "Walk for Farmworker Justice." Retrieved October 22, 2012 (http://ciw-online.org/Publix_Dec6_march.html).

[99] Coalition of Immokalee Workers. 2010. "Farmworker Freedom March." Retrieved October 22, 2012 (http://www.ciw-online.org/freedom_march/eventdetails.html).

[100] Coalition of Immokalee Workers. 2012. "Fast for Fair Food." Retrieved October 22, 2012 (http://www.ciw-online.org/fast/details.html)

5.2   A MOVEMENT GEOGRAPHICALLY CENTRALIZED IN IMMOKALEE

According to Greg, the "evolution of a movement that started in the streets of Immokalee with community-wide strikes, hunger strikes, and marches well before there were any allies" combined with "the constant presence of workers from Immokalee in actions across the country, the leadership of workers through presentations, speeches, and media, and through the organizing in Immokalee…serve as the constant rhythm behind the campaign." The voice of the Campaign for Fair Food is located in Immokalee. Greg went on to say, "most corporate accountability campaigns are driven by NGOs, not by communities or by workers themselves, and that, I think, is a large part of the particular appeal of the Campaign for Fair Food." Greg's speculation has been empirically documented in other case studies. Maney (2000), in his look at Northern Ireland, discusses how "unilateral influence and decision making by INGOs [international NGOs] result[ed] in a less successful campaign to protect indigenous rights" (157). Seidman (2007) notes that although social movement pressure by anti-apartheid activists in the U.S persuaded corporations to adopt the Sullivan Principles, accountancy firms monitored compliance, which had the consequence of "reflect[ing] the American accountants' vision, not the realities of South African experience" (62). Bob (2002), in a case study of the Ogoni mobilization in Nigeria against Shell Oil, found that "transnational support may encourage movements to take actions that are risky or counterproductive at home" (409). So while grievances and the movements they sometimes spark can have specific geographic origins, they are not necessarily driven and sustained from this same location. Consequently, empirical research has demonstrated that this may impact both how grievances are maintained and if "wins" actually address the concerns of the people who initially put them forth. Even though "the CIW knew it was imperative to overcome its geographic and social marginalization—its

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'invisibility'—by building strong alliances with consumers outside of Immokalee" (Sellers 2009:97), the Fair Food Movement continues to be directed and sustained from Immokalee, the small, Floridian town in which it began.

McAdam and Boudet (2012) note that social movements are not "born fully formed" (134), but instead, often begin as localized struggles. For example, while the Montgomery Bus Boycott is often considered to be a spark that ignited civil rights mobilization, "it is clear that the participants initially saw themselves as involved in a localized episode of contention" (McAdam and Boudet 2012:133). Likewise, the regional sit-ins that occurred during the Civil Rights Movement began in Greensboro, North Carolina as a "strictly local neighborhood event" (McAdam and Boudet 2012:134). Similarly, the 1969 Stonewall Riot was "an altercation between gay bar patrons and the New York City police" (McAdam and Boudet 2012:133), but had the effect of birthing the gay liberation movement. Despite localized origins, social movements are often conceptualized and analyzed by social movement scholars on a broader (national or international) level. McAdam and Boudet (2012) attempt to address this gap in the literature by focusing on the localized struggles of Not in My Backyard (NIMBY) movements and whether or not they expand from their local origins. Their analysis of the local provides important insights as to why or why not movements experience an expanding scale shift. But what about a movement that experiences a scale shift to the national level yet remains focused on the local? When we analyze what occurs at the national level of analysis, should we also consider the benefits of keeping the spotlight on the local? How does a localized focus contribute to the maintenance of a movement, coordinated actions, a particular organizing model, and the autonomy of the actors who put forth their grievances in the first place?

When the CIW launched general strikes against local growers in the mid-1990s,

Immokalee was the organizing hub and collective actions took place within the town limits. When the CIW began targeting corporations in 2001, it continued to direct campaigns, at least in part, from Immokalee despite the campaigns' national reach. Even with a change in organizing scope (local strikes to national corporate campaigns), each campaign is launched and directed from the CIW headquarters in Immokalee. Therefore, a scale shift, "a geographical expansion of contention" (McAdam and Boudet 2012:132), occurred while a localized geographic focus remained. While chapter six details the processes of scale shift, the next sections examine the ways in which the Fair Food Movement is geographically centralized in Immokalee.

5.2.1   The CIW Community Center

When the Southwest Florida Farmworker Project officially became the CIW in 1996, the organization rented office space next to the parking lot where farmworkers search for work each morning. With the help of donations from CIW allies, the CIW purchased land and a building directly across the street from this parking lot in 2004, which became the Community Center where the CIW operates today. In addition to the CIW Community Center being a farmworker owned space (in contrast to its formerly rented space), it has significantly increased the CIW's ability to organize and host both workers and allies while providing Immokalee farmworkers with a collective home in what can often be an isolating town. For example, within the CIW Community Center is the *Radio Conciencia* (Consciousness Radio) studio, a community room that serves as the space for farmworker weekly meetings, the Anti-Slavery Office that insures

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privacy and confidentiality during human trafficking investigations, the cooperative grocery store, a media center, an art center, a community garden and yard, and the ally room.[101]

Figure 7. CIW Community Center[102]

Figure 8. Community Room of CIW Community Center[103]

The main entrance of the center opens into the community room, which is where Wednesday community meetings, staff meetings, leadership development and training workshops, cultural events, and classes occur. Artwork from past campaigns and community achievements cover the walls, comfortable couches and chairs offer a relaxed atmosphere, and multi-lingual organizing materials, such as flyers, stickers, posters, and "Know Your Rights and Responsibilities" booklets are available to the right of the main entrance. CIW staff member

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[101] Coalition of Immokalee Workers. "Donate Today to the CIW's Community Center!" Retrieved October 30, 2012 (http://www.ciw-online.org/Community_Center.html).
[102] Ibid.
[103] Chrisman (2009)

desks are intermittently placed throughout the room in a way that welcomes conversation and interaction with CIW members. In the two back wings are the anti-slavery office and the ally room, both of which are out of view from the front entrance and accessible via a back entrance.

The staff members of the three allied organizations occupy office space, called the ally room, within the confines of the larger community center, which denotes a physical space that brings the allied SMOs together. There does not appear to be spatial distinction among the organizations within this space and it is large enough to accommodate a desk for each allied staff member as well as a larger working table in the center of the room. But the ally room is separate and out of view from the main space, which is the community room reserved for farmworker use.

Figure 9. Ally Room[104]

While allied staff walk in and out of the main entrance daily, they can access their offices via the back entrance when the main space is in use, such as on Wednesday evenings when the farmworkers hold their weekly meetings. As I discovered, this is a purposeful use of space in order to maintain a welcoming atmosphere for farmworkers. Meghan, a former SFA staff member, described the philosophy of this design to me:

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[104] Photo courtesy of Kate Lecci.

It [the CIW community center] should be the farmworkers' office. So we kind of are in the back because it's a community space, it belongs to the workers, and the first people that they should see are the CIW staff…And that's not to say that like if I wanted to go out there in the front right now and take my computer and go work up there that I couldn't do that, but it does—it makes it a more kind of I guess worker-friendly space to not have the eight of us sitting up there looking intense, pounding on computers. So that was— It was deliberate to have that separate space.

Meghan, as well as another allied SMO staff member I interviewed, explicitly stated that s/he would also feel comfortable working in the main space. In addition, allied staff members are regularly visible throughout the CIW community center so the designation of an ally room does not confine them to this one area. And while individual allies are sometimes directed to the ally room when they first walk into the center, at other times, CIW staff members invite him or her to have a seat on the couches in the main space. Additionally, presentations to large groups of allies are always given in the main space, not the ally room.

This design of the CIW Community Center contrasts with the formerly rented one-room space. Meghan told me that when operating out of the rented space, allied SMO staff "had to kind of stagger when we were in the office because there are a lot of us…and it could be really intimidating to farmworkers when they come in and they see a bunch of white people[105] like frantically typing on their computers." When some allied staff were in the office, others were working at a CIW staff member's house. When I asked her if this was a collective decision, she confirmed that it was since the previous space was so small and that allied SMO staff "didn't want to overrun the CIW with ally staff." Similarly, James talked about who is and who is not visible when an Immokalee farmworker enters the front doors of the CIW Community Center:

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[105] This discussion is not to insinuate that all allied SMO staff identify as white. Over the past decade, approximately 50% of allied staff and interns identify as persons of color and approximately 50% identify as white.

> For a peasant from Guatemala who just got here a few days ago to walk into a building and see like five white people crouched over computers or something or speaking English[106] or whatever have you, that could be like a little off-putting, as opposed to walking into a space where like you see people who are more or less like you and who are inviting you to come in and it feels like a space where you can be comfortable and accepted.

Out of fifteen interviews with current and former allied staff members, eight mentioned being conscious of their privilege while living in Immokalee, be it racial, gender, class, linguistic, educational, or citizenship. As Cara, a former Interfaith staff member said to me, "I've always understood the white privilege that I've had, but coming here you just have to confront it a lot more." However, none of the allied SMO staff interviewees explicitly stated or insinuated that their privilege resulted in tensions with CIW staff members. Instead, they mentioned it as something to be recognized. With this recognition comes taking deliberate steps to negotiate it at work, be it staggering who worked in the former one-room space or working in the ally room in the new Community Center.

In order to ensure that the CIW Community Center is *del pueblo, para el pueblo* ("of the people, for the people"), a phrase written above the center's main entrance, this architectural design signifies what roles the different spaces are intended to fulfill. The ally room is for allies to focus on their national networks without extraneous disturbances while the larger Community Center is for the use of Immokalee farmworkers. But because all four SMOs of the Fair Food coalition are housed within the same building, allied staff can "still be very close to the CIW and kind of be attentive to each other and what's going on," said James. One only has to walk about ten steps from the ally room to the community room where the CIW staff member desks are located. These close quarters are also why he said that when someone is hired

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[106] While many allied staff members are native English speakers, they all are, or in time become, fluent in Spanish.

for something like a full-time staff position where this person is going to be a member of this like little community that we have down here where we always like see each other and work with each other and you're making like at least a two-year-commitment[,] we have to be relatively sure in the beginning that it's going to—that there's a good chance that it's going to work out.

So on one hand, the ally room is a space for allied SMO staff to focus on their national networks yet still be very close to CIW staff. On the other hand, it represents a tangible effort to recognize privilege among the CIW's allied base and to ensure that Immokalee farmworkers feel at home when they walk through the Community Center's front door.

But there are some potential drawbacks to this larger space and the separate ally room. Myles, an Interfaith Action staff member, told me that the transition from the one-room rented space to the larger multi-room Community Center has had an impact on the "intercommunication between allies and CIW staff." He explained:

> It's not nearly as easy to be able to just like yell across the room, 'Hey Romeo, like what's the deal on this presentation' or—So you have to get up, you have to walk, you have to find that person. They might be in the radio. They might be in the kitchen. They might be in the cooperative. They might be in the library. Maybe they're outside in the backyard doing something.

But he also explained that "it's hard to know how much of it's the space and how much of it's just like the accelerating pace of responsibility and work." When Myles first arrived in Immokalee as an SFA intern, CIW and allied staff were in the smaller space, but it was also before the CIW had signed any Fair Food Agreements with corporations. During that time, "everybody else knew what everybody else was doing." Now, both CIW and allied SMO staff are being pulled in several different directions. Myles acknowledged, "I think a lot of ally staff would agree that like we often have no idea what everybody's doing" and expressed a desire to "figure out how to get better at communicating" despite the larger space or the current workload.

Another potential drawback of the Community Center is the fact that all allied SMO staff members are working in the same room, which in comparison to the larger community room is small, albeit large enough for everyone to have their own space. Maggie, a former Interfaith Action staff member, said, "There are days when everybody's silly and there are days when everybody's mad. And the dynamics in that little room can shift really quickly because it's based on people's moods, you know?" She went onto say that it gets even more complicated because people work together, some live together, they eat together, and they hang out together. On the one hand, she said, "it's good because it's like you really form a family." But on the other hand, "there are times where that can be hard." But Maggie ended the conversation on this topic by saying there is a trust level that is built from these close relationships and that working together "is a lot easier because you know people's strengths, you know people's weaknesses and you know them well because you're surrounded by it at all times."

In addition to the allied SMO staff spending a lot of time together professionally and personally, allied SMO and CIW staff members also get together outside of working hours. I was able to witness this during one of my trips to Immokalee. I accepted an invitation to play volleyball and basketball with CIW staff, allied staff, and allied SMO volunteers at a local park on a Friday evening, which I was told is a regular occurrence. Teams were composed at random and not designated according to organization. I also accepted an invitation to spend a day at the beach with CIW staff members, allied staff, and allied SMO volunteers on a Saturday afternoon. Many working in the CIW Community Center get together for events such as holidays and birthdays and go shopping together. And while I did not witness any, I was told by both a former allied staff member and a former intern, both of whom continue to work closely with the movement, that individual personality conflicts do exist. The former staff member said, "You

don't get along with everyone, not everyone gets along with everyone—but at the same time like there is a strong commitment that we feel to each other and that you feel to the community in Immokalee as well." Those working in the CIW Community Center are clearly denoted as either CIW staff or allied SMO staff, but there is also evidence that this does not inhibit close personal relationships between and among them. And in situations where there are personality conflicts, a working commitment to each other and to the community of Immokalee appears to remain.

Staggenborg (1998) states, "common participation in a movement center facilitates coalition work among different groups in a movement community and helps to prevent intra-community conflict" (187). Individual personality conflicts aside, we can see her assertion play out in the case study of the Fair Food Movement. While each SMO maintains its distinctiveness, they work together in one physical space on a day-to-day basis. As James said, "there is something that's kind of like very unique and different about just like being down here in the trenches in Immokalee which is like this little isolated town and it's like eating and breathing the campaign [for Fair Food] all the time." Allied SMO staff members are constantly answering emails and phone calls from allies within their national networks regarding the campaign and ally participation in upcoming actions and events. With allied SMO staff working so closely with CIW staff and members, they are in a position to interpret the campaign to their larger, decentralized networks through the lens of Immokalee and the farmworker community, thereby avoiding potential conflict while also building close relationships across organizational and social boundaries.

Thus far I have only discussed how allied staff work within the CIW Community Center. But what about allies who do not live in Immokalee? Although the CIW has thousands of allies, they are guests when they visit the Community Center. Generally, allies do not show up

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uninvited or without an appointment for a meeting or a campaign presentation. It would be unusual to see an ally who does not live in Immokalee walk in the main door and spend an hour or two in the library or sit and talk with a friend on the couch unless s/he was spending a significant period of time in Immokalee assisting with the preparations for a large event or action. Conversely, CIW members regularly walk in and out of the center, spend time in the library or the cooperative store, and/or sit with friends and co-workers on the chairs outside the main entrance or the couches inside the center. This is not to say that the Community Center makes allies feel unwelcome when they are invited or have an appointment. As Kate, a student and faith ally, said about the Community Center, "It is the most comfortable and welcoming environment." Additionally, when allies walk into the CIW Community Center for the first time, they appear to be in awe of the center and are incredibly enthusiastic about being physically present in the home of the Fair Food Movement. It's not unusual to see allies walk in and immediately begin to snap photographs of the center and the artwork hanging on the walls. Many of them pose with friends in front of the large mural on the wall opposite the center's front door.

Figure 10. CIW Mural

But despite ally enthusiasm and finding the CIW Community Center a welcoming environment, it certainly has a feel of primarily a farmworker, as opposed to an ally, space.

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Whether it is a one-room space or the multi-room Community Center, the use of physical space concretely locates and brings visibility to the largely decentralized Fair Food Movement (Morris 1984; Staggenborg 1998). All four SMO's are distinct, but remain deeply connected to each other. Four separate organizations with different constituencies have staff that work together in the same building to persuade multinational corporations to sign Fair Food Agreements with the CIW. The national coordinators of the allied SMOs are in constant communication with their respective constituencies (students, people of faith, and food justice advocates), but because they are located in Immokalee and specifically, in the CIW Community Center, they are also interacting daily with CIW staff and members.

Despite the existence of a local, geographic center, the Fair Food movement has national reach. However, if we were to analyze it *only* at the movement level, this nuance could be missed, especially considering the close relationships between the SMOs as well as their staff members. At first glance, one might assume that everyone working in the Community Center was CIW staff, as outsiders sometimes infer. For example, when I asked Meghan if people understand the differences between the SMOs, she said,

> [Y]ou'll still have some people who are like, 'I want to be a member of the CIW.' And you're like, 'Well no, you can't be a member of the CIW but you can be a member of SFA or you can be a member of Interfaith Action or Just Harvest.' Most people do kind of get it and understand the role of the allies, particularly when we're able to do kind of a longer presentation and really put it out there, but there are inevitably some people who just are confused or think that it's the same thing.

Just as potential CIW allies can sometimes misunderstand the movement as a homogenous entity, the same can occur in academic analysis. By understanding that the staff working in the CIW Community Center represents four separate, semi-formalized SMOs, we have a physical representation of a decentralized movement that is centralized geographically.

5.2.2   Movement forums

The creation of forums in order to communicate with and to educate movement participants has been noted as a useful strategy. Forums "allow movement organizers from different locations to meet, learn from each other, share grievances, and develop common strategies" (Bandy 2004:417). In his study of the Coalition for Justice in the Maquiladoras (CJM), Bandy (2004) shows how CJM has educated and socialized workers across borders "into an international culture of solidarity" (412; Fantasia 1989) through worker-to-worker exchanges held in Mexican workers' neighborhoods and international conferences. Similarly, Brown and Fox (1998) and Bob (2005) emphasize the importance of face-to-face interaction in the development of solidarity among a diverse population and Bandy and Smith (2004) discuss how "conferences, workshops, activist exchanges, or protests events" (243) aid coalition and movement building. As opposed to Internet and listserve communications that seek to make activists aware of cross-border struggles and campaigns, face-to-face forums help to crystallize an abstract, "imagined community" (Anderson 1991; Ribeiro 1998) into one that is physical. Face to face interaction helps to break down prejudice and racism as activists begin to recognize their shared humanity (Bandy 2004). Forums also provide an opportunity for the coalescing of ideas. Ganz' (2000) compares two farmworker organizations: the Farm Workers Association (FWA) and the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC). He found that the FWA held "regular board meetings and inclusive strategy sessions" (1027) while AWOC had "no focal point for creative discussion" (1027). FWA leaders were able to combine local and outside knowledge and employ tactics derived from this synthesis of knowledge to increase strategic capacity.

Besides CIW and allied staff rooted in Immokalee, allies from across the U.S. flow in and out of the town throughout the growing season. Students, persons of faith, and food justice allies

are regular visitors to the small town. Each year, the Student Farmworker Alliance (SFA) hosts an *Encuentro* (meeting or gathering) of over 100 students and youth in Immokalee. The SFA's steering and administrative committees meet there at least once a year for a "face-to-face" (strategy retreat). During Spring Break, eight to ten student groups a week visit Immokalee. In addition to regular pilgrimages, Interfaith Action has hosted a faith symposium in Immokalee and food justice allies convened in Immokalee for a food justice delegation. Finally, representatives from the Alliance for Fair Food meet in Immokalee to discuss the season's campaigns, strategies, and tactics. While allied staff live and work in Immokalee throughout the year, many members of each allied SMO visit Immokalee as the home of the Campaign for Fair Food. As the advertisement to apply for the 2012 SFA *Encuentro* states, "Join us in the birthplace of the Fair Food movement."[107] While I am unsure as to the exact number of allies who visit Immokalee on a yearly basis, based on my own observations, approximately 100 allies attend the SFA *Encuentro.* During Spring Break, 250-300 students travel to Immokalee. During one of my visits, a faith group of approximately 15 people came to hear a presentation given by the CIW. These various events, which I discuss in detail below, more or less follow the same pattern and illustrate another way in which the Fair Food movement is geographically centralized in Immokalee. I also suggest that the geographic centralization of the movement makes these cohesive events possible.

5.2.2.1 SFA *Encuentro*

Each September, over one hundred students and youth gather in Immokalee during the beginning of the agricultural season for the annual SFA *Encuentro* to meet with other CIW allies,

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[107] Student Farmworker Alliance. 2012. "2012 SFA Encuentro." Retrieved October 31, 2012 (http://www.sfalliance.org/2012encuentro.html).

to become immersed in Immokalee, and to build relationships with CIW members. This four-day conference provides a space for students and youth to collaborate, to strategize, and to contemplate their role in upcoming CIW campaigns. The goals of the conference are explicitly stated in the *Encuentro* booklet, which are, "to provide us the opportunity to further develop our connections with one another, commitment to the struggle, and consciousness regarding the state of our world." Participants are asked to pay a $50-$150 sliding scale fee, "which funds scholarships for participants who would otherwise not be able to attend and helps to cover expenses such as food, housing, materials, meeting space, & transportation."[108] Allies are housed in various locations throughout Immokalee, such as Friendship House (a shelter for the homeless), the floor of the local gym, or other non-profit agencies willing to provide floor space for gender-neutral sleeping accommodations. Participants bring their own sleeping bags. Meals, which are nothing short of spectacular, are provided to participants for the entire *Encuentro* by allies who serve as the cooks for the duration of the conference. Allied SMO staff members coordinate logistics and drive participants from and to the closest airport located in Fort Myers, Florida.

Besides organizing and skill building workshops run by SFA staff and steering committee members, such as "Organizing 101: Campus organizing and campaign development" and "Strategic Corporate Research,"[109] a major goal of the *Encuentro* is to immerse participants in the community of Immokalee. In a radio interview for a local, independent, radio program, Meghan explained the reasoning behind inviting members of the decentralized SFA network to Immokalee:

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[108] Student Farmworker Alliance. 2012. "2009 SFA Encuentro." Retrieved October 31, 2012. (http://www.sfalliance.org/2009encuentro.html).
[109] Ibid.

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The first year we had the *Encuentro* was really based on the idea of bringing people to Immokalee. The SFA network is based all over the country. There are students here from California, from Chicago, from Washington, DC, so they're all over the country and many of them have been organizing on CIW stuff for several years, others are new. So basically the *Encuentro* is a space for all of the people to come together, to visit Immokalee, and to see firsthand what the conditions are, to meet the farmworkers that they're working with in this campaign, to meet with all of the other students who make up the network, and to really provide a space for all of us to come together and strategize and learn together.[110]

Encuentro participants are provided a sense of Immokalee, the CIW and its history, the SFA network, and the Fair Food Movement. As a welcoming gesture, the CIW "subsidized" a catered meal of Mexican cuisine for participants at the 2009 *Encuentro*. CIW staff members lead a walking tour of Immokalee, and the weekend often concludes with a food and music celebration in the CIW Community Center. Despite the wide array of participants, including anarchists and faith-filled students of various cultural and ethnic backgrounds, the *Encuentro* works to create a sense of community within the SMO and the movement. The weekend not only provides participants with the opportunity to meet fellow student and youth allies from across the country, but also to meet the CIW and Immokalee, the birthplace and hub of the Campaign for Fair Food.

5.2.2.2 SFA face-to-face

While Steering Committee members are permitted to serve three terms, its composition changes slightly from year to year. Therefore, each January, at the beginning of a new term, Steering Committee members travel to Immokalee for a "Face-to-Face." Like the *Encuentro*, participants sleep on available floor space in sleeping bags and an SFA member who is not a

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[110] Pritzker, Oannes, Yat Kitischee Native Center (Interviewer and Producer). 2009. *Wolf Mountain Radio Voices for Justice,* September 12. Retrieved November 2, 2012 (http://www.radio4all.net/index.php/program/38337).

Face-to-Face participant cooks the meals for the weekend. Allied SMO staff members coordinate airport runs to and from Immokalee and the Southwest Florida International Airport in Ft. Myers.

The goals of the face-to-face retreat are to plan for upcoming spring mobilizations, discuss campaign escalation, advance SFA development, and review Steering Committee roles and responsibilities.[111] In addition to these goals, the face-to-face serves two main purposes. First, it aids in the collaboration among all Steering Committee members and SFA staff for the upcoming year. Second, it provides Steering Committee members with an experience of Immokalee. Applicants are not required to have previously traveled to Immokalee. So in addition to forging relationships with fellow Steering Committee members and SFA staff, it provides new members with the opportunity to visit Immokalee and to develop relationships with CIW staff and members. Jon, a former steering committee member, told me that one of the advantages to being on the steering committee is "having more opportunities and reasons to go to Immokalee and talk with more of the farmworkers and learn more about how they are organizing in their own community." Like the *Encuentro*, the face-to-face locates SFA participation in a geographic, centralized location and also illustrates that in the age of technological resources such as Skype, in-person, face-to-face organizing is still important. Relationships are built with other SMO members, solidarity is fostered with Immokalee farmworkers, and the exchange of ideas is encouraged.

5.2.2.3 Faith symposium

On January 15-16, 2005, religious leaders and persons of faith who had been involved in the CIW's Taco Bell boycott gathered in Immokalee to meet with Immokalee farmworkers for a

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[111] Student Farmworker Alliance. 2011. "2011 Steering Committee Face to Face." Retrieved November 2, 2012 (http://www.sfalliance.org/2011scnotes.html).

symposium organized by Interfaith Action entitled, "Human Rights and the Struggle for Fair Food: Making Dr. King's Dream Our Reality." Over 200 religious leaders, clergy, and laity from across the country came to Immokalee to participate in this two-day conference. In addition to discussing Florida's agricultural conditions, socially responsible business practices, modern-day slavery, and the Campaign for Fair Food, participants also discussed the role of faith allies in the Taco Bell boycott.

While the population of the faith symposium differed from that of the *Encuentro* (persons of faith as opposed to students and youth), the overarching philosophy is similar. Those who share common experiences with a population are the ones who organize them. Thus, the appropriate allied SMO is the official "host" of the Immokalee visits, meetings, and conferences. However, because the Campaign for Fair Food works to alter conditions in Florida tomato fields, there is a conscious effort to provide allies with experiences in Immokalee, such as learning about the town, witnessing the living and working conditions, and visiting the CIW Community Center. Participants then take their new knowledge and experiences back to their communities to share with other participants in the Campaign for Fair Food, thereby creating a cycle of information and experiential exchange. So while forums are an important movement strategy, their geographic centralization maintains the integrity of the Fair Food Movement's place-based campaigns despite a decentralized ally constituency and multinational corporate targets.

5.2.2.4 Food justice delegation

In March 2009, Just Harvest USA held its first major event, a food justice delegation to Immokalee. The goal of the delegation was to provide the sustainable food movement with "a deeper understanding of the plight of farmworkers and the approach of the CIW," said Lena. Over ten well-known food justice advocates spent a day in Immokalee learning more about

farmworker wages and working conditions. After spending the night in the Immokalee Inn, one of the town's three hotels, they began their day at 5:30 am to observe the parking lot where farmworkers try to find work each morning. From there, the delegation traveled to the tomato fields to witness the harvesting of tomatoes first hand. Upon returning to the CIW Community Center, the delegation talked with CIW members about their philosophy and organizing strategies. Prior to a scheduled afternoon press conference with CIW members and food justice advocates, the delegation took a walking tour of Immokalee, just as students and people have faith had done countless times, in order to view the sobering living conditions of the workers they had met throughout the day. The press conference concluded with Raj Patel, author of *Stuffed and Starved* (2012)*,* making a telephone call (on speaker phone) to then Florida Governor Charlie Crist's office. Delegation members called to add their voices to the CIW's petition asking Governor Crist to address the issue of slavery in Florida's agricultural fields. The day concluded with CIW and delegation members brainstorming about how the sustainable food movement and the CIW's Campaign for Fair Food could unite. This has been the only food justice delegation to date, but the writings (books, blogs, op-eds, editorials, etc.) by these well-known food justice advocates have been far reaching in bringing labor into the discussions of sustainable food.

5.2.2.5 Faith pilgrimages

In order to educate local faith communities, Religious Leaders Concerned (RLC) (later to become Interfaith Action) began arranging "Pilgrimages to Immokalee" to give faith community members the opportunity to "check it [farmworker conditions] out firsthand" (Gray and Tabbert 1998). RLC asked congregations to "send one or more carloads of three or four people to Immokalee to meet with congregants from other communities" (Gray and Tabbert 1998). On

July 14, 1998, over 60 men, women, and children met at the CIW office, watched a brief video of news reports from the month-long hunger strike, spoke with CIW members, and took a walking tour of Immokalee (Higgins 1998; Gruskin 1998). The initial pilgrimages occurred through September 1998, but since then, have become regular occurrences. The effects of the pilgrimages can best be summarized by the words of Father John Dreary, pastor of Blessed Katharine Drexel Parish in Cape Coral, FL, after his first visit to Immokalee, "To walk on the streets, be able to talk to the workers and see where they live is a different educational experience. It touches your heart a little more," he said, as quoted in Palombo (1998).

The pilgrimages to Immokalee represent a coalition of people of faith and put them face to face with a coalition of Immokalee workers. Anna told me, "Immersion visits are like an incredible entry point for people to actually meet." The faith ritual of a pilgrimage is something familiar to persons of faith. As Nepstad (2004) notes, religious rituals "can animate a group" and aid in the establishment of "a physical sense of community" (149). Immokalee pilgrimages work to cultivate "an awareness of shared moral beliefs" (Nepstad 2004:149-150) and solidarity between persons of faith and Immokalee farmworkers. Like all of the other events held in Immokalee, pilgrimages help to create a sense of physical community among Fair Food movement participants despite their different social-structural positions, varied location, and day-to-day isolation from each other.

5.2.2.6 Alternative spring breaks

Like faith allies during Interfaith Action's pilgrimages, several college students travel to Immokalee on break. In addition to Duquesne University and Notre Dame University, which started taking "alternative" spring breaks to Immokalee during the mid-1980s, SFA, Interfaith Action (for faith affiliated colleges and universities), and the CIW engage with between eight

and ten student groups in Immokalee per week during their Spring Break. Unlike events such as the *Encuentro* or the Face-to-Face, meals, lodging, and volunteer opportunities with organizations in Immokalee besides the CIW and its allied SMOs are coordinated by each student group. As stated on a three page document available on the SFA website[112] to prospective groups considering an alternative spring break to Immokalee,

> CIW/SFA don't have the capacity to be *the* main *host* organization for your group, particularly if you are planning on staying in Immokalee overnight for a number of days. We're small organizations already overwhelmed with the intensive work around the Campaign for Fair Food from a local to a national level.

Therefore, alternative spring break groups seek out their own lodging for the week. Because up to ten groups may be visiting Immokalee in one week, space is limited and is secured sometimes a year in advance. The student group I traveled with in 2009 stayed in a space that is used for children, youth, and adult programs, such as daycare, after-school, and literacy. Approximately sixty students from three different universities were staying in the same space. We slept on the floor in sleeping bags, rotated use of the kitchen and the single shower, needed to pack up our belongings by 9:00AM each morning, and were permitted to return at approximately 5:00PM each evening. Students pay their own way, fundraise, or have their trip subsidized. For example, students from a Catholic university in Maryland each pay $250 to go on the trip, although they can reduce their cost by fundraising. But students from Duquesne University in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania have their trip subsidized by the university's Spiritan Campus Ministry Center. Student groups, as opposed to the CIW or its allied SMOs, either fund these trips themselves or find their own funding.

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[112] Student Farmworker Alliance. "Alternative Breaks." Retrieved November 2, 2012 (http://www.sfalliance.org/immersion.html).

While the CIW and SFA are not the host organizations, they make groups aware that they are willing to provide: 1) discussion and walking tours, 2) driving tours of the fields and former slavery sites, 3) early morning parking lot experiences, 4) volunteer work at the CIW's Community Center, and 5) participation in direct actions and/or rallies. Besides these five points listed on the alternative spring break document, student representatives from each group have been invited to attend a CIW Wednesday night meeting and a CIW and SFA staff member have come to the space where students are staying in order to eat dinner and to talk about the student role in the Campaign for Fair Food. During evenings when the CIW or SFA is not present, other community members, such as a Catholic nun whose specialty is immigration law, are invited to speak. Student groups from different universities sometimes join together to eat dinner and engage in reflection sessions. However, while the CIW and its allied SMOs are not host organizations for these trips, they do play a central and active role.

5.2.2.7 Alliance for Fair Food meetings

These meetings occur in the CIW Community Center with the entire CIW staff and Alliance for Fair Food representatives (approximately twenty people altogether). They try to do as much as they can while they are all in Immokalee. Although I explained the process of the meetings in the previous section, I want to emphasize that the bi-annual Alliance for Fair Food/CIW meetings, which are held in Immokalee, is another example of how Immokalee functions as a geographic centralized location of the Fair Food Movement. Having a central locale integrates the three allied SMOs and other prominent allies along with the CIW. In fact, the structure of the Alliance for Fair Food is designed to keep the Campaign for Fair Food "intact and rooted in the Immokalee community," said Greg. Thus, Immokalee provides a home for the broader movement and meeting there serves to keep Immokalee farmworkers at the core of the

decision-making process, thereby helping to stave off potential co-optation by the CIW's relatively privileged allied base.

5.2.2.8 The role of public witness

For persons of faith and for students, forums such as an alternative spring break, a pilgrimage, or the *Encuentro*, provide visitors with an opportunity to hear from farmworkers and to witness farmworker conditions first hand, like public witness in the Central American Solidarity Movement (Nepstad 2004). While these trips serve as an introduction to the Campaign for Fair Food for some, others may have been mobilizing in their own communities on CIW campaigns, but this might be the first time they have had an opportunity to travel to Immokalee and to meet CIW staff and members. For example, Kelsey had been organizing students, people of faith, and food justice advocates in her Midwest college town for three years prior to her first visit to Immokalee for the 2009 *Encuentro*. When I asked her to tell me what it was like to be in Immokalee, she said, "I had heard stories and when we had the farmworkers here [in her Midwest town] in the past they talked about it [the living conditions], but it was shocking…It was hard to think that we were still in the U.S. and this shit's still going on." While many interviewees overtly expressed shock, as Kelsey did, when confronted with Immokalee's state of abject poverty, there were a few who did not. Brady, an SFA Steering Committee member, told me that since he comes from a poor, rural, southern town, "the immediate scenery wasn't that surprising." Jon, a former SFA Steering Committee member and longtime ally, told me that he "was surprised by how surprised other people were because of those conditions [in Immokalee]" since it looks like communities he has visited near his hometown. But more often, when allies visit Immokalee for the first time, they experience what Jasper (1997) calls a "moral shock."

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Nepstad (2007) claims that the experience of "moral shocks" contributed to persons of privilege (mostly white and middle-class) becoming active in the US Central American Solidarity movement. Jasper (1997) defines a moral shock as "an unexpected event or piece of information [that] raises such a sense of outrage in a person that she becomes inclined toward political action" (106). But as Nepstad (2007) elaborates, the experience of a moral shock does not in and of itself spark action. Organizers and activists help "to channel public outrage into action" (667). Morgan, a former Interfaith Action staff member, told me, "People cry all the time at CIW presentations [of which walking tours of Immokalee are a part]. I've never seen a worker cry talking." I have also observed this several times. I delve into the ways in which allies are encouraged to understand their participation as being part of a collective as opposed doing so *for* farmworkers in chapter six. But at this point, I want to emphasize that CIW members often challenge visiting allies in gentle ways. For example, Gerardo, a CIW staff member, said to a spring break student group visiting Immokalee, "This isn't about pity or charity or anything like that. It's about justice and understanding one's place within a struggle if you decide to be a part of it." The emphasis on action and justice as opposed to pity and charity is a message conveyed to allies time and time again.

Although some visitors shed tears, others have a different type of reaction. While public witness is an important aspect of an experience like the walking tour or listening to a CIW presentation, it also serves to energize and inspire the allied base (Bandy 2004; Nepstad 2004; Bob 2005). Many allies who visit Immokalee for the first time find the living conditions and the general landscape of the town to be shocking. But the space of an event like the *Encuentro*, pilgrimage, or alternative spring break leaves many energized. Kelsey continued, "But I don't know, the sense of community, like being the Center where we had all the workshops and things.

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That was just—It was great having different people's energy. Everyone was so enthused." By the end of the conference, she said that she had the momentum and was ready "to go home and really make stuff happen, you know." Similarly, a woman stood up during a reflection session at the end of the 2009 *Encuentro* and said that she felt "less jaded" regarding the possibility of social change in society. However, Jon pointed out to me that energy and enthusiasm sometimes needs to be challenged. He told me that he overheard an *Encuentro* participant saying during the walking tour, "'Oh Immokalee is so cool! I would love to live here' kind of thing, and like just like totally whack. They didn't learn from that experience." What Jon means is that this participant did not grasp the point of the walking tour, which is to bear witness to the poor living conditions that are the result of low wages and consequently, to take action that addresses their systemic causes. But for many, a visit to Immokalee leaves allies energized, hopeful, and eager to return to their own communities to organize with the CIW's Campaign for Fair Food.

5.2.3   Information and communications technologies

In chapter four, I discussed the presence of online materials the CIW and its allied SMOs provide on their websites. Allies can print and/or adapt flyers, manager letter templates, banners, frequently asked questions, fact sheets about each SMO, farmworkers, and farm labor, film discussion guides, posters, and educational curriculums.[113] In addition to resources that allies can

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[113] Alliance for Fair Food. "Campaign Documents." Retrieved January 20, 2013,
(http://www.allianceforfairfood.org/resources.html).
Coalition of Immokalee Workers. "Take Action for Fair Food." Retrieved January 20, 2013, (http://www.ciw-online.org/action.html).
Interfaith Action of Southwest Florida. "Resources." Retrieved January 20, 2013,
(http://www.interfaithact.org/resources).
Just Harvest USA. "Take Action." Retrieved January 20, 2013, (http://www.justharvestusa.org/getinvolved.html).
Student Farmworker Alliance. "Resources." Retrieved January 20, 2013, (http://www.sfalliance.org/resources.html).

use in their communities outside of Immokalee for events and actions, other online materials include (but are not limited to): 1) notes from movement forums, 2) documents to assist in the preparation for a visit to Immokalee, 3) a bibliography about or relevant to the Fair Food Movement, 4) photo diaries from actions and forums, 5) a press archive, 6) official statements from religious leaders, 7) video and audio clips from films and interviews, and 8) contact information for local staff and decentralized allies who serve as a "point person" for a particular geographic region. When preparing for a large action, such as a multi-day march or a CIW Truth Tour, a separate website is created to disseminate information such as a schedule of events, lodging and registration, meals, route maps, and parking and shuttle details.[114] Finally, each SMO communicates information such as dates of upcoming "days of action," corporate targets, and campaign updates via personal emails, a listserve, and on Facebook.[115]

In Immokalee, "the majority of residents have little access to the internet, television, or newspapers" (Sellers 2009:79). Consequently, farmworkers obtain much, if not most, of their information about upcoming campaigns and actions either through weekly CIW meetings or via *Radio Conciencia*. But for allies, much of this information is acquired via information and communications technology (ICT). So in addition to extensive face-to-face organizing, the CIW, its allied SMOs, as well as the Alliance for Fair Food engage in e-mobilization, the use of "online tools to bring people into the streets for face-to-face protests" (Earl and Kimport 2011:5). Many materials found on the CIW and allied SMO websites are geared toward face-to-face, in-person organizing, such as a manager letter that an individual or group can take to a fast-food franchise or a route map of a 22-mile march. But I should emphasize that these materials are not

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[114] Coalition of Immokalee Workers. "Farmworker Freedom March." Retrieved January 20, 2013, (http://ciw-online.org/freedom_march/eventdetails.html).
[115] Each SMO (CIW, Interfaith Action, Student Farmworker Alliance, and Just Harvest USA) has a separate listserve and a separate Facebook page.

just used for protest. Consistent with the CIW's dedication to popular education and consciousness-raising, many of these online resources are not only geared toward educating those who download them, but they also provide informed allies with the necessary materials to educate individuals in their local communities who are not yet familiar with movement. In sum, ICTs encourages face-to-face, in-person organizing and educates allies and potential allies.

There is consensus within the literature "that the usage of Internet-enabled technologies benefits social movement organizing" (Earl and Kimport 2011:26). For example, the use of ICTs increases the ability to distribute information to multiple audiences without the aid of traditional media and regardless of international borders (Wray 1999; Martinez-Torres 2001; Wong 2001; Carty 2002; Garrido and Halavais 2003; Van Aelst and Walgrave 2004; Rucht 2004; Earl and Kimport 2011). Additionally, ICTs can serve as "a defense of place-based practices" (Escobar 2001:167). In other words, struggles rooted in a specific geographic place can reach out to multiple constituencies in the space of ICTs while maintaining a geographic focus (Juris 2008:201). Conceptualizing ICTs as facilitating face-to-face organizing yet remaining rooted in a geographic place is evident in the Fair Food Movement. Many of the online resources are either designed or compiled by SMO staff members who live in Immokalee. But communication is not a one-way thoroughfare (from Immokalee to the decentralized networks). Local communities who develop and design original materials can send them to Immokalee to be posted on one of the websites for others in the movement to use. In addition, allies e-mail items such as pictures to SMO staff as a report back from a weekend of decentralized yet coordinated actions. Often, these pictures and a detailed description of a local action can be found on one of the SMO's websites. Thus, decentralized networks also contribute to Immokalee-based ICTs.

Earl and Kimport (2011), discuss the example of United for Peace and Justice (UFPJ), a

coalition which mobilized four hundred thousand people in 2007 against the war in Iraq. They state that the "UFPJ Web site served as a centralized location for a variety of activities for both the organizers and the participants" (3). Along similar lines, Juris (2008) notes how activists can interact with one another "through global communications networks without the need for a central bureaucracy" (9). In the Fair Food Movement, websites are managed and maintained by SMO staff in Immokalee. Just as allied SMO staff members interpret the Fair Food Movement to their constituencies via a lens of Immokalee, websites, emails, and social networking sites also retain a place-based focus. For that reason, I categorize three ways ICT function in this movement as another dimension of geographic centralization. However, they also provide CIW members and SMO staff a glimpse of the decentralized networks that are located outside of Immokalee. While the Fair Food Movement most certainly has retained its Immokalee focus since the movement's emergence, the last section of this chapter examines the geographic hubs that exist outside of Immokalee.

5.3   GEOGRAPHIC HUBS OUTSIDE OF IMMOKALEE

While the Fair Food movement certainly is and always has been based in Immokalee, its corporate target headquarters are not. The Fair Food movement usually launches two large actions per year. Often, these actions target the corporate headquarters directly. During the Taco Bell campaign, marches and rallies were held outside of Taco Bell headquarters in Irvine, California as well as Yum! Brand Headquarters (Taco Bell's parent company) in Louisville, Kentucky. What ended up being a celebratory rally as opposed to a boycott announcement occurred in Chicago near the home of McDonald's headquarters in Oak Brook, Illinois. Several

marches and protests occurred in Miami where Burger King's headquarters are located and Lakeland has become the site of several actions since it is the home to Publix grocery store chain. While the Fair Food Movement is rooted in Immokalee, I now turn to a discussion of temporary organizing hubs in headquarter cities and Fair Food Committees that have sprung up across the country, both of which are located outside of Immokalee.

5.3.1   Corporate headquarter city hubs

The logistics that go into planning large events in headquarter cities require time and familiarization with the locale. If it's a march, CIW and allied SMO staff members need to design a route and secure the permitting. Since allies from around the country travel to the action site, existing and potential allies (such as churches and schools) are contacted to help out with food and lodging. According to Cara, "it makes the most sense if you're going to do an action, to do it in the city where the headquarters is, a place." Some members from CIW and allied SMO staff travel to headquarter cities to organize up to three months in advance of an upcoming action. The decentralized national networks within the Campaign for Fair Food are particularly helpful in hosting organizing teams in headquarter cities, which also provide an opportunity to forge new relationships.

I asked Myles if faith-based groups contact Interfaith Action or if Interfaith Action initiates contact. He said that he'd distinguish between "a headquarter city versus general Southwest Florida organizing." When organizing in a headquarter city, like Lakeland, "there's like a lot of targeted—like we want to get to this congregation and we want to figure out how to make it so that the CIW can chat with folks there." When doing general organizing in Southwest Florida, "a lot of it's just word of mouth," meaning, people hear about the Campaign for Fair

Food and invite speakers into their congregations. However, Cara who was part of the four-person Lakeland organizing team (one CIW, one SFA, and two Interfaith Action staff members) said that the team secured their Lakeland housing because a youth minister at a Lakeland Presbyterian Church contacted them. She said, "he found us online and invited us out. And it was right around the time where we were beginning to look for places in Lakeland." In addition to supporting the campaign, the church provided the team with a place to stay in the church's youth center. The team slept on the floor or the couches, cooked their food in the center's kitchen, and had use of the center's two shower facilities. For over two months, the Lakeland team organized out of this space and worked on the logistics for both the December and April actions against Publix grocery store.

When an organizing team was sent to Orange County, California in 2004 "looking to secure office space to plan a major mobilization against Irvine-based Taco Bell, they found not only a small storage room to work out of, but also a welcoming community of would-be allies at nearby Santa Ana's *El Centro Cultural de México*" (Student Farmworker Alliance 2010:68). Natasha, a former SFA staff member and native of Orange County who regularly participates in events held at *El Centro*, told me that it "is kind of like the umbrella organization where all progressive to radical, not just youth but mainly youth, but like organizations and groups throughout Orange County meet" and it's approximately twice the size of the CIW Community Center. Some participants at *El Centro* had "been involved in the Taco Bell boycott since the beginning," said Laura, a former SFA and Interfaith Action staff member. Orange County is staunchly Republican. The last time the county voted for a Democrat for president was in 1936. But *El Centro* is a space for "anyone doing cultural work in Orange County and who was liberal, progressive, or radical, or leftist, whatever," said Natasha. Therefore, the Campaign for Fair

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Food organizing team worked out of *El Centro* to plan the logistics of the Taco Bell headquarter actions and at the same time, built strong relationships with the center's participants. *El Centro* endorsed the Alliance for Fair Food and despite the fact that the Taco Bell Boycott ended in 2005, its members continue to be a strong presence the Campaign for Fair Food.

So while headquarter city organizing is done to make large actions against a corporate headquarters logistically feasible, the results are not simply the ability to pull off a successful action. Headquarter city organizing also has the effect of building a stronger allied base in a particular area. This is particularly advantageous when trying to get allies to show up to an action in front of a building, such as the Taco Bell headquarters in Irvine or the Publix headquarters in Lakeland. But at the same time, residents in headquarter cities remain CIW allies after the Campaign for Fair Food signs an agreement with the targeted corporation and moves onto a different corporation located in a different geographic location. These allies can then be mobilized for future actions because a network has already been established. So although the Campaign for Fair Food is ultimately directed from Immokalee, geographic organizing in headquarter cities also point to the significance of geographic centralization.

5.3.2   Fair Food Committees

"Fair Food Committees," which have become more popular in the past few years in the Fair Food Movement, are also a way to geographically conceptualize organizing. While they are different from headquarter city organizing, they are also place-based centers in the decentralized allied network. Unlike decentralized chapters affiliated with allied SMOs such as the Student Farmworker Alliance or Interfaith Action, which are generally comprised of more homogenous populations, Fair Food Committees tend to be geographically based and more inclusive of

various types of CIW allies that can include (but are not limited to) students, people of faith, and members of community organizations (Student Farmworker Alliance 2010:70). Because of their heterogeneity, Fair Food Committees fit under The Alliance for Fair Food umbrella. For example, Fair Food Committees exist in Chicago, Illinois, New York, New York, Denver, Colorado, Austin, Texas, Jacksonville, Florida, Lawrence, Kansas, Providence, Rhode Island, Nashville, Tennessee, Tampa Bay, Florida, and Columbus, Ohio. No single template exists for the operation of Fair Food Committees, their level of activity, or their formalization. While this listing of Fair Food Committees are the ones of which I am aware, it is entirely possible that others exist, but are not as readily visible. The same can be said for the ways in which they emerge. There is not necessarily a pattern, or even two or three, that exists. The template for the Fair Food Committees can be best characterized as a "non-existent template." The one constant is that each Fair Food Committee mobilizes in solidarity with the CIW. In what follows, I detail three Fair Food Committees: 1) Chicago Fair Food, 2) Fair Food Austin, and 3) Denver Fair Food. While these are just three of potentially many examples of how Fair Food Committees emerge and plug into the Fair Food movement, they illustrate three separate trajectories.

5.3.2.1 Chicago Fair Food

Fair Food Committees tend to be most crucial when CIW campaigns are active in a particular geographic region. For example, during the 2006-2007 growing season, which coincided with the height of the CIW's McDonald's campaign, "a team of CIW, Student Farmworker Alliance, and Interfaith Action members were dispatched to live and organize in Chicago—whose suburbs are home to McDonald's global headquarters" (Student Farmworker Alliance 2010:69). Through networking, educational outreach, and demonstrations of solidarity with local organizations, "the Immokalee team cultivated a strong 'fair food' committee of active

local allies" (Student Farmworker Alliance 2010:70). Over the course of the year, the newly formed Chicago Fair Food Committee "met frequently, planned McDonald's actions, and worked to spread the campaign" (Student Farmworker Alliance 2010:70). Days before a national mobilization was set to converge on McDonald's Headquarters to declare a boycott, McDonald's agreed to the CIW demands and a Fair Food Agreement was signed on April 9, 2007. While the CIW turned its attention to Burger King, Subway, and Whole Foods after the McDonald's campaign was won, the Chicago Fair Food Committee remained a strong CIW allied base and one of its members became an Interfaith Action staff member two years later.

5.3.2.2 Fair Food Austin

Fair Food Austin, another geographically based committee, emerged in a slightly different fashion. Austin has been a hub of organizing in conjunction with CIW campaigns since the beginning of the Taco Bell boycott in 2001. According to Reid, people affiliated with the University of Texas at Austin "had met the CIW at the School of the Americas in that Fall of 2001 and brought the boycott back to Austin." While the "Boot the Bell" campaign at UT-Austin was unsuccessful, a strong allied base developed. Over the past decade, a handful of allied organizational staff, steering committee, and board of directors' members have come from this Austin community. After the Taco Bell campaign, Fair Food activism in Austin declined. But in January 2008, when the CIW was targeting Whole Foods, Austin's Fair Food Committee started to pick up steam again. With Whole Foods Headquarters located in downtown Austin, Fair Food Austin put consistent pressure on the corporation by holding actions outside their annual shareholders' meetings, delivering letters to the corporate headquarters, and hosting educational

events with CIW members, such as a fair food dinner.[116] But when the CIW signed an agreement with Whole Foods on September 9, 2008, the organizational activity of Fair Food Austin seemed to continue. The community group pressured subsequent targets, such as Burger King, Chipotle, and Aramark, and sent a delegation to the 2010 Farmworker Freedom March from Tampa, FL to Publix supermarket headquarters in Lakeland, FL.

5.3.2.3 Denver Fair Food

Denver Fair Food emerged during the Chipotle campaign, which began in 2006 and concluded on October 4, 2012 when Chipotle, whose headquarters is located in Denver, Colorado, signed a Fair Food Agreement with the CIW. The Chipotle campaign was the longest CIW campaign to date. McDonald's was a large Chipotle investor until 2006 and so the Mexican fast-food chain became an implicit target at the beginning of the CIW's McDonald's campaign in 2005. But when McDonald's divested in 2006, Chipotle became a separate CIW target. Todd, who had worked in Immokalee as an Interfaith Action intern and was living in Denver at the time, collaborated with the CIW to put together a mini-Truth Tour where CIW members traveled and worked to "build those relationships between the CIW and allies on the ground in Denver." And while the Denver Fair Food Committee came into existence after the mini-tour and launched a few actions against Chipotle in 2006, the committee didn't really get off the ground. Todd said, from his perspective, "basically folks were too busy with other stuff and there wasn't quite the level of investment, which is understandable." A year later, Todd said that "a strong group of people came together that were really gung-ho about it [the Chipotle Campaign]." While the first

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[116] Fair Food Austin. 2008. "CIW Weekend Tour." February 1. Retrieved November 2, 2012 (http://fairfoodaustin.blogspot.com/search?updated-max=2008-02-17T13:09:00-06:00&max-results=3&reverse-paginate=true&start=12&by-date=false).

attempt at a Denver Fair Food Committee was unsuccessful, the second attempt, according to Todd, "put together a really strong network or coalition of different groups and a strong core group of folks that were really dedicated to working on this."

While the CIW explicitly targeted Chipotle from 2006-2009, the campaign stagnated after Chipotle stated publicly in a press release that it would agree to the CIW demands without signing a Fair Food Agreement with Immokalee farmworkers. The CIW and its allies were told to take Chipotle's word for it that the company would pay an extra penny per pound for its tomatoes. By not signing an agreement, the corporation's strategy would not be subjected to third party monitoring. In addition, a key point of the Fair Food Agreement is to dialogue with workers, a point not addressed by Chipotle's unilateral strategy. So while the CIW chose to put its energy toward food service providers and grocery stores, it relied on Denver Fair Food to continue to put pressure on Chipotle in its headquarter city, thus keeping the campaign alive but in abeyance until the CIW chose to explicitly re-target the fast-food chain (Taylor 1989).

In Fall 2012, when Chipotle scheduled and sponsored "Cultivate Festivals" in Chicago and Denver, the CIW turned its attention back to Chipotle. These festivals were free, open to the public, and brought together music, chefs, and farms to celebrate Chipotle's slogan, "food with integrity." The CIW and its allies took this opportunity to call "on Chipotle to live up to their ethical image by joining the CIW's Fair Food Program—because a vision of 'food with integrity' that excludes farmworkers has no integrity at all."[117] On September 15, 2012, the day of Chipotle's Cultivate Festival in Lincoln Park in Chicago, the CIW and its allies set up 153 red tomato buckets to represent the number of buckets of tomatoes a farmworker has to harvest a day to make minimum wage, performed street theater, and held up signs to increase public awareness

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[117] Coalition of Immokalee Workers. 2012. "Tell Chipotle That Food With Integrity Includes Human Rights." Retrieved November 5, 2012 (http://www.ciw-online.org/cultivate/).

of the CIW's Chipotle campaign among those attending the Cultivate Festival.[118] Denver Fair

Food and the CIW were planning another festival in Denver for October 6, 2012 and dozens of

solidarity actions at local Chipotle restaurants were scheduled across the United States. On

October 4th, Chipotle signed a Fair Food Agreement with the CIW. Members of Denver Fair

Food were invited to be present for the signing of the agreement as pictured below.

Figure 11. Signing Ceremony at Chipotle's Denver Headquarters[119]

As this discussion illustrates, Fair Food Committees emerge and operate in various ways.

Chicago Fair Food emerged, in part, as a result of the Immokalee team coming to the area to plan

a large action on McDonald's headquarters. The same could be said for the role of *son jarocho*,

Son del Centro, and El Centro Cultural in Santa Ana. On the other hand, Fair Food Austin

emerged after a vibrant "Boot the Bell" campaign at the University of Texas produced a

significant allied base. In Denver, a Fair Food Committee emerged because it was the home of

Chipotle's corporate headquarters. However, unlike Chicago, an organizing team from

Immokalee was not deployed to Denver. All three cases show different ways that geographic

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[118] Just Harvest USA. 2012. "Cultivating Justice, Transparency, Partnership: Fair Food Nation's Alternative Festival at the "Cultivate Festival" in Chicago." Retrieved November 5, 2012 (http://www.justharvestusa.org/chipotle/ChipotleCultivateChicago.html).

[119] Denver Fair Food. 2012. "Denver, We Did It! Chipotle signs agreement with CIW to join Fair Food Program!" Retrieved November 5, 2012 (http://denverfairfood.blogspot.com/2012/10/denver-we-did-it-chipotle-signs.html).

centralization of the overall movement in Immokalee interacts with ally autonomy and decentralization.

5.4 CONCLUSION

In addition to elements of social movement formalization, I argue that geographic centralization in Immokalee and in headquarter cities assists in the Fair Food Movement's commitment to decentralized, non-hierarchical organizing, movement stability, ally maintenance, and collective action capacity. McAdam and Boudet (2012) duly note how social movements have localized origins and they point to the significance of geographic place. But what might we see if we keep a spotlight on this place of movement origin? Moreover, what are the impacts when the movement itself keeps its focus on the geographic place of origin? First, because the CIW and its allied SMOs direct and sustain the movement from the CIW Community Center in Immokalee, the movement maintains the voice and grievances of Immokalee farmworkers as central in spite of the acquisition of a large, decentralized, allied base. In 2009, Student Farmworker Alliance alone had over 6,500 subscribers to its listserve. Despite a scale shift to the national level by targeting fast-food, food service, and grocery store corporations, which has generated thousands of allies, Immokalee farmworkers continue to spearhead the movement. This is very different than the pattern described by Bob (2005) in which initiative passes to privileged supporters. Second, this geographic focus brings this multitude of allies to Immokalee. By maintaining a focus on Immokalee, participants are drawn to the birthplace of the Fair Food Movement by way of movement forums. These forums serve to energize the allied base and help to build and facilitate relationships between allies and Immokalee farmworkers, In an age of Web organizing

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that does not have a connection to geographic place and that focuses on decentralized networks, especially within the realm of corporate accountability campaigns, interactions among participants continue to be important. The Fair Food Movement has managed not only to create opportunities for face-to-face organizing, but also to institutionalize these interactions.

Besides keeping a geographic focus on the local origin of the movement, Immokalee, this case study also points to the significance of localized geographic organizing in headquarter cities. By deploying teams to cities where corporate target headquarters are located, CIW and allied SMO staff are able to sufficiently plan for large collective actions, such as securing permits and housing and mobilizing a local constituency to show up at the march, protest, and/or rally. Finally, Fair Food Committees, which have a non-existent template, are a way to geographically centralize allies from student, faith, and food justice communities. They can also be relied upon by the CIW to intensify corporate target pressure when a campaign is escalated, or in the case of Denver Fair Food, de-escalated.

But what are the micro level processes that facilitate a scale shift from Immokalee to geographic hubs outside Immokalee or to the decentralized allied network in general? For allies specifically, how is the Campaign for Fair Food "an opportunity to see activism and education through the lens of the workers' personal narratives, ultimately leading to a deeper analysis of power, a real understanding of solidarity, and the long-term involvement…" (Student Farmworker Alliance 2010:68)? What is it that inspires and facilitates collaboration between farmworkers and their allies (Beamish and Luebbers 2009)? The next chapter examines the ways in which ties are initiated and established at both the meso and micro levels of analysis.

6.0   MOVEMENT BRIDGES: FACILITATING SCALE SHIFT

6.1   INTRODUCTION

While the Fair Food Movement is geographically centralized in Immokalee, thereby keeping the movement rooted in the farmworker community in which it began, the question of scale shift remains. How does the Fair Food Movement shift from the local geographic hub of Immokalee to its national, decentralized allied network? In order to understand this upward scale shift, I examine how an Immokalee-centered movement is interpreted to the decentralized allied communities and subsequently evolves within these localized contexts. However, the activism that occurs in these allied communities is not divorced from Immokalee, but instead, is intricately tied to the Fair Food Movement's geographic origin. Therefore, this chapter also examines how the movement experiences downward scale shift since mobilization at the national level maintains a focus on Immokalee as allies express their own grievances with corporate targets. I argue that the social mechanism of "bridging" helps to facilitate this process by interpreting movement goals and ideology for the purposes of organizational and individual ally SMO recruitment and mobilization. Moreover, I seek to understand "what inspires and facilitates collaboration" (Beamish and Luebbers 2009: 647) between Immokalee farmworkers and non-farmworkers (students, people of faith, food justice advocates, and consumers of food in general) who become their allies. The CIW's motto is Consciousness + Commitment = Change and

popular education is the main vehicle used to raise the consciousness and to develop leadership among a transient and diverse farmworker community (Coalition of Immokalee Workers 2004; Sellers 2009). Thus, this chapter also examines how the Fair Food Movement incorporates popular education to raise the consciousness of CIW allies. I consider how this educational technique contributes to both scale shift and the prevention of CIW co-optation by its allies.

6.1.1   Scale shift

In *Dynamics of Contention*, McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly (2001) challenge us to broaden our understanding of social movements by placing them into the larger context of contentious politics, which they define as "episodic, public, collective interaction among makers of claims and their objects" (5). While the authors identify as coming from the structuralist tradition, they also take into account the processes and social mechanisms that link structure and agency (McAdam and Tarrow 2011). One process they identify is *scale shift*, which is "a change in the number and level of coordinated contentious actions leading to broader contention involving a wider range of actors and bridging their claims and identities" (2001:331). Tilly and Tarrow (2007) distinguish between upward and downward scale shift. *Upward scale shift* entails the "coordination of collective action at a higher level (whether regional, national, or even international) than its initiation" (95). By contrast, *downward scale shift* involves "the coordination of collective action at a more local level than its initiation" (94). Scale shift in either direction occurs through two sometimes-linked mechanisms, "a delimited class of events that alter relations" (McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly 2001:24). *Diffusion*, "involves the transfer of information along established lines of interaction while *brokerage* entails the linking of two or more currently unconnected social sites" (2001: 333). Although they note that diffusion is the

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more common, yet narrower mechanism or pathway, brokerage has broader geographic reach since "brokered ties help previously disconnected groups see themselves as similar to one another" (2001: 335). It is important to note that these two mechanisms, brokerage and diffusion, are not mutually exclusive. Instead, they both contribute to upward, and as I also contend, downward scale shift.

In the case of the Fair Food Movement, a "bridge", a person or an organization working to build ties and communicate between previously unconnected or already established parties, works to facilitate both brokerage and diffusion. Specifically, those who serve as bridges first work to link non-farmworkers to Immokalee farmworkers, which McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly (2001) would define as brokerage. Bridges are also able to transfer information from Immokalee to the decentralized allied communities where these ties have been built. At the same time, bridges receive information from the decentralized communities and transfer it back to Immokalee. I define this transfer of information along established ties as diffusion. While diffusion and brokerage may work together, side by side, the Fair Food Movement illustrates how brokerage can also be understood as a key mechanism that can pave the way for diffusion (McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly 200l; Tilly and Tarrow 2007; Vasi 2011). Together, these mechanisms have contributed to ongoing upward and downward scale shift between the Fair Food Movement's local (Immokalee) and national (decentralized) communities. This case study expands upon previous conceptualizations of scale shift in two ways: 1) the flow upwards and downwards occur almost continuously, as opposed to only flowing in one or the other direction and 2) downward scale shift, at least in relation to the Fair Food Movement, is as important as upward scale shift, which goes beyond Tilly and Tarrow's (2007) conceptualization.

6.1.2 Social movement ties

Brokered ties help to create a collectivity out of previously unconnected individuals and groups. Scholars have discussed the significance of interpersonal and organizational ties as well as how and why they are important in mobilizing social movement participants (Gerlach and Hine 1970; Heirich 1977; Snow, Zurcher, and Ekland-Olson 1980; Morris 1984; Marwell, Oliver, and Prahl 1988; McAdam 1988; Gould 1995; McAdam and Paulsen 1993; Nepstad and Smith 1999; Nepstad 2004; Wiktorowicz 2005; Eddy 2011; Bruni 2013). For example, McAdam (1988), in his analysis of Freedom Summer volunteers versus no-shows, notes, "it is not enough that people be attitudinally inclined towards activism" (237). Instead, he found that volunteers had "closer ties to the project" than the no-shows, which "left them [volunteers] in a better position to act on their commitment" (McAdam 1988:237). In a study of the Paris Commune of 1871, Gould (1995) found that the Commune relied on neighborhood ties, as opposed to class identity, for mobilization. Milkman and Wong (2001) discovered that how a labor campaign is initiated (bottom-up or top-down) is less important than the "social structure of immigration, [which] involved a series of interlocking networks that were central to the union-building process" (111). Clawson (2003) found that suburbanization meant "workers were less likely to live close to their workplace and less likely to ride public transportation, where they could meet workers from other worksites" (96). Consequently, suburbanization negatively impacted union organizing since it accelerated a decline in community ties. These empirical examples serve to illustrate that social ties are a critical component of participant mobilization (Wiktorowicz 2005).

Social ties can be differentiated between organizational ties and interpersonal ties, but they are not exclusive. Formal organizations, such as clubs, places of worship, and universities, can significantly influence participation in collective action (Gould 1995). Members may be

drawn into a movement simply because they are involved in an organization or "organizations can serve as the primary source of movement participants through what Oberschall (1973, p.125) has termed 'bloc recruitment'" (McAdam 1988:142). Oberschall (1973) states, "mobilization does not occur through recruitment of large numbers of isolated and solitary individuals. It occurs as a result of blocs of people who are already highly organized and participants" (125). For example, during the Civil Rights Movement, "churches provided the movement with an organized mass base" (Morris 1984:4). Similarly, the Anti-Apartheid Movement garnered a large base of student supporters from colleges and universities in the United States (Soule 1997).

But despite the fact that organizations can provide movements with blocs of potential recruits as well as legitimacy to a particular movement or cause, we cannot ignore the fact that "individuals are invariably embedded in many organizational or associational networks" (McAdam and Paulsen 1993:641; Loveman 1998). In the US Central America Peace Movement, religious community networks provided the infrastructure to facilitate face-to-face interaction and interpersonal ties between people of faith in the United States and Central American refugees (Nepstad and Smith 2001). The refugees' stories told during face-to-face contact "moved North Americans both emotionally and politically" to participate in the movement (Nepstad and Smith 2001:162). To return to the example of Freedom Summer, McAdam (1988) found that strong ties with a close friend influenced participation *and* withdrawal. Those who chose to participate had more strong ties to others who also became participants. Those who withdrew from the project had strong ties to others who also withdrew. While organizations may pave the way for bloc recruitment, "individual activists have also been identified as an important agent in the recruitment process" (McAdam 1988:142).

6.1.3   Social movement "bridges"

To understand scale shift, it is important to discover how ties, both organizational and interpersonal, are built when they do not yet exist. Specifically, how does the pathway that McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly (2001) identify as brokerage work to build ties between Immokalee farmworkers and non-farmworkers, many of whom become CIW allies, so that diffusion and scale shift can occur? In the case of the Fair Food Movement, we must ask, how does a wide array of constituencies, such as Immokalee farmworkers, people of faith, students, and community members who differ across race, class, gender, ethnic, age, and language boundaries, come together for the purpose of a more just and equitable food system? As Obach (2004) notes, we cannot "simply assume that shared interests will automatically generate organizational [or individual] cooperation" (206).

Scholars have pointed to individuals and organizations that are "comfortable and competent to act within diverse social groups" (Rose 2000:167). These individuals can cultivate social movement ties and build connections between what may seem like unlikely collaborators (Sink 1991; Robnett 1997; McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly 2001; Nepstad and Smith 2001; Martin and Miller 2003; Obach 2004; Mayer 2009; McAdam and Boudet 2012). These "bridge leaders" (Robnett 1997), "bridge builders" (Rose 2000), or "bridge brokers" (Sink 1991; Obach 2004) can provide the necessary links that tie diverse constituencies together for the purpose of mobilization. For example, Rose (2000) details how "bridge builders" are able to: 1) initiate contacts, 2) explain the issues, 3) facilitate communication, and 4) define and defend a common purpose (Rose 2000). Obach (2004) discusses how "bridge brokers" employ frame amplification and extension to construct master frames (Snow et al. 1986), which "refer to broader conceptions regarding social problems, their causes, and their solutions" (209). These master frames "can

increase the probability of coalition activity between two [or more] organizations" (Obach 2004:209). While he notes that "it is possible that intermovement bonds can be formed even in the absence of coalition brokers" (2004:216), it is rare. The goal of "brokerage" (McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly 2001; Obach 2004; Mayer 2009) or "bridging" (Robnett 1997; Beamish and Luebbers 2009; McAdam and Boudet 2012) "is to connect and encourage new actors to affiliate and begin acting in concert with an expanding movement" (McAdam and Boudet 2012:137). Therefore, the mechanism of brokerage is a process aided by individual and/or organizational "bridges" that serve as a link between constituencies. Within the context of the Fair Food movement, I examine *how* that process occurs. To answer Staggenborg's (2008) call for more work that shows how mechanisms and processes are incorporated, this chapter illustrates how the brokerage mechanism works in practice to facilitate ongoing upward and downward scale shift.

As the discussion of this literature implies, scholars have used a variety of terms to refer to the people, organizations, and processes involved in brokerage. Thus far, I have used these terms interchangeably. But for the sake of conceptual clarity, I will use the term "bridge" when referring to the people or organizations that foster cooperation between and among SMOs and their constituencies and "bridging" (as opposed to brokering or brokerage) when referring to tie building. In doing so, I am emphasizing that these positions are deeply entrenched in the movement (as opposed to third party brokers). Laura, a former allied staff member told me, she "serve[d] as a bridge to animate and connect other people to the farmworker movement, to the CIW, and to the CIW's struggle." Therefore, I am also following the usage of the people I interviewed who on several occasions designated themselves or others as a "bridge."

6.2   BRIDGES OF THE FAIR FOOD MOVEMENT

The literature on social movement ties cautions us not to ignore the fact that individuals make up organizations and networks. To discuss organizational ties without simultaneously paying attention to the individual participants within these organizations does not give a complete picture of the process. Similarly, when discussing social movement bridges, it is difficult to distinguish organizational bridges from the individuals within each SMO who do the bridging. Therefore, this section highlights 1) the qualities that make allied SMO staff members suitable bridges between Immokalee farmworkers and non-farmworkers, 2) administrative body members and existing CIW allies who serve as bridges to their local communities, and 3) allied SMOs that serve as organizational bridges to the CIW.

6.2.1   Allied SMO staff

Staff members of the CIW's allied SMOs (Interfaith Action, SFA, and Just Harvest USA) play the central bridge role in the Fair Food Movement. As noted earlier, allied SMO staff members are not only members of their respective constituency (person of faith, student or former student, and/or food justice advocate), but they also live in Immokalee and work alongside CIW staff and members in the CIW Community Center. Consequently, allied SMO staff "occupy a position that bridges the divide between distinct groups allowing them to communicate with both sides and to frame issues in a way that resonate with both constituencies" (Obach 2004:24). Cara, a former Interfaith Action staff member, stated this idea in our interview. She explained to me, "my role as IA [Interfaith Action] staff is to kind of be that person who would be a bridge between the ally world and the CIW to help communicate the information," which she does in both directions.

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What makes someone like Cara or any of the current or past allied SMO staff members suitable to occupy this bridge position? Rose (2000) notes that individuals who served as bridges between the labor movement and peace and environmental movements "had crossed the class divide [between working-class and middle-class] in his [or her] personal life in one way or another" (167). In the Fair Food Movement, a few allied SMO staff members have or had family members, either parents or grandparents, who worked in farm labor, as is the case for two of my eleven allied SMO staff interviewees. But this biographical factor certainly is not essential for being a movement bridge. However, I found that there are four factors present among all allied SMO staff interviewees: 1) prior participation in the Fair Food Movement, 2) previous experience in Immokalee, 3) bilingualism, and 4) biographical availability. Cara addresses the first two points as she reflected on why she was chosen as Interfaith Action staff:

> So a lot of people applied and they went through all the candidates with the Interfaith Action board, the directors. And then when they narrowed it down to like two or three people I heard that they took it to the CIW to see who they would want to work with, and supposedly they anonymously voted for me. And I think partially it was because I'd been the only one out of the candidates that they picked as like the three very viable ones who had actually been to Immokalee, had been to various actions, had shown prior support and interest and commitment to the movement. So I think that was a big part of why they chose me.

Although I have discussed points one and two in chapter four, I elaborate on each of the four factors present among allied SMO staff in turn before moving to a discussion of bridge roles.

Prior participation makes allied SMO staff members aware of and knowledgeable about the goals, tactics, and ideologies of the Fair Food Movement and specifically, the CIW. As I discussed in chapter four, those who apply and subsequently are chosen for allied staff positions have been highly active in the movement. Some served as interns in Immokalee with an allied SMO and/or as an administrative body member. Others had regularly planned and carried out actions and events in their local communities. For example, two of my interviewees helped to

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organize "Fair Food Fridays" at their university while they were undergraduate students. Each Friday during the academic year, they and their fellow students would gather outside of a CIW target, such as a Taco Bell or McDonald's restaurant, to picket and to pass out flyers to bystanders and customers. Some current and former allied staff members hosted CIW staff members in their communities or on their campus. Others still became highly involved with the Fair Food Movement when they lived in a corporate headquarter city of a CIW target, such as Irvine, California (Taco Bell) or Chicago, Illinois (McDonald's). In sum, allied SMO staff members are neither strangers to the Fair Food Movement nor unknown by the CIW.

In addition to prior participation, each allied SMO staff member had experience in Immokalee prior to becoming staff. Morgan and Brian, Interfaith Action's and SFA's first allied staff members respectively, had been living in Immokalee and informally working with the CIW before officially becoming allied SMO staff members. Six of my eleven allied SMO staff interviewees had completed a spring, summer, or fall internship with either SFA or Interfaith Action. These internships involve living in Immokalee and working closely with both allied staff members as well as with the CIW. The remaining three interviewees who had neither completed an internship nor were living in or near Immokalee before becoming a staff member had visited Immokalee at least once either during an alternative spring break or another movement forum in Immokalee. As I detailed in chapter five, not only does prior exposure and experience in Immokalee familiarize participants with the geographic origins of the movement, but for allied SMO staff, they also experience a place that they eventually call "home."

The third factor common among all allied SMO staff interviewees is bilingualism in English and Spanish. Some allied staff members I interviewed began the position fully bilingual. Two of the eleven allied staff interviewees speak Spanish and nine speak English as their first

language. The two native Spanish speakers are fully bilingual. However, some of the native English speakers began their position as only limited Spanish speakers and during their time in Immokalee, became fully bilingual. Reid, a former SFA staff member, was not fully bilingual when he was hired but he was dedicated to learning the language as quickly as he could. He said:

> I'd taken Spanish in high school and college but didn't really study. It was kind of easy enough for whatever but I never studied abroad, never really pursued seriously learning the language until I got to Immokalee. I was pretty surprised by how limited my Spanish actually was. So really I think the biggest challenge or obstacle would be the fact that I had very poor comprehension and speaking abilities in terms of Spanish… [I] just really tried to learn as quickly as I could. It was quite an arduous process but it was—I mean it was necessary.

When Reid says that learning Spanish was necessary, he is referring to the fact that Spanish is the *lingua franca* of Immokalee and the language used most often in the CIW office/community center.[120] Some CIW staff and members speak Spanish as a first language while others speak indigenous languages such as Canjobal, Mam, Quiche, Mixteco, Zapoteco, Popti', and Haitian Creole as their native tongue and then later learned Spanish as a second language (Sellers 2009). Therefore, for Immokalee farmworkers who speak English, it may be their third or even fourth language. For allied staff members, Spanish is usually a first or second language. Although allied staff members often speak English with each other, when in the presence of CIW staff and members, they speak Spanish. Hence, being bilingual in Spanish and English is a necessary quality for allied SMO staff members to possess.

The final notable characteristic of allied staff members who serve as bridges in the Fair Food Movement is their biographical availability. In his analysis of Freedom Summer volunteers, McAdam (1988) found that applicants were "freed from the demands of family, marriage, and full-time employment" and were "uniquely available to express their political

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[120] Prior to moving into the CIW owned Community Center in 2008, the CIW and allied SMO staff members worked out of a one-room office space a block from where the Community Center exists today.

values through action" (44). It is necessary to point out that being an allied SMO staff member *is* full-time employment. Allied SMO staff may leave a prior full-time job in order to accept one of these positions making them distinctively different from the Freedom Summer volunteers. While volunteers needed to be free from work obligations as well as self-funded, implying a more privileged class background, allied SMO staff members are paid for the work that they do. A few allied staff members with whom I spoke were involved in romantic relationships, such as with other current or past staff members, movement participants, or long-distant partners, but none had children during their tenure as an allied staff member.[121] For SFA staff, this might not seem surprising. SFA coordinates students and youth involved in the Fair Food Movement. Since many (but certainly not all) students and youth are young (early to mid-twenties) and unattached, it seems logical for SFA staff members to possess a similar biography in this regard. Meghan explained to me that SFA staff members "like to hang out and do stuff and talk, and once you get to a certain point that becomes a little more difficult." The "certain point" Meghan is referring to is age. As an SFA staff member approaches his or her late twenties or early thirties, they gradually become less connected to the mainstream student population. Over the past decade, I have observed SFA staff leave their post once they reach a certain age (mid- to late-twenties), thereby emphasizing the importance of SFA bridges having a certain biography.

Interfaith Action staff members also have the same biography as SFA staff members in regards to age and lack of family obligations. Morgan told me that staff tend to start in their early twenties and "many of us don't [or didn't] have partners or children going there." To emphasize this point, one allied staff member left her position *because* she was getting married and moving to where her fiancé was living. But unlike SFA, many of Interfaith Action's members are retirees

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[121] I should note that several CIW staff members do have children and the former allied SMO staff who had children after their term in Immokalee was up continue to be involved in the movement.

and/or seniors, especially since Florida has the highest retiree population in the United States.[122]

Myles, an Interfaith Action staff member who took this position when he was in his mid-twenties, said, "I'd say almost like 80 percent of the people that I'm most closely organized with in the congregations are people who like would be my mother's friends… women who are retired, who are in their sixties or their seventies [and] who have this incredible organizing capacity." At first glance, it may seem as if Myles' biography and the biographies of the Interfaith Action members are dramatically different from one another despite sharing a faith component that is not dependent on age. But we must ask, are retirees that much different from students in regards to organizing capacity? Although Myles and other Interfaith Action staff members may be thirty or forty years younger than Interfaith Action's core membership, they occupy opposite positions on the family obligation spectrum. Myles has yet to experience traditional personal obligations such as partners and children while Interfaith Action members have likely fulfilled them. But both have the time needed to organize with the CIW.

When I asked Myles about finding a replacement for Cara, Myles explained to me that someone who takes an allied staff position has "to be inclined to work every day of the week, be able to speak Spanish, and you know, make $18,000 a year. Those three things slim it down real quick of who's willing to be out here." A retiree, who might have the available time to work everyday, is at the point in his or her life where s/he is no longer interested in working full-time let alone twelve to fifteen hour days. Additionally, allied staff members travel extensively and, in the case of organizing in corporate headquarter cities, sleep wherever they are offered space, such as in sleeping bags on a church basement floor. These may be issues that are either or both

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[122] In 2013, the U.S. Census Bureau estimated that 18.2 percent of Florida residents are age 65 and older. Florida Realtors. "Census data: Florida tops in retiree population." Retrieved July 1, 2013 (http://www.floridarealtors.org/NewsAndEvents/article.cfm?id=292741).

unappealing and perhaps physically challenging to a retiree. So despite differences in age, Interfaith Action staff members who serve as bridges possess the biographical as well as the physical capabilities and willingness to fulfill the obligations associated with this role.

6.2.2   Allied SMO administrative body members

Besides allied SMO staff, administrative body members of each allied SMO also serve as bridges within the Fair Food Movement. As I noted in my discussion of administrative bodies in chapter four, the most salient quality of administrative body members is their prior and current movement participation. Although most members have visited Immokalee at least once, for others, it is being on the administrative body that brings them to Immokalee for the first time. Bilingualism is not a requirement and biographical availability is relevant only in the sense that students and youth are on the SFA steering committee, and people of faith and food justice advocates are on the Interfaith Action and Just Harvest USA Boards of Directors respectively.

Administrative body members function as both informational and/or geographic contacts for allies in the decentralized communities. For example, the SFA Steering Committee includes 12-18 members who are located in different communities throughout the United States.[123] In 2010, the Steering Committee represented eight states and eleven cities. In 2011 and 2012, the Steering Committee represented ten states and twelve cities, which most often represent a broad geographic range. For example, there are usually steering committee members from all regions of the United States (Northeast, Northwest, Southeast, Southwest, Midwest, and Upper Midwest) and they often come from cities and communities that have an existing allied base. As stated on

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[123] The number of people on the SFA Steering Committee shifts from year to year, but has ranged between 12 and 18.

the SFA website, the "major goal of the steering committee is to facilitate communication and action within the network."[124] With committee members located in numerous states and cities, most regions of the continental United States are represented and information can be disseminated from Immokalee-based SFA staff members to SFA Steering Committee members and consequently, from Steering Committee members to nearby allies. At the same time, Steering Committee members report back to SFA staff members in Immokalee regarding actions, events, and progress in their geographic region. Whereas the SFA Steering Committee represents geographic location, the Interfaith Action Board of Directors represents faith denominations. Like SFA, members from Interfaith Action's board of directors are in a position to receive information from Interfaith Action staff members in Immokalee to which they can distribute to their wider church networks.

The Board of Directors for Just Harvest USA, which represents four states and four cities, is relatively small. However, it is comprised of members who have been significantly active in the Fair Food Movement for some time. Unlike students and people of faith, who are concentrated in schools and places of worship, food justice advocates can be anywhere and everywhere. But the process is otherwise similar to SFA and Interfaith Action. The Just Harvest staff member in Immokalee can distribute information to the board, which they can re-distribute to their wider networks. For example, Jim, a board member for Just Harvest USA, told me that a lot of what he does is to "do the sort of 101 introduction on the ground," which includes introducing the Campaign for Fair Food to various organizations in his community as well as "printing fliers and getting ready for a week of action or something like that." When someone like Jim brings the Fair Food Movement to the people and organizations into which he is already

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[124] Student Farmworker Alliance. 2013. "Network Structure." Retrieved April 22, 2013 (http://www.sfalliance.org/structure.html).

tied, scale shift does not end with him. It extends to Jim's personal and organizational ties. In sum, while administrative body members are not living in Immokalee or working side-by-side CIW members on a daily basis, they also serve as bridges from Immokalee to non-farmworkers who make up the national decentralized communities. Not only do they engage in building new ties, but they also draw upon their existing ties to facilitate local to national scale-shift.

6.2.3 Existing allies

While allies recognize that Immokalee farmworkers are the ones who know their community and its needs best, CIW staff members also recognize that allies best know how to launch the Campaign for Fair Food in their local communities. Therefore, the movement also depends upon existing allies who are neither staff nor administrative body members to continue the movement's upward scale shift into communities outside of Immokalee. Those who serve in this bridge role, as with administrative body members, usually have some previous experience in the movement. In addition, they both understand and know how to best communicate with their local community. For example, when a CIW staff member and an allied SMO staff member came to Pittsburgh, PA to take part in a symposium hosted by Duquesne University, they relied upon existing allies to be the bridge between them and the various communities in the Pittsburgh area. In an email communication sent to me regarding the scheduling of teach-ins, presentations, and events during their three-day stay, a former SFA staff member said, "Y'all are the ones that know best, and we'll be happy to go along with whatever you're able to organize for us up there." Based on our existing Pittsburgh ties, we organized a movie screening, five classroom presentations at two universities, a presentation for community activists in a local church, an art-making workshop, and a picket and manager letter delivery at the local Trader Joe's

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supermarket. Without a bridge to these local groups, it would have been difficult if not impossible for the representatives visiting from Immokalee to gain access to these venues. In my conversations with CIW allies in other cities, this tends to be the way in which CIW and allied SMO staff members gain access to local communities when they visit or are invited.

But this is not to imply that existing allies only function as bridges when Immokalee-based movement representatives are in town. Bridges are crucial for facilitating the movement in their own communities. For example, prior to Trader Joe's signing a Fair Food Agreement in February 2012, allies from forty cities were the contacts for a weekend of action at local Trader Joe's Supermarkets. As a result, allies who lived in the same city or region but did not know one another could access this contact information from an allied SMO website and collaborate with the contact for the weekend of action. Not only are existing allies depended upon to bring awareness of the Campaign for Fair Food to their communities, but existing allies also are crucial for organizing and carrying out national actions. Although these bridges are not based in Immokalee, scale shift would certainly be more challenging without their presence.

6.2.4   Allied SMOs

Because the allied SMOs emerged as partner organizations of the CIW, they are inherently organizational bridges both to and from Immokalee. In-depth discussions of the allied SMOs can be found in chapters two, four, and five, but it is important to reiterate that the majority of individuals often become involved in the Campaign for Fair Food first and *then* often find themselves filtered into one of the three allied SMOs. As they do so, they rely upon the allied SMO for both information and resources, most of which can be located through SMO websites. As I discussed in chapters four and five, each allied SMO website (as well as the CIW website)

includes several online materials, such as manager letter templates, flyers, banners, and informational handouts, which can be easily downloaded by allies. Besides these website resources, listserves are another way that allied SMOs communicate with their respective constituencies. Kelsey, an SFA member told, me "I check the SFA listserve daily." While there is not necessarily a daily communication sent via the listserve (but there is at least weekly), it is a way for the Immokalee-based SMOs to stay in touch with their members. Likewise, members can send communications to Immokalee and to the network from the listserve, such as resources for an action, a report back, or calls for organizing advice. With so many people involved in the movement (as of 2010, SFA alone had over 6,500 names on its listserve and CIW had over 5,000 card-carrying members), allied SMOs filter the sheer volume of people into separate spaces as opposed to everyone, farmworkers and allies, being funneled into one SMO. Therefore, the separate allied SMOs serve as a bridge to the CIW.

6.3   THE CIW PRESENTATION: BRIDGING *FROM* FARMWORKERS *TO* CONSUMERS

When consumers (non-farmworkers who are potential allies) meet a CIW member for the first time, it is often during a "CIW presentation" either during a movement forum in Immokalee or as a guest-speaker presentation at a place of worship, college campus, or community event. While I have discussed the CIW presentation in chapters four and five, this section pays particular attention to the bridging that occurs before and during it. This event is often the first stage of upward scale shift from Immokalee farmworkers to consumers who may become CIW allies, which is why it deserves in-depth attention.

Thus far, I have talked extensively about CIW allies, but have not directly addressed them as consumers until now. While many CIW allies and potential allies (non-farmworkers) may not regularly frequent each and every CIW corporate target, they are broadly conceptualized, especially by the CIW, as consumers of tomatoes (or food in general). By contrast, Immokalee farmworkers are the harvesters of tomatoes.

Figure 12. A popular education drawing used in a CIW meeting to discuss the connection between farmworkers and consumers in the Campaign for Fair Food[125]

This distinction between harvester and consumer is important because it brings CIW members and non-farmworkers together within the confines of a larger food system. And given that the

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[125] Figure 12 Explanation and Translation: The boat that is sinking represents the Florida Tomato Growers Exchange (FTGE), which refused to participate in the Fair Food Program until November 2010. The cannon holes in the boat represent the signed Fair Food Agreements, which did have the effect of pressuring the FTGE into compliance (sinking their boat). In the bottom left of the drawing, a CIW member and a consumer are working together to launch the next corporate target (cannonball) into the Campaign for Fair Food (cannon). The cannonballs sitting on the ground represent future corporate targets. So even though non-farmworkers who participate in the Fair Food Movement are CIW allies, they are conceptualized more broadly within the CIW, as this drawing illustrates, as consumers.

overarching goal of the CIW is to transform the agricultural industry bit by bit with each corporate agreement, the non-farmworker as consumer is not an inaccurate conceptualization, even if a food justice advocate does not regularly frequent McDonald's or any other fast food restaurant. However, it is probable that the food justice advocate (or any non-farmworker for that matter) consumes an off-season tomato from time to time, be it at a friend's house or a restaurant. Even if a person chooses to grow and consume his or her own tomatoes, that action still affects the larger food system.

For example, at the 2009 SFA *Encuentro*, a recent college graduate and food justice advocate spoke about his work to implement local and sustainable food polices on his college campus. But during the *Encuentro*, he found himself faced with a dilemma. How would striving to increase local food production on his college campus affect Immokalee farmworkers? And if this local and sustainable model were to proliferate, what would happen to the farmworkers whose livelihoods were dependent upon the corporate agricultural system? So even though he strove to consume food that was either grown locally or by himself, he recognized that the way he chose to consume still was connected to Immokalee farmworkers and the CIW. Therefore, as I discuss the CIW presentation, I will refer to non-farmworkers as either audience members or consumers since they may or may not become CIW allies, but are still members of the larger food system.

The CIW presentations, which are given by CIW members alongside allied SMO staff members, detail: 1) farmworker living and working conditions including poor wages, abuses in the fields, and convicted slavery operations, 2) the history of CIW emergence, 3) the history and progress of the Campaign for Fair Food 4) current corporate targets, 5) how consumers and farmworkers are members of the same food system, 6) how consumers can get involved, and 7) a

question and answer session. The time allotted for the presentations vary a good bit. I have observed presentations as short as ten minutes, such as at the end of a Catholic mass, and others as long as ninety minutes, such as to a student Spring Break group visiting Immokalee. CIW presentations occur frequently. It is not uncommon for three or more presentations to be scheduled in one day. While such a high frequency does not occur every day, there are certain times of the year when they are concentrated, such as Spring Break in Immokalee. During a November 2009 weekend of action against Publix Supermarket in the Tampa/St. Petersburg, Florida area, I observed four presentations in less than 24 hours and there were others that I did not observe. The structure of the presentation, such as how it is scheduled, prepared, delivered, and debriefed, is integral to the Campaign for Fair Food. Although I neither know the history of the presentation structure nor who can be credited for its design, this format has been in place for over a decade. These presentations represent the first stage of scale shift and also serve as an illustrative model of the CIW/ally relationship. This section details how the act of bridging occurs by 1) initiating contacts and providing context, 2) using language barriers as an opportunity for bridging, 3) interpreting the movement through bilingual presentations to consumers, and 4) co-presenting.

6.3.1   Contacts and context

The CIW presentations rely heavily on the allied SMO staff members who serve as bridges. Rose (2000) notes that one of the key roles of a bridge is to initiate contacts. Because allied SMO staff members act as a bridge between the CIW and consumer groups (students, people of faith, and food justice advocates), this role is plainly evident in the Fair Food Movement. Myles told me that allied staff members are sometimes able to get "a foot in the door" so that CIW staff

members can deliver their own message. He explained that since many of the congregations he works with in Southwest Florida are similar to the ones in which he grew up (white, middle-upper class, native English speakers), he is "able to 'pass in' those communities and set up presentations or at least create a space where the CIW can come in and they can deliver directly their message to folks and then folks can decide from there." When Myles says, "pass," he is referring to how he looks and sounds like many of the congregants (white and a native English speaker), which is not the case for many of the CIW staff members, most of whom are persons of color and non-native English speakers. Myles went onto say that while communities and/or congregations might not initially be receptive to Immokalee farmworkers coming into their space to give a presentation, many actually end up being "really great and responsive." For example, despite issues such as labor, corporate campaign financing, and immigration causing rifts across the political spectrum, Myles and other Interfaith Action staff members do a lot of work with Florida Republicans, a testament to the bridge role. But even in cases where the CIW, allied staff members, and consumers are politically aligned, such as with university students, bridging is crucial for initiating new contacts.

Allied staff members continue to bridge after contact is made and a presentation is scheduled. This is evident just before a presentation begins. For example, as a CIW staff member and an allied staff member prepare for a presentation, the allied staff member provides a "briefing" about the group with whom s/he will be speaking. There can be eight different CIW staff members who are sent out to give presentations. Myles explained, "If it was the same person [CIW staff member] that gave a presentation [at a certain locale] previously, they might remember, they might already know the dynamics. But very often it's someone who's coming in that doesn't know the community." Therefore, it is up to allied SMO staff members to provide a

context for a presentation such as "all right, here's the deal, there's going to be a lot of Tea Partiers here" or "there's like maybe some people that have been to the previous protests," said Myles. It was explained to me that CIW staff members still makes the decisions about what s/he is going to say, but by having "an adequate context for their presentation," a CIW staff member gets to "know the lay of the land a little better and they can tailor their message how they wish," concluded Myles.

So even before a presentation begins, allied SMO staff members are engaging in bridge work. First, they bridge from the CIW to a prospective ally group by initiating contact and scheduling presentations. Second, allied staff members bridge from the prospective ally group back to the CIW by providing the necessary context in order for a CIW staff member to give a presentation that resonates with a particular group. But the bridging done by allied SMO staff does not stop there. Allied staff members interpret and co-present during each CIW presentation.

6.3.2   Language as an opportunity for bridging

CIW presentations are often given to English speaking groups. Although there are some CIW staff members who are able to present in English, the presentations are given in Spanish with English interpretation. Of the 29 presentations[126] I have observed, I have never witnessed an all-English presentation. Anna told me that they do happen on occasion, just not often. Meghan explained to me:

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[126] Before I began my research I observed 7 presentations. In the research itself, I observed 22 presentations.

Even though much of the staff speak English, they feel more comfortable—I mean, it would just be like you or I going to like Mexico or something and when given the opportunity to either give a presentation in English with translation or give a presentation in Spanish, we're probably going to do the presentation in English. Even though we can express ourselves in Spanish, it comes out better and you can be more eloquent and really get your point across if you're speaking in your own language.

Just as there are some CIW staff members who could present in English, but express themselves more eloquently in Spanish, all of the allied SMO staff members could easily recite the presentation word for word in English in the absence of a CIW staff member. However, this almost never happens. When I asked Myles why he doesn't give the presentations himself and instead, interprets from Spanish to English for a CIW staff member, he said, "it doesn't make any sense (*laugh*) for somebody who's not from the community in Immokalee to be the spokesperson when there's another option, when it's possible for someone in the CIW to do it." Meghan also talked about the reasoning behind the bilingual presentation. She said:

It's one thing for me to go up there and say conditions are bad for farmworkers or conditions in the fields are bad, housing sucks, and it's another thing for somebody who has worked in the fields, who is a farmworker to be like, I work in the fields, I work in these conditions, I live in this kind of housing, it's bad.

She continued to tell me that she is not the one standing up in front of people trying to convince them about farmworker wages and working conditions. Although she lived in Immokalee for several years and witnessed the conditions, she is not a farmworker. Despite her intimate knowledge of the farmworker situation in Immokalee, she doesn't pretend that she is in a position to speak on behalf of Immokalee farmworkers. She said, "I'm not out there saying this, they are."

Anna, a former Interfaith Action staff member, told me that ninety-nine percent of the time, CIW staff members are the ones who give the presentation. She explained, "the farmworkers are the ones who started this, who are the ones who really are leading this, and their

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voice is the most important." Allies and the allied SMOs within the Fair Food Movement take their lead from Immokalee farmworkers who live the reality of farm labor on a day-to-day basis as Myles', Meghan's, and Anna's statements illustrate. Thus, CIW staff members are the ones who first and foremost deliver the message to consumers who may become allies while allied staff members consecutively interpret for the CIW member from Spanish to English. None of the presentations I have observed follow anything other than this standard bilingual format.

Nepstad and Smith (1999), in their study of the U.S. Central America Peace Movement, found that "personal encounters brought a distant, remote conflict close to home by putting a face, a name, and a personal story to these [Guatemalan and Salvadoran] wars" (163-164). Similarly, by having an Immokalee farmworker tell his or her story, the audience hears first-hand experiences, which not only puts a face and a personal story on farm labor, but also denotes an expert. It's not someone trying to convince an audience of a reality that s/he hasn't experienced. These "exemplars", which Polletta (2006) calls "stories, examples, and firsthand accounts that describe an issue from the perspective of an individual", can persuade audiences to "modify their own opinions in line with those of exemplars" (136). While some audience members may find the farmworker stories difficult to hear, they are less likely to challenge them even though they may conflict with their perceptions of what does and does not occur or exist in the United States.

But the use of Spanish as opposed to English during CIW presentations also speaks to dynamics of power. Broadly speaking, when one language is abandoned in order to make space for another, it "is almost always indicative of a shift in power relations" (Wright 2007:204). But Doerr (2012), in her study of multilingual European Social Forum meetings, found that simultaneous translation in multilingual meetings encouraged inclusive deliberation and "that homogeneity was an obstacle to democratic deliberation in national and transnational settings"

(380-381). The choice to use Spanish during CIW presentations within the United States where English dominates, especially when other options are available, resonates with Doerr's (2012) findings of inclusivity and also points to the agency of the CIW members. The use and maintenance of a language *other than* the dominant English by the CIW, whether native speakers or not of English, appears to distinguish the SMO from non-farmworkers. Language creates a boundary that must be bridged in order for the audience to receive the CIW's message. However, given the wide range of individuals and groups who come to participate in the Fair Food Movement, a language boundary is not an obstacle, but an opportunity.

For example, Sam, a longtime faith and food justice ally who lives in Louisville, Kentucky, told me of a specific instance in which the use of Spanish during a CIW presentation was a unique opportunity for the movement. Because Louisville is the home of Yum! Brand Headquarters, the parent company of Taco Bell, CIW members, allied SMO staff, and longtime allies, did a lot of organizing on the ground in Louisville. Sam explained to me that the Catholic schools in the area gave the CIW permission to give presentations to students in all of the Spanish classes. Sam said, "and some of the students in there were children of executives of Yum! Brands." So after these students went home to tell their parents about the CIW presentation they heard in school, the parents who were Yum! executives "wanted to come in and have a refutation, you know, someone come and refute and give their perspective." However, this request was denied. The reason that a representative from Yum! Brands was not permitted to come into the Louisville Catholic schools to refute the CIW was because, as Sam explained to me, "they didn't have anyone who could speak Spanish, because it was a Spanish class". While this is a unique example of how a language boundary is an opportunity, there are several other ways in which using Spanish (as opposed to English) as the dominant language

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during CIW presentations has a positive impact on the Fair Food Movement and works to facilitate a shift in power dynamics.

6.3.3 Interpretation

In a discussion of bridges between working-class labor groups and middle-class environmental and peace groups, Rose (2000) states that bridges "learned to be bilingual, capable of translating between different classes and movements" (167). Rose is not referring to distinct languages. Instead, he is referring to bridges possessing an "intimate understanding of both working- and middle-class cultures and politics" (167). In the Fair Food Movement and specifically, the CIW presentation, allied SMO staff members are literally navigating two distinct languages in addition to bridging differences in culture and politics.

Cara said to me that her role as an Interfaith Action staff member is to be "the vehicle that's used so that the message makes it to the ally." Her statement is best illustrated by the bilingual presentations. Allied staff members are literally making the CIW staff member's message accessible because s/he is interpreting it from one language (Spanish) to another (English). A presentation almost always begins with the CIW staff member introducing him/herself in Spanish. An allied SMO staff member immediately interprets the introduction from Spanish to English and proceeds 1) to make his or her own introduction, which includes the allied SMO s/he represents and 2) to tell the group that s/he will be interpreting for the CIW staff member. From there, the presentation continues in the same bilingual fashion. Although the CIW member explains the information first, the allied SMO staff member facilitates this message via an interpretation. Myles clarified for me that some CIW and allied staff members are emphatic about using the word "interpret" as opposed to "translate," since interpret "implies more that it's

somewhat subjective."[127] This subjectivity is evident in *how* an allied staff member interprets from Spanish to English. Similar to providing CIW staff members with a context before each presentation, the allied staff member interprets through the lens of this same context.

Because CIW presentations are given to a wide range of groups, allied SMO staff members must tailor their interpretation "into the language and framework of their peers" (Rose 2000:177). I asked Myles if he interprets differently when presenting to different constituencies, such as a group of students versus a congregation. He explained to me that he does do this. For example, he said that while students might like to hear that the CIW is "demanding," people of faith often respond better when they hear that the CIW is "calling for" corporations to join the Fair Food Program. James, a former SFA staff member, told me that he definitely chooses different words depending upon the audience. He said, "You got to make sure that things come out like a certain way. And it's not really that you're like changing what the person is saying, but you're just kind of interpreting it in a different way so that it resonates better with the audience that's listening to the presentation." He said that sometimes this has to do with age or level of education. For example, SFA co-presents with CIW staff members to elementary school children as well as college students. James told me, "You wouldn't use the same terms with like five-years-olds that you use with a college class." He gave me the example of the word "crew leader." He said that many people, even those who are not children, do not know what that word means. So, the first time he interprets that word, he interprets it as "the crew leader or the boss or the supervisor." So James adds the words "boss" and "supervisor" in order to clarify what the CIW staff member means when s/he refers to a "crew leader."

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[127] The literature on translation studies uses "translation" to indicate written communication and "interpretation" to indicate oral communication (Nicholson 1995).

Although the main purpose of interpretation is to facilitate the CIW's message across language barriers, it also has latent functions for audience members. First, even in a primarily English-speaking audience, there are often people who at least have a working knowledge of Spanish. While someone may be unable to speak Spanish functionally or fluently, they often may understand, at least in part, what the CIW staff member is saying in Spanish. Even without understanding Spanish words and grammar, an audience member will likely be able to pick up on gestures and feelings and be emotionally moved, thereby establishing a sense of a human connection (Eyerman 2006). Second, given that there is so much information being presented, bilingual audience members have the opportunity to hear the information twice, first in Spanish and then in English. But at other times, whether or not someone is bilingual, the presentation structure provides audience members with a "break." Cara called this "a real gift in the presentations." She explained to me that audience members "can choose which language to listen to [and] it gives people a break to actually process the information because it's really heavy." For example, audience members might find it to be emotionally overwhelming to hear about prosecuted slavery cases. Therefore, having the opportunity to "tune out" when one language is being spoken may give an audience member the processing time that s/he needs.

6.3.4 Co-presenting

While the emphasis of the CIW presentation is to provide the audience with farmworker stories and the history of the Campaign for Fair Food in the hopes of recruiting them to participate, the presentation structure visually demonstrates that allies in the movement are not passive bystanders. Allied staff members not only do interpretation, but they also explain to the audience what it means to be an ally and field questions from the audience with the CIW staff member at

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the conclusion of each presentation. So although CIW staff members are leading presentations, they co-present with allied SMO staff members, who are both a visual and audible bridge between the CIW and consumers (their prospective allies).

The structure of the Fair Food Movement's bilingual presentation allows for both the CIW staff member *and* the allied staff member to explain the issues and actions (Rose 2000). Having the CIW and allied staff give a bilingual presentation together models the very process of bridging for those in attendance. The audience sees bridging happening in the connection of the two presenters across language and potentially other barriers such as ethnicity, gender, and class. For example, allied staff members sometimes explain issues when the demands of the campaign take their toll on CIW staff members, illustrating a more functional purpose of the bilingual presentations. Lena, a former Just Harvest USA staff member, gave me an example of when an allied staff member might step in to make sure the correct information is being explained to the audience. She said,

> Sometimes you're traveling—you had to catch a red-eye and you're rushing to get to this presentation at 9 a.m. and maybe the worker who came stayed up really late with their baby or whatever and they hardly slept and they get a number wrong. Well, those are all numbers that you've memorized from doing so many presentations that in that case, you wouldn't translate the wrong number…and if it's a bilingual crowd maybe I'll get a side comment [laugh] afterward about it.

Another example similar to this occurred during the course of my fieldwork when I accompanied a CIW staff member and Meghan, a former SFA staff member, to five presentations that had been scheduled within twelve hours. By the fourth presentation, although they both maintained an admirable level of energy for each presentation, Meghan, at one point, filled in information that the CIW staff member left out. Since the CIW staff member also understands English, he gave her a subtle smile and nod, as if to say, 'Ah, yes. Thanks!' and proceeded to elaborate on the section he had omitted. Similarly, allied staff members may also suffer from fatigue. I've

observed on a few occasions when a CIW member will request of an allied staff member, in Spanish, that a Spanish to English interpretation be corrected. These examples serve to illustrate that the CIW staff member and the allied staff member are truly co-presenters and giving the audience an opportunity to see bridging in action. But this style also speaks to a power dynamic. The CIW member speaks first and has his or her words interpreted by an allied SMO staff member. Therefore, the presentation also models how allies take their lead from farmworkers and respect the analysis and decisions that stem from their experiences of working in the fields.

Although the CIW member explains the details of CIW and farm labor history as well as the current status of the Campaign for Fair Food, the allied staff member provides the audience with information on how to become a CIW ally. As I have observed and as Lena told me, "When we get to the end of the presentation and people want to know how to get involved, well that's on us to do as allies." It is at this point that the presentation switches, if presenting to an English speaking audience, from bilingual to monolingual. It is also the first time during the presentation that audience members become aware of the allied SMOs of which they can choose to be a part. The allied staff member usually begins by reintroducing him/herself and stating that s/he is part of a national network that 'works *with* the CIW on the Campaign for Fair Food.' The allied staff member is careful to emphasize that 1) consumers can choose to become a member of one of the allied SMOs, but not the CIW and 2) consumers who become allies are involved because they see it as a struggle that affects everyone within the food system. Then, the allied staff member gives the audience concrete ways in which they can participate in the Fair Food Movement. Lena explained, "how we [as allied staff members] add to the presentation is to give people really concrete, easy-to-understand ways to plug into the campaign, to participate in some way, that's going to help push those [the CIW's] demands to be heard." Anna told me that when she is co-

presenting to people of faith, she lets people know that "some people participate through sending letters and sending postcards. Some people will come and march. Some congregations will host the farmworkers [during a march] to sleep on the floor. Some will send donations." The allied staff member makes it clear that there are many ways to contribute to the movement. Anna told me, "however it is that people are called to participate, there is a space for that and it's important to the movement and it helps it to grow." Allied staff members try to convey this to each presentation audience.

If time permits, the presentation concludes with a question and answer session and switches back to a bilingual presentation. Questions range from asking whether or not the CIW has thought about taking legal action instead of direct action to asking if it would make a difference to request no tomatoes on a fast-food sandwich. No matter the question, the co-presenters affirm the audience member's goodwill, enthusiasm, and concern while simultaneously keeping the conversation centered on what farmworkers have decided is the best strategy to address the issues. Cara said to me, "when you have someone ask questions, you want to build off of their enthusiasm, right, because these are our future allies. We don't want to just shoot them down and make them feel stupid or inferior because they're going to have a part in the movement too." Even questions of doubt regarding the Fair Food Movement's strategy are welcomed. Anna told me that one of the most common questions is, "Well why don't you guys just go on strike?" She said a question like this is important because it opens up a dialogue for the CIW staff member to explain, "Well, we did and this is what happened when we went on strike." She said that through the tough questions that audience members sometimes ask give the co-presenters an opportunity to convey that the structure of the Campaign for Fair Food is not "just something we're randomly trying, but this is something that has been thought through and

that is incredibly strategic and that a lot of other scenarios have been thought through and a lot of them have been tried." Anna continued to tell me that she prefers for people to ask questions and in particular, questions of doubt, because "when you're giving a presentation…you have no idea what people are thinking." From Anna's perspective, which was echoed in my other interviews with allied staff members, "being able to have that discussion with people and to address whatever questions they have is a really important part of the process." From my observations, audience members have more questions than time permits, but even in cases where they have to end the presentation in the midst of a vibrant question/answer session, co-presenters often talk with individual audience members afterwards.

As stated earlier, the presentation's question and answer portion is bilingual. Someone from the audience will ask a question, which the allied staff member interprets from English to Spanish for the CIW staff member. Then, the CIW staff member responds in Spanish, which is subsequently interpreted from Spanish to English for the audience. However, there are many times when a person from the audience asks a question in English and the CIW immediately starts responding in Spanish and occasionally, will respond in English. Lena told me that an immediate response (either in Spanish or English) by a CIW staff member to an audience question asked in English without interpretation happens often. She said, "There are a lot of members who also speak English and will just start to answer the question on their own." This is usually accompanied by some murmuring in the crowd. For example, during a presentation to students, a CIW staff member who speaks nearly flawless English responded to a question in English without the interpretation. A student sitting next to me gasped and said to me, "He speaks English!" as if she had been tricked. This type of reaction is usually tempered when a CIW staff member asks an allied staff member to interpret a word to which s/he can't find the

English equivalent. But that's not to say that audience members do not completely understand why someone would prefer to speak in his or her own language. Micah, a university faculty member who facilitates student trips to Immokalee told me, referencing the student population at his university, "I think with the students that are bilingual it's not weird because they do that all the time and they know like to speak Spanish and be able to speak their own language. So I think for them because they wouldn't prefer to speak English necessarily, like lots of them." However, some people, according to Myles, say things such as "Well maybe these people should learn English." Myles explained, "the CIW speaker understands enough English to know like when that's being said. And I usually take my cues from them, like if they want to respond directly to what was said." If a CIW member does respond, even if it is in Spanish, to a question asked in English without interpretation, no matter what the answer is, it is a way of indicating to the audience member that s/he, at the very least, understands what is being stated. This can also temper the tensions that may arise surrounding the use of two languages during a presentation.

The question and answer session is where the collaborative effort between CIW members and its allies are best illustrated. It provides the CIW staff member and the allied staff member to build on each other's knowledge and experiences and the bilingual nature of the presentation presents additional opportunities to do so. For example, Cara explained to me,

> Oftentimes what will happen is someone may ask me a question in English, then I have to interpret it to my coalition member, right? The coalition member then hears it [first in English and then in Spanish], has a second to respond, but I've already had double time to think about it. So then the CIW staff member is going to give me their answer. So that gives me more meat. And so I have that and I could say, Okay so [s/he] says this, this, this and this. And also as an ally I might also add this, this, and this. I've had extra time to think about it.

Cara's description emphasizes the collaborative nature of the presentations. Although she is interpreting a question from English to Spanish, she is also contemplating the question and

thinking about how she can add to the CIW staff member's answer. The time that it takes to interpret two languages allows both presenters to construct thoughtful and complete answers. Moreover, by giving an answer to a question *as an ally*, Cara is not only bridging from the CIW perspective to future allies, but she is also illustrating her active role within the movement. She is both bridging farmworkers with people of faith, but at the same time, she is providing the audience of future allies with a model of what it means to be an ally in the Fair Food Movement. As Lena stated, the presentation's bilingual structure "really demonstrates like visually the idea that although we're being led by the CIW, we're definitely doing just as much work around the campaign. And I think that it's really good for people to see that and to see that visually happening through these presentations." While the CIW is the focus of the presentation, both parties work together to ensure a collaborative and thorough presentation to potential allies. It also shows how the movement, like the presentation, is dependent upon this shared effort. Illustration 6.2 is a visual representation of a CIW presentation and specifically, the co-facilitation by both a CIW staff member and an allied SMO staff member.

Figure 13. CIW and allied staff members giving a CIW presentation on a college campus[128]

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[128] Student Farmworker Alliance. "Rally at Aramark & Fair Food Solidarity Tour: December 7-11, 2009." Retrieved June 11, 2013 (http://sfalliance.org/FSCfairfoodtour.html).

6.4 SCALE SHIFT TO AND FROM DECENTRALIZED COMMUNITIES

An overarching theme during CIW presentations is *why* allies get involved. Audience members are encouraged to become allies because they have a stake in the movement. Both during presentations and in day-to-day coordination of the allied SMOs, allied staff members work to define a common purpose among Immokalee farmworkers and consumers (Rose 2000). However, that common purpose is not defined by movement participants (allies and farmworkers) as "helping" Immokalee farmworkers earn higher wages and better working conditions. CIW members do not ask for help, pity, or charity. Instead, they ask allies and potential allies to work *with* them to address problems in the collective food system that affect all of society and not just Immokalee farmworkers. The common purpose varies. When speaking to people of faith, the common purpose may be defined as a violation of morals or faith. When speaking to a student group, the common purpose may revolve around corporate advertising or anti-globalization. Even when speaking to groups that might not appear to share commonalities with Immokalee farmworkers, such as members of the Republican Party, strategy (targeting corporations) might be a resonating factor. Those who become allies of the CIW likely possess a broad ideology and the CIW brings them a tangible goal to work towards in accord with those ideologies, but the two must be bridged in some way. Movement bridges work to frame existing, abstract ideologies into the CIW's three concrete demands of 1) increasing a farmworker's wage by a penny more per pound of tomatoes picked, 2) joining the CIW and tomato industry representatives in drafting a Code of Conduct, and 3) becoming part of a three-part dialogue with the CIW and tomato suppliers to discuss solutions to problems faced by Immokalee farmworkers. The use of popular education and consciousness-raising is the main vehicle by which broad ideologies and concrete goals are bridged.

6.4.1 Bridging by way of popular education

In order to tap into the broad ideologies that a potential ally may possess, neither activists nor scholars can ignore emotions. Kim (2002), in his study of written visitor testimonials to the grave of Park Sung Hee, the third president of South Korea who seized power via a military coup d'état and was assassinated on October 26, 1979, found that "the emotions the graveside visitors experienced affected the likelihood of making a commitment to the subsequent movement activism" (160). Specifically, he found that the emotions of shame, anger, and love of the country positively influenced movement activism. By contrast, he found that emotions "such as grief, sorrow, hope, or guilt do not seem to induce or invigorate activism" (2002:172). For the CIW and their allied SMOs, encouraging consumers to move beyond the emotions of grief, sorrow, and guilt *for* Immokalee farmworkers is strategic for a movement in need of a strong allied base to work *with* them. Fostering a sense of personal or collective outrage may provide a more sustainable base of activists. But how is this accomplished? Reger (2004) discusses how emotions are transformed. Specifically, she looks at emotion transformation through the organizational processes of the New York City chapter of the National Organization for Women (NYC NOW). She analyzes "how certain emotions, such as anger, alienation, hopelessness and frustration are redefined within an organizational context" (204). She finds that through consciousness-raising, personal emotions are transformed "into a collectively defined sense of injustice" (204) in part by providing broader structural explanations. Like Kim (2002), she finds that these transformed emotions serve the purpose of recruiting new members and promoting activism.

The history of popular education (education for critical consciousness) has roots in the period prior to the French Revolution, 19th century Britain, and early 20th century Italy (Neuburg

1971; Mayo 1999; Forgacs 2000). However, popular education is most frequently associated with Paolo Freire and his influential work, *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970). Loosely defined, popular education is when "the 'oppressed' themselves [become] the 'subjects' of their own liberation" (Kane 2001:12) through a collective dialogical process of analysis and action. This process, known as consciousness-raising (*conscientização*), leads to the delegitimization of the status quo and systems of inequality. It reinforces "ideas of egalitarianism and collective action," thereby fostering a commitment "to action [and] the promotion of justice" (Levine 1988:250). While Freire posits himself as an educator, a goal of popular education is "to widen participation to make people less dependent on leaders" (Kane 2001:12), which is accomplished through reciprocal learning whereby everyone is both educator and educatee (Mayo 1999).

Popular education begins by reflecting upon concrete experiences and perspectives, taking action, and further reflecting upon these new experiences (praxis). The CIW arrived at its current movement strategy and demands by way of popular education, the dominating structure of the weekly farmworker meetings held each Wednesday night in the CIW Community Center. Its membership and leadership base is increased by way of collective consciousness-raising and by animating the farmworker community to collectively take action. Similarly, consumers who listen to a CIW presentation or take part in a movement forum also participate in popular education and consciousness-raising. Allied staff members assist in transforming emotions (if need be) in order to bridge broad ideologies with the Fair Food Movement's concrete goals. This occurs through brief yet effective consciousness-raising sessions. I discuss this briefly in chapter four, but want to emphasize this important step of bridging ideologies and goals in order to facilitate upward scale shift.

Some recipients of the CIW's message experience the personal emotions of pity and heartache and therefore, sincerely want to become involved to "help" farmworkers. For example, after a CIW presentation to approximately 15 faith allies in the CIW Community Center, four people were crying after hearing about crowded living conditions, enslaved farmworkers, and wages so low that workers could not purchase the produce that they harvested for others. But during the 45-minute presentation, Carlos, who talked about the plight of Immokalee farmworkers from his experience, was not visibly upset. Morgan, a former allied staff member, explained that this is because CIW members would say to audience members who are crying,

> [W]e're not asking for you to feel sorry for us and to throw money at us or to just to have your hearts just break. It's more like your heart should break for everyone and for the whole system and what it's doing, how we're all complicit and how much money these corporations are sort of raking in.

Whereas in the instance described above, Carlos neither said anything to the people who were crying nor visually acknowledged it, I have witnessed CIW members say to audience members that 'We are not asking for your pity' or 'We don't want you to leave here feeling badly about the poor farmworkers.' I have frequently heard allied SMO staff say something similar to student, faith, and food justice audiences. The consciousness-raising that occurs during presentations and movement forums works to move consumers from the potential emotions of pity and sympathy (if they experience them) to other emotions, such as outrage over a moral violation or a collective injustice, which may be connected to their own personal experiences and ideologies already in place.

This is not to ignore the fact that there are allies who participate because of their feelings of sympathy and pity. But the CIW seeks ally relationships that are instead, based on self- or collective-interest. Both CIW staff and allied SMO staff members use consciousness-raising sessions as a way to move allies from the emotions of pity and sympathy to the emotions of

collective injustice and/or moral outrage. If these emotions are transformed, the concrete goals of the Campaign for Fair Food provide allies a way to address their emotions and corresponding ideologies, while simultaneously providing the CIW with a sustainable allied base.

For example, Meghan, in a presentation to students visiting Immokalee during Spring Break, asked the question, "Why do you think that young people should care about farmworkers and what's going on in Immokalee?" There were a variety of answers such as, 'If we care now, then we'll pass it onto our kids later' or 'This [food] system will eventually affect us too.' After four or five different answers from the audience, Meghan took the group through a "brand busting" session in which she drew different logos on a piece of paper, such as Nike and McDonald's, and asked students to recite the brand slogan and/or jingle, which all of them did (and always do) with great enthusiasm. She then explained how corporate spending and advertising hold the assumption that if corporations spend enough money and create a strong enough image, then students, 'won't stop to think about what's behind that image or where it comes from.' Her emphasis was to encourage participation in the Campaign for Fair Food, but not to *help* farmworkers. Instead, she explains that SFA exists because corporations are 'trying to control our minds' and 'we're [students] telling them that that's not true.'

Just as the CIW holds Wednesday night meetings in Immokalee to develop a critical consciousness among farmworkers, the same approach is taken with consumers who want to become allies. Greg told me about ally development from a strategic perspective:

> It was our strategic sense that a relationship based on shared self-interest was ultimately a stronger, more sustainable relationship than one based on sympathy. And so, while we welcome all allies who would join us in fighting for a fairer food industry, we have found that the deepest connections are forged when new allies come to the campaign through their own deeply-held beliefs.

But as I have tried to emphasize in this section, popular education and consciousness-raising urges consumers who want to become allies to participate because of their deeply-held beliefs. Movement bridges facilitate discussions that help allies understand what might be at stake for them (and not just farmworkers) in the Fair Food Movement as well as how to understand and potentially redefine or transform their emotions. While consumer pressure from students, people of faith, and food justice advocates undoubtedly aids Immokalee farmworkers in their wins within the fast-food, grocery and food service industries, the CIW has managed to garner consumer support without unwanted ally infringement, which can often be paternalistic (Friedman 2009). One explanation may be the type of ally that the CIW attracts. However, I argue that a more likely explanation is the Fair Food Movement's commitment to popular education, which has led to the development of allies' own critical consciousness.

6.4.2 Bridging broad ideologies with concrete goals

Although collective injustice and hope for liberation, as opposed to pity and charity, is the emphasis to consumers by the CIW and by those who serve as bridges between farmworkers and allies, I was curious as to whether or not the notion of collective liberation was actually a motivating factor for participation. Many of those I spoke with had been CIW allies for several years. I wondered why non-farmworkers continued not only to participate but also to dedicate an extraordinary amount of time and energy to the Campaign for Fair Food year after year.

During each interview, I asked, "What has motivated you to stay involved?" The answer to this question provides some insight into how allies understand their place within the larger movement, despite the fact that its focus and tangible gains are on farm labor. Morgan answered my question with the following response:

The farmworker piece was just like a way for me to get involved in community and work that was very meaningful to me that had nothing to do with earning money. It's about integrity and human rights and the farmworkers speaking up, and knowing that you can make change in your life…Tangibly, yeah, like right, workers today are being held against their will and they're getting sick from pesticide stuff and they're not getting paid much at all. They're getting cheated of their wages. So it's a very immediate, real, tangible thing, but it's like a gateway into broader conversations and broader issues of social justice and global justice.

Through her participation, which has remained steady for almost two decades, Morgan was able to become concretely involved in the abstract principle of social justice. The tangible action of working for improved wages and working conditions for Immokalee farmworkers provides her a way of living her belief system in a meaningful way. While the ideology of "social justice" is abstract, planning the logistics for a march to the corporate headquarters of a fast-food restaurant to demand higher wages and a code of conduct for Immokalee farmworkers is a way for her to realize her commitment to social justice, not just for farmworkers, but for herself.

Natasha, another former allied staff member and long time CIW ally, discussed her motivation in a similar way. She explained to me,

I think a lot of it is feeling like I'm a part of, to use the cliché, 'part of something bigger.' But it's something tangible that's making such tremendous gains. Like I think one of the things that got to me when I was 17 and reading more about the quasi-governmental power of large corporations, is how omnipotent and just how like beyond belief their control of social structures and the function of countries is…and sort of see something like, or just the symbolism of like, lowest paid workers, but working side by side with like people of faith and like this very broad coalition, like youth, students, labor, taking on the giants. I mean, essentially the fact that they are messing with them, I think is so cool. I think that's what gets to me.

Natasha also talked to me about the difficulties she had when she was old enough to comprehend, at the age of 17, her father's torture under a Latin American dictator and the outside corporate and political involvement that contributed to upholding this dictatorship. She had searched for a way to channel this new flood of information and understanding and that the CIW campaigns gave her, and continue to give her, a way to do just that. Like Morgan, participation

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in the Fair Food Movement is a concrete way for Natasha to express the abstract ideas of corporate power and omnipotence. Natasha is able to achieve meaningful benefits from being able to contribute to a movement that targets corporate exploitation, an injustice she feels so passionately about addressing.

Similarly, Jim, a small farmer who is a part of Just Harvest USA, talked to me about why, from his perspective, the CIW and small farmers need to work together. He said, "We as family farmers are in the same position as farmworkers. You know, all the same market forces are pushing on the family farmer to reduce their income, to reduce their voice, and eventually, to reduce their numbers." Jim's participation in the Fair Food Movement stems from his commitment to preserving the family farm and recognizing that the market affects others beyond his personal situation or own community. While talking about "market forces" may seem unwieldy, bridging the abstract notion of the neoliberal marketplace with the CIW's concrete demands is yet another illustration of how allied participation is often less motivated by pity and sympathy and more motivated by bridging broad ideologies with concrete goals.

Anna, a former Interfaith Action staff member, talked to me about how people of faith find their place within the Fair Food Movement. She said, as a person of faith, "The way I think about it is like this is our food system…and I want that food system that I'm a part of to be something that's just and treats people fairly." As a Roman Catholic, she talked to me about dignity and respect. Catholic Social Teaching, a topic that Anna would speak about to Catholic student groups visiting Immokalee during Spring Break, believes that everyone has an inherent dignity and is connected to one another. Therefore, each individual deserves respect. She explained, "We're [people of faith] getting involved to partner with them [Immokalee farmworkers] and to really work together because together we can shape our food system to be

one that treats all the people at all stages of it with dignity and respect." In addition to talking about the larger themes of dignity and respect, Anna also spoke about the significance of food and nourishment within the faith community. She said, "Food is sacred. It nourishes us. It is a gift from God." If food is a gift from God and those who are harvesting the food are suffering human rights violations, such as the nine slavery operations that have been uncovered since 1997, then participation in the Fair Food Movement is less about pity and charity and more about being part of a larger food system that is violating one's faith tradition and beliefs.

Prior to our interview, Todd, a long time student ally, produced a video shortly after his first visit to Immokalee. As the camera pans the dilapidated trailers in which up to 15 people live yet collectively pay rent equivalent to a one-bedroom apartment on Manhattan's Upper West Side, he states, "This doesn't benefit me either." During my interview with him, I asked him to elaborate on his film and specifically, his concluding remarks. He said,

> Being in Immokalee and just seeing how fucked up everything is--there is no way to go away leaving feeling like it's not the embodiment of everything wrong with our agricultural system, our food source and there's no way that you could go away feeling like this massive exploitation is somehow to the benefit of anybody but a small number of people directly profiting from it.

While allies like Morgan and Natasha discuss the connection between their previously held broader ideologies that are realized through the concrete demands of the CIW's Campaign for Fair Food, Todd talks about the ways he feels he *does not* benefit from those who profit from the low wages and poor working conditions of Immokalee farmworkers. He continued by saying,

> …it all sunk in in a very clear way where not only does the system that exploits farmworkers not benefit me in any authentic way, but I think the flip side that really sunk in was that the struggle that farmworkers created themselves, that really is creating a sense of dignity for them in the sense of power and really providing the clearest path that I've certainly seen or know about for kind of flipping the power relations within corporate agriculture is also doing the same impacting for all of us who are allies. It's also providing a deep sense of a dignified life for me and a clear path to liberation.

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Todd continued to talk to me about how corporations rely on him, as a consumer, to fuel corporate profits, but that he does not receive anything, in his opinion, from this relationship. To be an ally of the CIW and to participate in CIW campaigns gives *him* a sense of dignity just as Fair Food Agreements provide farmworkers with a sense of dignity. By recognizing that he does not tangibly benefit from farmworker exploitation, Todd is able to acquire dignity by resisting a relationship with corporations and instead, forging relationships with Immokalee farmworkers and the thousands of participants in the Fair Food Movement.

6.4.3   The other side of the bridge: allies take the Fair Food Movement home

When new allies leave Immokalee or a movement forum and return to their own personal and geographic communities, many choose to start participating in the Fair Food Movement or, for existing allies, are energized to enhance their level of participation. It is likely that new allies signed up to receive messages from an allied SMO listserve and are receiving regular communications about the Campaign for Fair Food and upcoming actions.[129] How allies choose to participate is up to them. However, the first stage often includes establishing or strengthening ties within their own communities. It is at this point in the scale shift process where we see McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly's (2001) mechanisms of brokerage and diffusion working in tandem. When an ally is in his or her community, it is likely that s/he has maintained at least some contact with the allied SMO or the allied SMO staff who served as a bridge between the CIW and him or her, even if that is simply information coming over the listserve or gleaned from one of the SMO websites. Therefore, diffusion occurs from Immokalee to an ally and

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[129] It is common for an allied SMO to pass a clipboard through the CIW presentation audience with a sign-up sheet to record names, email addresses, and organizational/school/church affiliations for listserve communication.

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consequently, his or her community, which I discuss extensively in chapter four. But in order for scale shift to continue to move beyond the person or people who engage with the bridges in Immokalee (allied SMO staff), new and existing allies must also serve as bridges themselves and engage in brokerage (forming new ties) and diffusion (communicating with existing ties). As Micah, the director for the Center of Justice and Peace at a Catholic University deeply involved in the Fair Food Movement, said to me at the beginning of our interview, "I think that's a big educational piece for people of what it means to be an ally, that it doesn't mean that you get involved with the organizing of farmworkers, but you take responsibility for your own community." This next section discusses some of the ways in which bridging and scale shift occur beyond Immokalee. While there are common mechanisms involved in the scale shift of the Fair Food Movement, the ways in which it occurs varies. The next two sections provide empirical examples of how scale shift transpires.

6.4.3.1 Bringing the Fair Food Movement to campus

Since 2006, Micah has been taking students to Immokalee during Spring break as part of a semester long course focused on Catholic Social Teaching. I asked Micah how he plans the class and whether or not he collaborates with those in Immokalee (CIW or allied SMO staff). He explained to me that since he has been involved with the movement for so long, that he "always sort of knows what's going on [with the movement] just from hanging out with them and talking to them [CIW and allied SMO staff]". But this is not to say that there is no contact. He said, "It's more of an informal thing like, 'Oh this is what's going on [with a specific campaign]. Did you see that article in the *Herald*?' On yeah, let's make sure we put that in the class.'" But he said, "In terms of the trip [to Immokalee] totally we talk to them all about the trip from the very beginning." He explained how "They'll sort of assign someone to us." What he means is that

either an SFA or Interfaith Action staff member (since he is affiliated with a Catholic University) will be the contact person for the group who assists Micah with all of the trip logistics, such as planning when the CIW presentation and walking tour will be as well as any other events that may be happening while the students are in town. For example, in 2009, his students attended a food justice delegation panel and press conference in the CIW Community Center that occurred the week they were in Immokalee. Rarely does Micah talk about the trip logistics with someone from the CIW. Instead, allied staff members act as a bridge between the students and the CIW, despite Micah's longtime friendships with CIW staff members and his fluency in Spanish.

I discussed the Spring Break trips and other movement forums in detail in chapter five, but what happens, specifically, after these experiences when new and/or energized allies return to their own communities? What does the process of scale shift look like? Micah said that upon return, there are always a few students who want to do fundraising for charitable giving to either the CIW or to one of the social service agencies in town. In my own experience of facilitating university Spring Break trips to Immokalee both prior to and during my research, a few students each year (out of a group of approximately fifteen) are either are unable to spare the time to participate or just aren't interested in doing so. However, most students, as Micah explained, "get" the CIW message of consciousness-raising and organizing in their own community as a way to participate in the Fair Food Movement. Specifically, he told me about how students returned from Immokalee in 2010 with a plan to invite and host the CIW's Mobile Modern-Day Slavery Museum[130] on campus. The students in Micah's class not only organized the event, but also organized other classes across campus (over 100 students) to experience the slavery tour. Students made connections with other faculty, which associated courses on campus to the

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[130] Coalition of Immokalee Workers. 2010. "Florida Modern-Day Slavery Museum." Accessed June 18, 2013 (www.ciw-online.org/museum).

Campaign for Fair Food. Students were now learning about it in their classes either via faculty, the slavery museum tour, and/or Micah's students giving classroom presentations across campus. Micah explained to me, "I think [what] students really get out of it [the Spring Break trip to Immokalee], or I hope that they get out of it, is that social change isn't just changing a policy or changing a law but it's changing people's consciousness or changing a culture around understanding where our food comes from."

This process that occurs after students' experiences in Immokalee, including working with bridges in Immokalee to bring the CIW's modern slavery museum to campus and establishing connections with faculty and other students at the university, also put these new student allies into the position of being a bridge. And although there are consumers who hear a CIW presentation and do not get involved, those who choose to become CIW allies facilitate scale shift by becoming a bridge themselves. They bring their experiences of the movement to existing ties (diffusion) and broaden the scope by building new ties (brokerage). I met several students from this university in March 2010 when they were in Immokalee. Six weeks later, I saw some of them, as well as other students from the same university who were not part of Micah's class, at the Farmworker Freedom March from Tampa to Publix Headquarters in Lakeland, Florida. This bridging process not only brought the Fair Food Movement to this university campus, but it also resulted in mobilizing more consumers for large collective actions.

While the students in Micah's class certainly engaged in the bridge work that I have been discussing, it is important to note the significance of Micah's role as a bridge, which is to emphasize that there are several levels of bridges within the Fair Food Movement. Micah started to get involved with the Fair Food Movement when he participated in the Miami Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) demonstrations in 2003, of which the CIW was a part. A year

later, he was working for the Office of Peace and Justice in his local Catholic Archdiocese. His work included doing Catholic adult faith formation around peace and justice issues. Planning two immersion trips of fifty parishioners to Immokalee was part of this adult formation process. Toward the end of 2005, he started doing the same type of work with students at the local Catholic university and each year since, has facilitated an immersion trip to Immokalee as part of the class that he offers. Like many longtime allies who are in Immokalee for a movement forum, Micah struck me as very comfortable in the environment. He jokes around with CIW members (in Spanish), is inquisitive about the progress of the campaign, knows everyone on a first name basis, and genuinely seems to have built good friendships with CIW and allied SMO staff. In fact, when I asked him why he continues to stay involved after all of these years, he said, "Just like if someone in my family was getting hurt, I'd feel that something has to be done about this." He comes into the Fair Food Movement as a person of faith and as an educator, but at the same time, the relationships that he has built with the farmworkers and allied SMO staff in Immokalee has made it personal for him as well.

Although Micah grants students autonomy regarding how they are going to carry out the Campaign for Fair Food on campus, his presence is a crucial bridge. Because of the relationships that he built with CIW and allied staff members as well as his own personal experiences in the movement, he bridges his students to the allied SMO staff in Immokalee who then bridge students to the CIW. So while his students are taking the lead on scaling the movement up from Immokalee to their college campus, I am skeptical as to whether or not this scale shift would occur without someone like Micah also serving as a bridge. When talking about bridges, it is not as simple as allied SMO staff linking allies with the CIW. Allied SMO staff members also rely on longtime allies who can assist in the bridging process in order for scale shift to occur.

6.4.3.2 Bringing the Fair Food Movement to Louisville, Kentucky

Sam is a longtime CIW ally who became committed to the Fair Food Movement when he participated in the 2003 Hunger Strike outside of Taco Bell Headquarters in Irvine, California. He was invited to participate with the CIW members via email and said that he "agreed immediately." In total, approximately seventy-five people, including farmworkers, students, and members of the faith community, went without food and only drank water for ten days. Another seventy farmworkers and allies were on hand to support the hunger strikers, but were not striking themselves. He explained to me that his participation in the Taco Bell Hunger Strike not only energized the movement, but also solidified his dedication to the Campaign for Fair Food as a person of faith and as a food justice advocate. Like Micah, the relationships and ties that Sam built with the fellow hunger strikers (CIW members and allies) enhanced his commitment. He said to me:

> Everyone who participated is almost connected by a blood bond after-for all times. Some of us had not even—had never even eaten together, but the fact that we had gone ten days without eating together, when we see each other now, even years after, it's a special bond that we have with each other.

Unlike the university students in the previous example, Sam built strong ties with CIW farmworkers, allied SMO staff, and other existing allies in the Fair Food Movement, not in Immokalee or at a movement forum, but as a participant in a collective action. When Sam returned home to Louisville, KY, where Yum! Brands Headquarters is located (and the parent company of Taco Bell), he became a significant bridge during the Taco Bell campaign and within the larger movement. Two years after the hunger strike and the subsequent pressure put on Yum! in Louisville, the CIW signed its first Fair Food Agreement with Taco Bell in 2005.

As I discussed earlier, allied SMO staff members customize their interpretation during CIW presentations into a language to which a specific audience can relate (Rose 2000:177). Sam

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and other CIW allies in Louisville incorporated a similar strategy. He said a key strategy he learned from watching the CIW give presentations is "knowing your audience in a way when you do educational events." Sam told me about how they did mass flyering at the Pegasus Parade during Derby Week.[131] In my own experience of flyering as a CIW ally, it does not involve just passing out as many fliers as possible or leaving them on cars. Instead, it is about engaging someone in a conversation about the Campaign for Fair Food and encouraging him or her to get involved based on his or her experiences, be it a student, a person of faith, a food justice advocate, and/or a community member. In my own experience as well as my observations, it often becomes a one-on-one educational event. Sam explained to me that they "had five different flyers that were about the same event but they were designed for different audiences. So we had the flier for the faith groups with language that works with faith groups, and we had the flier for the labor community,[132] which was much tougher, tougher language." So in addition to being a presence at the Pegasus Parade, where Sam said they also came into contact with many different Yum! executives,[133] they also consciously designed fliers that would resonate with particular audiences. Not only does this require an intimate knowledge of the community, such as which groups are likely to be present and the appropriate language to use with each group and print on the flyers, but it also illustrates how CIW allies *other than* allied SMO staff members work to bridge in their own communities to continue upward scale shift. The ways in which allied SMO staff members bridge during a CIW presentation is similar to how allies bridge in their own communities.

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[131] The Kentucky Derby is the longest continuously held horse race in the United States and officially began in 1875. The family-friendly Pegasus Parade is one of the Kentucky Derby Festival's oldest events, which precedes the Kentucky Derby Horse Race and held during "Derby Week".

[132] To see a list of the CIW's labor allies, please see: Alliance for Fair Food. 2013. "Organizational Endorsers." Retrieved December 8, 2013, (http://allianceforfairfood.org/org.html).

[133] Yum! Brands became the corporate sponsor of the Kentucky Derby in 2006.

Sam was involved with the preparation for a few big actions that were held in Louisville. For example, in 2004, there was a large march at the end of February that began at the Presbyterian [USA] headquarters and ended eight miles away at the headquarters of Yum! Brands. SFA, Interfaith Action, and CIW staff members came to Louisville a couple months "ahead of time to set up shop with the teachers' union, their office," said Sam, just as they always do before large actions in headquarter cities, as I discussed in chapter five. But Sam explained to me that he and others local allies were involved in "getting the police permits and negotiating the whole march logistics and then mobilizing as many people as possible here in the church and in the solidarity community here." And, once the two big charter buses of CIW members arrived for the march, churches (generally) hosted and fed the farmworkers as well as the entire mobilization while they were in town and marching. Sam emphasized that having the CIW and the allied SMO staff members come to Louisville prior to the march in order to give presentation after presentation in churches and schools "really builds the groundwork," upon which Sam and new longtime allies could expand. However, Sam's and other allies' local knowledge contributed to the Fair Food Movement being able to carry out a large action in a city that was not Immokalee.

After the march and once the CIW members had returned to Immokalee in order to work in the fields and mobilize other farmworkers, allies like Sam knew who to talk to and where to be in order to keep pressure on Yum! Brands. For example, Sam told me, "In five workdays leading up to the [annual] shareholders' meeting [that CIW members were scheduled to attend], we had a local crew that I helped organize at YUM! Brands every morning and every evening as people came to work and left work." He told me that the goal of their presence "was to create a greater feeling of tension inside." On the first day, Sam was there by himself holding a banner

with a Bible verse reference on it: James 5 Verses 4-5.[134] As Sam told me, "this evidently freaked them out and they called to the head of security to come and then accompany [one person from inside] as he interviewed me on the sidewalk and claimed that he had no idea why I was here." When Sam asked him if anyone inside had looked up the Bible verse on a computer, the man said, according to Sam, "Oh yeah, we looked up the Bible verse." Sam said that "they wanted to know if we were from out of town and we said, 'No, we're from here,' which seemed to upset them even more that these are locals." And while Sam did not go on to tell me how the conversation ended, he explained to me why local CIW allies had chosen this particular tactic of standing outside of Yum! Headquarters with a Bible verse reference on it. He told me that at the time, the CEO of Yum! Brands, David Novak, was doing workshops around the country called *Leading Like Jesus*. Therefore, as Sam said, "we thought a little biblical verse out on the protest line might be appropriate for someone who is claiming this religious mantle." After five days of protesting, "there was no one indifferent as they drove out of the parking lot of Yum! Brands; everyone was either giving us the kind of—the subtle thumbs up, keep up what you're doing, or they were giving us the middle finger." This is yet another example of how CIW allies not only work to raise awareness of the Campaign for Fair Food in their own community, but also have the insights and knowledge necessary to launch innovative tactics locally. Thus, the Fair Food Movement, with the aid of allies like Sam who I label as a bridge between Immokalee and Louisville, continues the trajectory of upward scale shift of the Fair Food Movement.

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[134] Since there are several different interpretations of this verse, I am using the one given to me by Sam: "The voice of the farm laborers who have been cheated out of their wages reaches up to the ear of God, and woe to those of you who have fattened your hearts in a time of slaughter."

6.4.3.3 A summary of the other side of the bridge

The two previous examples attempt to illustrate how upward scale shift of the Fair Food Movement transpires beyond Immokalee. But it is important to note that there is no single template for how this occurs. While Micah's students chose to invite the CIW's Modern Day Slavery Museum to campus and collaborate with faculty, other students who visit Immokalee during Spring Break may choose different ways to expand the movement onto campus and into their own communities. For example, as I discussed in chapter four, students from the University of Notre Dame chose to do a rolling hunger strike in order to persuade the university's administration to cut its contract with Taco Bell. At Duquesne University, students and campus ministry staff collaborated to screen *Harvest of Shame*[135] the week after Thanksgiving during its annual Fair Trade Week. At UT-Austin, students performed street theater on campus. And as I discussed in chapter five, communities that have a heterogeneous allied base have formed Fair Food Committees. But regardless of the chosen strategy or route, the core of upward scale shift by allies consists of making consumers aware of the realities of farm labor in the United States and using conscious-raising to bring their existing and newly established ties into the movement for their own sake. As my discussion of the CIW presentation suggests, the CIW staff member and allied SMO staff model for the audience what it means to be an ally. Therefore, many allies use this popular education model as they work to expand the movement. While allied SMO staff members and allied SMOs are the bridges that connect allies to the CIW, individuals CIW allies become the bridges to the Fair Food Movement in their own communities.

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[135] *Harvest of Shame*, a documentary by journalist Edward R. Murrow, first aired on CBS the day after Thanksgiving in 1960. It brought attention to and exposed the reality of migrant farm labor in the United States. With 2010 being the fifty year anniversary of the documentary, many CIW allies held screenings. This was supported and encouraged by the CIW who help to faciliate this process by compiling post-viewing discussion guide available on the CIW website. Coalition of Immokalee Workers. 2010. "Harvest of Shame 1960-2010: Campaign for Fair Food Discussion Guide." Retrieved June 26, 2013 (www.ciw-online.org/Resources/tools/Hos%20Discussion%20Guide.pdf).

6.4.3.4 Downward scale shift: bringing the movement back to Immokalee

As I observed the upward scale shift of the Fair Food Movement, I wondered how the movement did not lose sight of its original goal, which is to systematically change the agricultural structure in Florida by pressuring corporations to sign Fair Food Agreements. The allied SMO staff and the allies who function as bridges within the decentralized communities, such as Micah and Sam, work to monitor the ways in which the movement is being carried out and communicate this information with established ties both in their communities and with their ties in Immokalee. In addition, a consistent focus on the CIW's three concrete corporate demands keeps the movement rooted in Immokalee: 1) increase a farmworker's wage by a penny more per pound of tomatoes picked; 2) join the CIW and tomato industry representatives in drafting a Code of Conduct; and 3) be part of a three-part dialogue with the CIW and tomato suppliers to discuss solutions to problems faced by Immokalee farmworkers.

Tilly and Tarrow (2007) define downward scale shift as "the coordination of collective action at a more local level than its initiation" (94). In the case of the Fair Food Movement, the level of initiation began in Immokalee. Then, it experienced upward scale shift to a national level of coordinated collective action against fast food, grocery, and food service corporations. But even though Immokalee is the place of initiation, when the movement began operating on a national level, it quite possibly could have remained only on this level and consequently, transformed into a movement that did not interact with Immokalee. But the Fair Food Movement at the national level is in constant communication with and places such a strong and consistent focus on Immokalee *in spite of* upward scale shift. Therefore, I regard bringing the movement back down from the national to its place of origin, Immokalee, as downward scale shift, which is a slightly different conceptualization than the one Tarrow and Tilly (2007) put forth.

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In chapter four, I discussed how allied SMO staff members try to balance giving allies the autonomy to carry out the movement in a way that best resonates with their communities alongside making sure allies are portraying the movement that is consistent with the CIW's intentions. Not only do allied SMO staff members regularly communicate with their constituencies at least once a week via a listserve, but they are also on hand to lend assistance with action ideas or to just brainstorm by way of individual emails, texts, or phone calls. But existing allies and administrative body members work to do the same thing in their own communities. For example, Kelsey, a longtime CIW ally, talked to me about being careful about who talks with the local media at events and actions. She told me about a local benefit that she and an administrative body member were hosting on campus as an SFA event. She explained how two people who had just started to become involved were not as informed as she and Amanda, an SFA administrative body member, were, by virtue of the fact that they were still learning about the origins of the movement as well as the past and present campaigns. While these two new allies were tabling at a benefit, she overheard one of them talking to the local media and giving inaccurate information about which corporations had signed Fair Food Agreements. Kelsey told me that after this, she and Amanda made sure that they were the ones talking to the local media about the Campaign for Fair Food. She said, "You don't want someone who doesn't know the information talking to the media because that could be portrayed really bad." What she is implying is that she is careful that the movement and the campaigns are not being portrayed in a way that is contradictory to the goals and strategies that the CIW puts forth.

In addition, after national Days of Action, allies from all over the country send in a report back to let both the allied SMO and the CIW know what type of event occurred, how it was received, and a few photos. In my own experience, this communication with allied SMO staff in

Immokalee does not have the feeling of monitoring or policing in anyway. Instead, it is about sharing with others who are participating in the movement outside of one's own community. After engaging in an action in my own city, a fellow ally who had just dropped off a manager letter for the first time, was so enthusiastic that she sent a photo via her phone before we got back into the car to leave. So this process of reporting is not an onerous responsibility, but instead, something that is both exciting and provides validation for what may seem like a small act. Sending in a report back is also a way to learn how a local action fits into the national picture and how a small act can be understood and visualized as something larger. For example, a local group of allies chose to deliver a manager letter to a local fast-food restaurant and the manager refused to accept it. The group may have thought that this was an isolated incident. However, when the national report back informed everyone that most or even all the manager letters were refused, then it communicates with the larger network that this was a counter-strategy used by the corporation. Additionally, the national report back often includes a photo report, which is a compilation of all of the photos that the decentralized communities have sent into one of the allied SMOs in Immokalee. Not only is it encouraging to visually see local efforts as part of the bigger movement, but it also helps to spark ideas that others might want to try or incorporate in their own community. So just as allied SMO staff members bridge from the CIW to allies who then bridge to established and new ties in their own communities to facilitate upward scale shift, downward scale shift is also facilitated by the various levels of bridges in the movement, only in the reverse direction. But upward and downward scale shift works in a cyclical fashion with communication to and from Immokalee occurring on a continuing basis.

Besides the bridges in both Immokalee and the decentralized communities who work to facilitate upward and downward scale shift, the concrete demands made by the CIW on

corporations keep the movement rooted in Immokalee. No matter which tactic allies choose to launch, whether that is a rolling hunger strike, street theater on campus, or a pray-in at the local supermarket, all three examples have one specific thing in common, which is to pressure a corporation to agree to the CIW's three demands and sign a Fair Food Agreement. So despite the upward scale shift and the fact that the phrases "Fair Food Movement" and "Campaign for Fair Food" do not have the words "Immokalee" and "Coalition of Immokalee Workers" in their titles, the signing of Fair Food Agreements, which everyone in the movement is working toward, brings the movement back to its place of origin, Immokalee. As a result, the broad reach of the movement on a national or even international level does not appear to pose a danger to its original goals and the three concrete demands made by the CIW on multinational corporations.

6.5   CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have attempted to illustrate the process by which the Fair Food Movement shifts from the local hub of Immokalee to its national, decentralized allied network as well as how the movement shifts back from the national to the local level of initiation. I have argued that a "bridge", which is a person or an organization working to build or maintain ties and communication between new and already established connections, works to facilitate brokerage, diffusion, and consequently, scale shift (McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly 2001). But as I have emphasized, there are several levels of bridges. While the allied SMO staff members are a clear link to the CIW since they work side-by-side with CIW staff members in Immokalee, they are not the only ones who bridge the local with the national. Their bridge position is certainly necessary, but not sufficient for scale shift in either direction to occur. Administrative body

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members and existing allies who do not live in Immokalee serve as bridges to new and established allies in their own communities. I contend that all of the allies who serve as bridges within the Fair Food Movement are necessary to facilitate scale shift.

Movement Bridges and Scale Shift
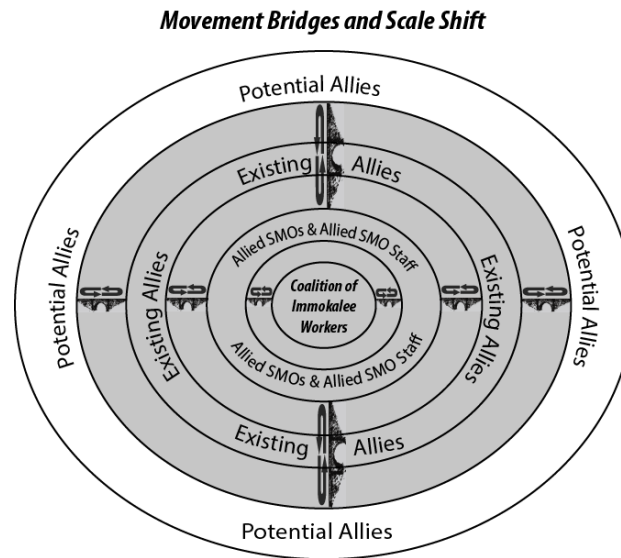
Figure 14. Scale Shift of the Fair Food Movement

Figure 14 demonstrates scale shift of the Fair Food Movement. The area shaded in gray represents the movement while the outside ring represents potential allies who may be drawn into the movement, such as audience members during a CIW presentation. The figure also illustrates that bridging is dynamic at every level. As stated earlier, upward and downward scale shift is a continuous process without an end point and is emphasized by the continuous arrows over each bridge. Each labeled ring either is or has the potential to become a bridge. For example, allied SMOs and allied SMO staff bridge to and from the CIW, existing allies, and (as represented by the vertical bridges) potential allies. The long, vertical bridges from the allied SMOs and allied SMO staff to potential allies represent direct bridging to potential allies, thus bypassing over the level of existing allies. Similarly, existing allies bridge to and from the allied SMOs and allied SMO staff as well as to potential allies. It is important to note that by "existing allies" and "potential allies" I am including both individuals and organizations. Bridges not only

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move the Campaign for Fair Food out from the Immokalee-based CIW to allies and potential allies, but also, these same bridges communicate how the campaign is evolving in their local communities back to Immokalee. The space between the concentric circles is uneven and this is deliberate. The allied SMOs and allied SMO staff work with the CIW in the Community Center. Consequently, communication to and from the CIW is represented by the smallest space. When allied SMOs and allied SMO staff bridge to existing allies, the space is a little larger. For existing allies who bridge to potential allies, the space is largest since they are bridging to those not yet in the movement.

The CIW presentation is a cornerstone of the bridging process. Allied SMO staff members provide CIW members with contacts and speaking opportunities that CIW members may have more difficulty accessing as well as a context for each presentation. During the presentation, language becomes an opportunity for consumers to visually understand how bridging occurs since it is modeled for them through consecutive interpretation from and to Spanish and English. Because CIW staff and allied SMO staff members are co-presenting, this also illustrates how allies are doing just as much work in the Fair Food Movement, but take their lead from the CIW and the experiences of Immokalee farmworkers.

This chapter also points to "what inspires and facilitates collaboration" (Beamish and Luebbers 2009: 647) between Immokalee farmworkers and consumers. I have argued that consciousness-raising works to redefine the (potential) emotions of pity and sympathy into the emotions of moral outrage and collective injustice. In addition, consciousness-raising helps to bridge broad ideologies with the CIW's concrete demands, which makes room for a broad, diverse, yet inclusive base of allies. CIW staff members, allied SMO staff members, as well as other bridges, such as existing allies, use this popular education technique with potential allies.

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Therefore, many allies come to participate in the Fair Food Movement because of their own personal commitments as opposed to simply "helping" Immokalee farmworkers. But when they take the movement back to their own communities, they are still working on the concrete demands made by the CIW on a targeted corporation and the movement's focus remains on Immokalee. However, allies have the autonomy to participate in a way that resonates with those in their communities, be it a university, a place of worship, a small college town, or a metropolitan city. By making national struggles local, the CIW's Campaign for Fair Food, as interpreted to and carried out by allies, amplifies the CIW's capacity to bring pressure on corporate opponents and to achieve Fair Food Agreements. At the same time, the Fair Food Movement, since its inception, has been rooted in the Immokalee community in which it began.

7.0   CONCLUSION: "THE FACE BEHIND THE LABEL"[136]

The corporate food industry has a strategy of invisibility. It certainly does not want consumers thinking about how food is created and harvested. For example, buying a tomato at the grocery store usually means choosing one of the many red, round, and smooth tomatoes. On the surface, the consumer sees the "picture perfect" tomato. But it takes no more than one bite to discover that it is far from perfect. In fact, it is tasteless, not because someone happened to buy a "bad" tomato, but because it is produced to look, not taste, like a tomato.

I first visited Immokalee in 2005. During the forty-five minute drive from Southwest Florida International Airport in Fort Myers to Immokalee, I gazed out of the car window and stared at the miles and miles of tomato fields. I imagined red, plump tomatoes, which I saw each time I went to the grocery store, hanging off the vines. But when I visited the fields and the packing plant, I saw something different. All of the tomatoes were green with only a few possessing a hint of the pink hue that is indicative of the ripening process. Within the packing plant are large chambers with green tomatoes in crates stacked to the ceiling. These chambers are where green tomatoes are gassed red with ethylene. The smell was so horrible that I contemplated sprinting out of the chamber into the fresh air. Instead, I held my breath. I learned that once the tomatoes are "ripe", meaning, once they *look* beautiful, they are packed and

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[136] On March 20, 2012, I participated in a symposium at Duquesne University in Pittsburgh, PA entitled "The Face Behind The Label" in which I presented some of my initial findings. CIW and SFA staff members were also symposium participants.

shipped throughout the United States. However, the natural sugars that make a tomato *taste* sweet do not develop to their full potential. Therefore, when one bites into a store bought tomato that looks beautiful, it still tastes green.

Figure 15. Harvested tomatoes that have just arrived at the packing plant from the fields

If the tomatoes taste horrible, why aren't they harvested when they are red and ripe? The answer is that a vine-ripened tomato will rot on the truck before it arrives at the supermarket thousands of miles away. If the tomato is superficially red, but in reality, green on the inside, it will have a longer shelf life and a greater potential to be bought by someone looking for that "picture perfect" tomato. But the general public does not see this process. It only sees the end result. As I commonly hear from various people when I talk about my research, 'Those tomatoes at the store always taste so bad.' However, the horrible tasting tomatoes still make their way into the shopping carts of consumers. This is just one of the many layers of invisibility of just one crop in the industrialized food system.

7.1   THE FOOD INDUSTRY'S STRATEGY OF INVISIBILITY

During this first visit to Immokalee, I traveled with a Spring Break student group from Duquesne University in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Although I was a co-facilitator on this trip, I did not do any of the planning and organizing. But the two other facilitators made several phone calls ahead of time and successfully scheduled a group tour at one of the large tomato farms and its corresponding packing plant. Since we were a group from Pennsylvania, the grower contact had made the assumption that the students were studying the agricultural industry as opposed to trying to learn about the realities of farm labor. When given a tour of the farm and our young tour guide would say something like, 'Well you're all agricultural students so you know…', we just didn't say anything and continued to listen. Students had met with the CIW, SFA, and Interfaith Action earlier in the week and had lots of questions. One student asked, 'Where are workers able to use the bathroom?' As we stood in the middle of acres and acres of tomatoes, our tour guide pointed in each direction, squinted, and said that there was one portable toilet 'down that way' and another in the other direction. But as hard as we tried, we couldn't see them. As we stood in the middle of the fields, I saw someone in the distance spraying the crops with pesticides and herbicides while wearing a HAZMAT suit. But farmworkers harvesting tomatoes in the area were neither offered any special protection nor were they directed to harvest in a different section of the fields. Instead, they were harvesting in the midst of the chemical spray. Students were starting to get angry and asking our tour guide more questions about worker conditions. At that point, our tour was politely, yet quickly, concluded. Since then, the student group from Duquesne has sometimes managed to schedule a tour of a packing plant, but not always, which is an uncertainty other student groups have also experienced. However, since the Florida Tomato Grower Exchange (FTGE) agreed to work with the CIW's corporate Fair Food Agreements in

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2010, gaining access has not been as much of a challenge. Still, on a tour in 2012, grower tour guides dodged some questions, gave students scripted responses, and ended the tour quickly when students asked too many pointed questions.

Besides the reasons behind 1) the reality of working conditions in the tomato fields, which the Fair Food Agreements address and 2) bad tasting tomatoes, Immokalee has been called "ground zero for modern-day slavery" by Douglas Molloy, chief assistant United States attorney in Fort Myers, who "works on six to twelve slavery cases" at any given time (Estabrook 2012:75). Barry Estabrook, the author of *Tomatoland*, provides a thorough account of the invisible layers within Florida's tomato industry. He asked Molloy "if it was safe to assume that a consumer who has eaten a fresh tomato from a grocery store, fast food restaurant, or food-service company in the winter has eaten a fruit picked by the hand of a slave" (2012:xx). Molloy responded, "It's not an assumption. It is a fact" (2012:xx). By slavery, Molloy means that workers have been sold, beaten, confined in chains, pistol whipped, and watched over by armed guards at night (Estabrook 2012:xix). Up until the CIW's anti-slavery campaign and Fair Food Agreements, slavery in the fields, for the most part, remained invisible.

There are other aspects of the Florida tomato industry that are also invisible to consumers. Discovering which corporations are buying from a particular grower is quite a challenge. Corporate/grower contract information is not public, although during packing plant tours in 2009 and 2010, the tour guide provided the group with a verbal list of corporations to which the grower sold. The CIW tried to discover which corporations were buying from each farm. Given the confidentiality of these contracts, it was not until 1999 when an issue of *The Packer* revealed that Taco Bell had a contract with 6L's Packing Company (Laughlin 2007; Sellers 2009). In addition to contract information, birth defects resulting from pregnant women

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working in the fields,[137] pesticide exposure and poisoning, sun and heat exposure, and non-potable tap water in Immokalee[138] are more of the realities that are hidden by that "picture perfect" tomato bought in the supermarket.

To discuss all of the food industry's invisible strategies would be an impossible feat to take up at this point. Barry Estabrook (2012) dedicated an entire book to the invisibility factors of just one crop, tomatoes. However, I want to note a few other cases outside of the tomato crop in order to emphasize just how many invisible layers exist within the food industry.[139] The following two examples come from a panel I attended at the 2010 United States Social Forum in Detroit, Michigan entitled "Social Movement Strategies & Tactics for Rebuilding Food Economies", which was organized by Agricultural Missions. Every seat was taken and there were people standing along the walls and in the back, which indicated a strong interest in grappling with the industrialized food industry as a whole.

In addition to a CIW and Interfaith Action staff member, the panel included a small farmer from Mississippi whose family farm started as a homestead in 1886. He talked about how corporations dictate what he can and cannot grow. He talked about how he sells to Kroger Supermarket and that Kroger dictates which seeds he is to use, such as seedless (as opposed to seeded) watermelons, which are much more expensive and require particular fertilizers and pesticides. Another member of the panel was a representative from *Mouvman Peyizan Papay*

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[137] Carlitos Herrera-Candelarion was born on December 17, 2004 with tetra-amelia (without arms and legs) after his mother worked in the fields while pregnant where she was directly sprayed with pesticides (Layden 2006).

[138] During my first visit to Immokalee, I was in charge of making lemonade for the group of students and faciliators. Since it was my first trip, I was not aware that I was supposed to drive to the Wynn Dixie parking lot to purchase a large 5 gallon jug of water since it is common knowledge not to drink the tap water in Immokaleee. Fortunately, only the facilitator drank the lemonade I made with tap water prior to realizing that it was not bottled water. He vomitted for the next 24 hours. While this is only one incident, any movement forum that I have ever attended in Immokalee is supplied with bottled water from the Wynn Dixie.

[139] Despite the topic of my research, I too am subjected to the food industry's strategies of invisibility. I do not claim to have the research, knowledge, or experience to uncover them all. I foresee this unveiling as a collective and collaborative effort given the vastness of the industry and its technological innovations.

(MPP), Haiti's largest peasant movement, which I have mentioned briefly in chapters two and four because of its influence on the CIW. The MPP representative spoke in Haitian Creole with consecutive English translation and talked specifically about the Haitian earthquake that occurred January 12, 2010. He said that after the earthquake, Monsanto, an American agricultural biotechnology corporation that produces genetically modified seeds and agricultural chemicals, gifted Haiti 460 tons of seeds, which was enough to plant the entire country. He said that Monsanto's invasion would have taken away Haiti's healthy food and independence. By accepting the seeds, Haiti would have been dependent upon the corporation. Monsanto, as stated on their website, sues farmers who save their seeds for future seasons "to ensure that [they] are paid for [their] products and for all the investments [they] put into developing these products".[140] In addition to needing to pay for seeds each season, the seeds often require Monsanto fertilizers and herbicides that deplete the soil and destroy insects including essential ones. Therefore, if a farmer does not choose to buy Monsanto seeds in subsequent planting seasons, other seeds will struggle to grow in the altered soil. On June 4, 2010, "more than 10,000 peasants gathered in Hinche, a small city in central Haiti, and burned Monsanto seeds at a rally called by the MPP" (Dunkel 2010).

I could continue to talk about the food industry's strategies of invisibility by discussing the anti-genetically modified organism (GMO) movement, which is waging grassroots campaigns for GMO labeling, but being countered by corporations such as Kraft Foods, Coca Cola, and General Mills.[141] A discussion of food apartheid, which is when some city neighborhoods (privileged) have the options of fresh, local, organic, and healthy food while other

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[140] Monsanto. "Why Does Monsanto Sue Farmers Who Save Seeds." Retrieved July 17, 2013 (http://www.monsanto.com/mobile/Pages/default.aspx?ShowPage=25&parent=23#s).
[141] Common Dreams. 2013. "Industry Giants Mobilizing to Kill Growing Anti-GMO Movement." Retrieved July 17, 2013 (http://www.commondreams.org/headline/2013/07/03-9).

city neighborhoods (non-privileged) only have the option of convenience store or fast food, would also be an appropriate discussion within this larger topic of invisible food industry strategies (for the privileged). In addition, the meat and poultry industry, the topic of Upton Sinclair's 1906 novel *The Jungle*, continues to be a topic of controversy as the number of injuries and illnesses suffered by meatpacking plant workers is twice as high as other manufacturing jobs[142] not to mention the atrocious conditions of chickens, steers, and pigs prior to their slaughter. These are all topics worthy of systematic and empirical research. But they all suggest the significance of making the hidden aspects of the food industry visible. I turn to a summary discussion of the Fair Food Movement's strategy of visibility, a potent movement weapon against a food industry dependent upon invisibility to survive.

7.2   THE FAIR FOOD PROGRAM

The Southwest Florida Farmworker Project (SFFP) formed in 1993 and officially became the Coalition of Immokalee Workers (CIW) in 1995. In 2001, the CIW launched its first corporate campaign and eventually signed its first Fair Food Agreement in 2005 with Taco Bell, twelve years after Immokalee farmworkers started to organize. But in 2007, the Florida Tomato Growers Exchange (FTGE), a lobby group in which ninety percent of Florida growers are members, "organized to freeze the penny-pass-through mechanism[143] that functioned

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[142] PBS NOW. 2006. "Meatpacking in the U.S.: Still a "Jungle" Out There?" Retrieved July 17, 2013 (www.pbs.org/now/shows/250/meat-packing.html).

[143] The buyers, which are corporations who sign Fair Food Agreements, pay the Fair Food Premium (the extra 1.5 cents) to the grower, who then passes the premium to the qualifying workers. For more information, see: Fair Food Standards Council. 2012. "Fair Food Code of Conduct & Selected Guidance." Retrieved August 16, 2013 (http://fairfoodstandards.org/code.html).

successfully for two years following the 2005 Yum Agreement" (Sellers 2009:124) and also threatened to sanction growers who *did* pass the penny through to the farmworkers with a heavy fine. But on November 16, 2010, the CIW and the FTGE signed an agreement "to implement the principles of Fair Food on nearly 90% of Florida's tomato fields."[144] After seventeen years of organizing, Immokalee farmworkers acquired a wage increase,[145] improved working conditions, and a seat at the table in order to dialogue with the tomato growers and their corporate buyers. It is not just CIW members who benefit from the Fair Food Agreements. The over 30,000 farmworkers who work in Florida's tomato fields are beneficiaries of the Fair Food Agreements that the CIW has signed with multinational corporations (Asbed and Sellers 2012).

The Fair Food Program,[146] the outcome of the signed Fair Food Agreements, has been called "possibly the most successful labor action in the United States in 20 years" (Bittman 2011) and "one of the great human rights success stories of our day" (Burkhalter 2012). Prior to the agreements, corporations pressured growers to obtain the lowest price for their tomatoes. In turn, "growers pass[ed] on the costs and risks imposed on them to those on the lowest rung of the supply chain: the farmworkers they employ" (Oxfam 2004:36). Thus, the outcome of the CIW analysis of this power structure was to pressure the top of the supply chain, the corporations with the power to dictate market prices, to address stagnant farmworker wages and declining working

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[144] Coalition of Immokalee Workers. 2010. "A Watershed Moment…". Retrieved July 15, 2013 (http://www.ciw-online.org/watershed_moment.html).

[145] The wage increase is based on the percentage of tomatoes purchased by a corporation from a particular grower. For example, if Taco Bell purchases five percent of the tomatoes sold by a particular grower, then the wage increase will be applied to five percent of the tomatoes picked by a farmworker on a given day (keeping in mind that farmworkers are paid at piece rate). However, if all eleven corporations that have signed a Fair Food Agreement with the CIW are purchasing from one particular grower and that percentage equals fifty percent (a hypothetical number), then the wage increase will be applied to fifty percent of the tomatoes picked by a farmworker on a given day. The Fair Food Movement's goal is to have agreements with all corporate buyers of tomatoes so that the wage increase is applied to all tomatoes picked.

[146] For an itemized and detailed description of each tenet of the Fair Food Program, see Fair Food Standards Council. "Fair Food Code of Conduct & Selected Guidance." Retrieved July 15, 2013, (http://www.fairfoodstandards.org/code.html).

conditions that were the result of market competition (Asbed and Sellers 2012). Corporations who are members of the Fair Food Program (those who have signed Fair Food Agreements) dictate a different market outcome, which is one that insures that those at the bottom of the supply chain, farmworkers, are not being squeezed by a demand for low prices and corporate profits.

Perhaps one of the biggest contributions of the Fair Food Program is that it ensures the visibility of labor conditions through a comprehensive program (Asbed and Sellers 2012). First, it relies on worker-to-worker education. CIW members travel to the fields in order to educate workers not only of their rights and responsibilities under the program, but also to train them to look for and to report violations. Second, workers are provided with a 24-hour complaint line and a complaint and resolution process. If there is a Code of Conduct violation, workers have protected access to make these violations visible and known. Third, since workers may not be aware of every violation or may mistrust the system, the Fair Food Standards Council (FFSC) conducts farm audits in order to add another layer of visibility to labor conditions. Finally, the system is enforced through market consequences. If a grower does not comply with the Code of Conduct as outlined by the Fair Food Agreements, corporations will pull their contracts with a particular grower and take their business to another in full compliance (Asbed and Sellers 2012). There is also a zero tolerance policy for slavery and sexual harassment, which means that whether or not the upper management is aware of workers existing in these conditions, a corporation will pull its contract from a grower. Instead of shopping around for the lowest price, corporate buyers must shop for growers who meet the terms of the Fair Food Agreement.

In addition to visibility, the model is also sustainable in that it distributes responsibility to not just one, but to each level of the supply chain. First, because corporations purchase such a

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high volume of tomatoes, they can use their purchasing power to drive growers into compliance. Moreover, by purchasing tomatoes at an extra penny per pound of market price to be paid directly to the farmworkers, corporations are helping to improve the sub-poverty wages that farmworkers have endured for so long. Second, growers are responsible for making sure their operations and practices are in compliance with the Fair Food Agreements. Third, farmworkers are responsible for knowing their rights and responsibilities, for sharing their work experience in the fields, for reporting violations, and for educating their fellow workers (Asbed and Sellers 2012). Finally, consumers who demand "the highest ethical standards and employ that power is the engine that ultimately drives the entire program" (Asbed and Sellers 2012:7). Power in the marketplace is used at each level to influence dignity and respect for farmworkers *and* consumers instead of cheap prices at a human cost. In sum, the Fair Food Program, the result of the Fair Food Movement, brings visibility to each layer of the food system and places responsibility on all members to sustain a non-exploitative system.

7.3   LESSONS LEARNED FROM THE FAIR FOOD MOVEMENT

7.3.1   Introduction

Concerns about food in general (anti-GMO, organic, free-range, local, just to name a few), often come from privileged voices in regards to their own health. This became evident to me as I participated in several CIW corporate campaigns, including McDonald's, Burger King, Trader Joe's, Aramark, Sodexo, and Chipotle. When flyering outside a McDonald's or a Burger King, passersby would stop to talk and to hear about the latest complaint they could add to their list

against fast food restaurants. Since the Aramark and Sodexo campaigns took place on mainly college campuses, many students were already dismayed with their food service provider and looking forward to making their voice and their demands to sign a Fair Food Agreement with the CIW heard. But my experiences of flyering outside of Trader Joe's and Chipotle and casually talking about these campaigns with friends and neighbors were different. These are establishments frequented by many who are concerned about food and sustainability (and often privileged in regards to race and class). These establishments are also often located in more privileged, or in certain areas of Pittsburgh, gentrified neighborhoods. In my experience, I discovered that there was less initial receptivity to hearing about the Trader Joe's or Chipotle campaign, as opposed to, for example, the Burger King campaign. If people did stop to listen for a second, I was told something like, 'But I LOVE Trader Joe's! Please don't give me a reason not to' as a woman grabbed her cart and quickly walked into the store. Similarly, my former neighbors would unload their car full of Trader Joe's grocery bags every Saturday morning, hang their heads, and say things such as, 'I'm sorry. We just love it there.' And in the case of Chipotle, many would find it hard to believe that a company that runs ads such as "It's not just a burrito. It's a foil-wrapped, hand crafted, local farm supporting, food culture changing cylinder of deliciousness"[147] could possibly be refusing to sign a Fair Food Agreement.

But the Fair Food Movement pushes already concerned food consumers to think about food on a deeper level, one that addresses all members of the food system, not only the consumers of food, but also the harvesters of food. Moreover, with the exception of the Taco Bell boycott, the Fair Food Movement has not tried to persuade corporations to sign agreements through boycotts, but via pressure from those who are already consumers of targeted

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[147] Agriculture Proud. 2012. "Back to The Start—Chipotle Ad Draws Controversy." Retrieved July 18, 2013 (http://agricultureproud.com/2012/02/16/back-to-the-start-chipotle-ad-draws-controversy/).

corporations. After engaging in several conversations with my neighbors about the CIW's Trader Joe's campaign, they started following the CIW's website and publicizing the campaign on Facebook in order to create some awareness. And the woman who begged me *not* to give her a reason to dislike Trader Joe's later asked me for a manager letter to drop off as she was leaving the store. The lessons of the Fair Food Movement are not only pertinent for social movements in general, but the food movement in particular. Instead of individual consumers just thinking about their own health and how the food system impacts them and their families, the CIW's Campaign for Fair Food has effectively mobilized both farmworkers and consumers to think about and take action for a food system that is a collective right to take back from the corporate food industry.

7.3.2   Formal, decentralized organizing

In chapter four, I discuss how the Fair Food Movement possesses a decentralized allied base within the confines of relatively formalized SMOs of the CIW, SFA, Interfaith Action, and Just Harvest USA. The organizational structure of the Fair Food Movement and specifically, the SMOs, emerged organically to serve different constituencies who wanted to take action to address farmworker wages and working conditions within in a single movement. Each SMO has a distinct audience and serves a particular constituency (farmworkers, students, people of faith, and food justice advocates). My research shows that SMO formalization complements the movement's decentralized ideology and practices as opposed to launching the movement into a centralized or bureaucratic organizing model. This is a deviation from the literature that notes how centralized (not decentralized) movements are more often considered to be formalized (Corrigall-Brown 2012; Gamson 1975; McCarthy & Zald 1977).

Previous research discusses the ways in which formalization is or is not present within SMOs and movements (Freeman 1972; McAdam 1982; Jenkins 1983; Gundelach, 1984; Lofland, 1985; Staggenborg 1989; Kriesi 1996; Rucht 1996; Polletta 2002). One the one hand, I have argued that the formalized elements of the Fair Food Movement, including SMO 501(c)3 status, paid staff, and detailed roles and responsibilities, provide a division of labor. Therefore, personnel resources are available to plan logistics and to mobilize farmworkers and allies for collective action. On the other hand, the decentralized aspects of the movement, the ally networks in particular, provide for the design and implementation of creative tactics, participant solidarity, and a degree of autonomy for both farmworkers and allies. Online resources, such as manager letters, banners, and flyers, help to facilitate ally participation while simultaneously monitoring how the campaigns are framed and promoted.

To summarize, I contend that the incorporation of a formalized yet decentralized structure supports and assists decentralized participation. The Fair Food Movement has maintained its movement stability and collective action capacity without making the leap to a centralized or bureaucratic structure. Instead, its formalization enhances and facilitates decentralized participation. This decentralized participation works to make farmworkers, who find themselves at the bottom of the food system supply chain, visible to consumers and corporations who have never heard of a town called Immokalee.

7.3.3 Geographic centralization

I note that the incorporation of formalized elements into the Fair Food Movement may provide the structure necessary to preserve its commitment to decentralized, non-hierarchical organizing, movement stability, collective action capacity, and ally maintenance. But as I argue in chapter

five, I believe there is another contributing factor: geographic centralization. The birthplace of the Fair Food Movement is Immokalee, Florida and the movement continues to be centralized in this geographic location. McAdam and Boudet (2012) call our attention to the fact that social movements emerge within a local context. They urge scholars to consider the importance of geographic place. The question I answer is: What might we see if we keep a spotlight on this place of movement origin?

First, the movement has maintained the voice and grievances of farmworkers regardless of its large, decentralized allied base. Despite a scale shift to the national level, the Fair Food Movement continues to be led by CIW members and from Immokalee. Second, the geographic focus brings allies to Immokalee. Movement forums draw participants to the birthplace of the Fair Food Movement. In addition to keeping a spotlight on Immokalee, these forums serve to invigorate allies as well as work to build and strengthen relationships between allies and CIW members. This illustrates how face-to-face participant interaction continues to be important even in the age of Web organizing. An implicit question in this chapter is: When it comes to the food system, how might keeping a spotlight on the origins of food production counter the food industry's strategies of invisibility? In addition to building an allied base, I argue that by drawing allies to Immokalee, the Fair Food Movement is also countering this invisibility strategy.

Besides the movement's geographic focus on Immokalee, this study also shows the significance of other types of localized geographic organizing within the movement such as organizing in corporate headquarter cities. This allows CIW and allied SMO staff to adequately plan for large collective actions, such as securing marching and rally permits and mobilizing a local constituency to participate in these events. Fair Food Committees are a way to geographically centralize allies from student, faith, and food justice communities, which can

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serve to intensify corporate target pressure when a campaign is escalated. In sum, my findings show that the CIW continues to direct and sustain the Fair Food Movement from Immokalee, the birthplace of the Fair Food Movement. Nonetheless, the movement's geographic centralization has not given rise to a traditionally centralized social movement.

7.3.4   Movement bridges and scale shift

Chapter six explores the micro level processes that facilitate upward scale shift from Immokalee to the national decentralized allied network and downward scale shift from the national back to Immokalee. I contend that this upward and downward scale shift is a continuous process without an end point. The mechanism that facilitates both upward and downward scale shift is a "bridge", which is a person or an organization working to build or maintain ties and communication between new and already established connections (McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly 2001). I emphasize that there are several types of bridges. Allied SMO staff members work with CIW staff members in Immokalee. While they are certainly very important for the facilitation of movement scale shift, they are not the only ones who bridge the local with the national. Existing allies who do not live in Immokalee serve as bridges to new and established connections in their own communities. My larger argument is that a single type of bridge would be insufficient for scale shift to occur. Instead, all allies who at one time or another serve as bridges within the Fair Food Movement are necessary to facilitate scale shift. And it is not just the Fair Food Movement that the allied SMOs, allied SMO staff, and existing allies are bringing to potential allies. They are also making food production visible and specifically, the conditions under which farmworkers pick the nation's food.

Chapter six also points to "what inspires and facilitates collaboration" (Beamish and Luebbers 2009: 647) between Immokalee farmworkers and consumers. I argue that consciousness-raising, especially through the CIW presentation, helps to redefine the (potential) emotion of pity into the emotions of moral outrage and collective injustice, especially in regards to a collective food system to take back from the corporate food industry. Consciousness-raising also works to bridge the CIW's concrete demands with broad ideologies. This yields a diverse, yet inclusive allied base. Therefore, many allies participate in the Fair Food Movement for their own sake, meaning for their existing passions and commitments instead of participating to "help" farmworkers. Allies launch the Campaign for Fair Food in their own communities at a national level, thus enhancing the CIW's capacity to bring pressure on its opponents and win victories. Still, "the face behind the label" or perhaps better stated as "the face behind the tomato" remains constant through the CIW's three concrete demands regardless of the breadth of the ideologies within allied base. Allies have the autonomy to participate in the movement for their own sake, but Immokalee farmworkers continue to be the driving force of the movement.

7.4   THE FAIR FOOD MOVEMENT: A MODEL OF SOCIAL MOVEMENT UNIONISM

When discussing the CIW and the Fair Food Movement in academic settings and casual conversations, I am often asked about how this movement is similar to or different from the United Farm Workers (UFW), the farmworker movement in California sparked by the leadership of the late Cesar Chavez. The UFW, a labor union, works to sign contracts with individual growers (suppliers). The CIW, not a labor union, works to sign contracts with individual

corporations (buyers). While both movements seek to address the low wages and poor working conditions of agricultural workers, their differences in overarching strategy reflect the changing dynamics in labor organizing. The UFW reflects a more traditional labor union model despite its initial emphasis on social movement tactics, while the CIW and the Fair Food Movement reflect a social movement unionism (SMU) model.

7.4.1   The United Farm Workers

Cesar Chavez was the key figure in bringing the National Farm Workers Association (NFWA), later to become the United Farm Workers (UFW), to life. Chavez first started organizing with the Community Service Organization (CSO) and was eventually put in charge of all of the CSO chapters in the San Joaquin Valley. Although Chavez made several requests to the CSO to establish a farmworkers' labor union, his requests were denied. Chavez eventually quit his job with the CSO, settled in the agricultural hub of Delano, California, and began organizing farmworkers himself (Haskins 1970). Using the tactic of house meetings, Chavez would travel around a community for forty to fifty days to visit workers and to talk with them in their homes (Levy 1975). In 1962, Chavez founded the NFWA in Delano and depended primarily upon the support of the local workers (Daniel 1995; Mooney and Majka 1995). On September 30, 1962, the first convention of the NWFA was held in Fresno, California where its red flag with the black Aztec eagle emblem and its motto, *Viva La Causa* (Long Live the Cause), were revealed (Levy 1975). Chavez led the farmworkers in reducing the power of the growers through strikes, marches, and a national grape boycott to win union recognition.

7.4.1.1 Tactics and strategies of the UFW

The AFL-CIO affiliated Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC), comprised of many Filipino workers, went on strike against the grape growers of Delano in 1965 (Haskins 1970). At the time, the NFWA had no financial resources, such as a strike fund, to support its members. Still, Chavez held a meeting in the Delano Catholic Church on September 16, 1965, Mexican Independence Day, to ask his members to vote to join AWOC's efforts (Mooney and Majka 1995). In addition to a practically unanimous vote to strike, twenty-seven hundred workers signed union cards to allow the NFWA to represent them in dealing with the grape growers in the area (Daniel 1995). Four days later on September 20, 1965, NFWA members walked off their jobs in the fields (Daniel 1995; Haskins 1970).

The NFWA was strategic in adapting the strike to its capabilities. They were able "to lead a strike of 2,500 workers with just 200 pickets" (Ganz 2000:1033). This was accomplished by developing a daily tactic knows as "roving picket lines" in which cars of pickets would drive to the grape fields, wave banners, and call the workers out of the fields to strike. This tactic allowed the NFWA to prolong the strike despite its minimal resources (Ganz 2000). As a result, the growers were left with grapes rotting on the vines.

Approximately one month after the strikes began, the NFWA launched a national grape boycott in October 1965 (Levy 1975). At first, only two farms were targeted, Schenley Industries brand of liquor and DiGiorgio Corporation, which were industries that were much larger than just grapes (Mooney and Majka 1995). Schenley profited from distilled spirits and DiGiorgio from canned goods. Since their products were sold across the nation, it seemed unlikely that these two companies would choose to put all of its sales at risk for the sake of one agricultural crop (Dunne 1967). Chavez launched the boycott by developing and staffing boycott centers in

thirteen US cities. Consequently, over 10,000 people were recruited to publicize and urge support for the boycott. Volunteers flyered and picketed outside grocery stores, telephoned friends, neighbors, and church community members, and gave talks to organizations such as civic groups and women's clubs (Dunne 1967; Taylor 1975). But since label switching made it difficult to single out particular growers, "Chavez changed tactics, ordering an all-out effort against all table grapes not carrying the union's black Aztec label imprint" (Taylor 1975:219). Consequently, many supermarkets took grapes off their shelves.

Shortly after the national grape boycott was announced, the NFWA organized a 300-mile, 25-day march from Delano to California's state capitol, Sacramento (Mooney and Majka 1995). The march was designed to accomplish several tasks. First, it brought significant state and national publicity to the strikes and the boycott. Not only did it bring awareness to farmworkers who were not yet striking, but it also fostered awareness in the bystander public (consumers), a constituency that was needed if a boycott was to be an effective tactic. Second, the march was reminiscent of the Civil Rights March from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama, which made an appeal to those already involved in and inspired by the Civil Rights Movement. Third, it served as a spiritual journey for the workers (Mooney and Majka 1995). The march took place during the Lenten and Easter season of 1966 and ended on Easter Sunday. Therefore, it reminded many Mexican farmworkers of the pilgrimages made in Mexico during Lent as "strikers turned the back of Chavez's station wagon into a little shrine to Our Lady of Guadalupe for the convenience of those who wanted to pray" (Brown 1999:240; Levy 1975).

The march prompted a contract with Schenley Industries, one of the targeted growers, which included a wage increase and a union-run hiring hall to replace the labor contractors. Although Schenley recognized the NFWA on April 6, 1966, "DiGiorgio sought a way to

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neutralize Chavez" (Dunne 1967:140). DiGiorgio preferred and cooperated with the Teamsters Union, which often acted in support of the growers. But on August 30, 1966, DiGiorgio agreed upon an election among the farmworkers to decide with whom they would sign, the NFWA or the Teamsters. To improve its chances in the union recognition elections, the NFWA merged with AWOC, an AFL-CIO affiliate, and became the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, later called the United Farm Workers (UFW). The farmworkers voted for the merger on August 22, 1966, which provided the NFWA with more financial resources to run against the Teamsters. On September 1, 1966, farmworkers voted in favor of the UFW 530 to 331 (Dunne 1967; Mooney and Majka 1995). However, this did not result in a contract with DiGiorgio.

The UFW continued its national grape boycott in forty to fifty cities through 1968 and 1969 and there was a twenty-seven percent drop in grapes shipped from California during this time (Haskins 1970; Taylor 1975). By the harvest in 1970, growers in the grape industry began to negotiate with the UFW and by the end of July, "the UFW now had three-year contracts with California grape growers representing 85 percent of the table grapes produced in the state" (Mooney and Majka 1995:163). By September, the UFW had secured contracts for 150 agricultural operations representing 20,000 jobs. Covered under the contracts were wage increases, procedures for grievances, protections against pesticides, a health plan, a retirement and disability fund, as well as improved field conditions such as breaks, field toilets, drinking water, and meal arrangements (Mooney and Majka 1995). Since "it made little sense for large corporations to risk compromising their brands for the sake of minor farming operations, especially when they had union contracts elsewhere" (Ganz 2000:1040), the growers, in order to salvage their companies, eventually had to comply with the workers' demands.

7.4.1.2 The decline of the UFW

The UFW successfully negotiated the initial three-year contracts with the grape growers in California. Moreover, in 1975, the California Agricultural Labor Relations Act was passed. California became the second state (outside of Hawaii) to pass a collective bargaining act that covered farmworkers. Its leadership strength, its ability to take advantage of political opportunities, and its effective utilization of financial and human resources contributed to its victories. However, after this initial success, the UFW encountered some struggles in the late 1970s and 1980s.

Tensions arose over issues such as volunteerism, the role of farmworkers, and the movement/union debate. Chavez believed that working for the union should be a sacrifice and therefore, relied upon volunteer efforts as opposed to regularly paid staff. Many farmworkers found it more lucrative to work in the fields and consequently, the UFW experienced a decline in the number of farmworkers working for the union. For the small group of volunteers who did remain, many of whom were middle-class non-farmworkers, they were not capable of negotiating, re-negotiating, facilitating, and enforcing contracts. There were not enough people to carry out the daily union tasks. And while non-farmworker volunteers may have been subsidized by their families, farmworkers were unwilling and unable to work for free (Mooney and Majka 1995; Pawel 2013). In an effort to preserve the movement aspects of the UFW by pushing aside elements of formalization, such as paid staff, the UFW had difficulty delivering and sustaining contracts.

Despite the effort to remain a movement (as opposed to a union), the social movement tactics of the UFW also started to lose their momentum, which had an impact on the volunteer, administrative efforts (Lindsey 1993). The political opportunities of the mid-1960s, most notably

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the Civil Rights Movement, meant that the UFW did not have to concern itself about being able to maintain the excitement of the workers and the sympathetic public. Volunteers were willing to give their time for the cause of the farmworkers. While the UFW did an excellent job at recruiting these human resources, they did not make any provisions for keeping them. Once the momentum from the 1960s began to fade, the volunteers that the UFW relied upon for assistance and sustenance faded as well.

7.4.2   Comparing and contrasting the UFW with the Fair Food Movement

This brief overview of the UFW illustrates that both movements, the UFW and the Fair Food Movement, do have some similarities. First and most obviously, both groups seek to organize migrant farmworkers, a category of workers excluded from the National Labor Relations Act of 1935. Second, both groups use(d) social movement tactics to achieve their goals, including marches, boycotts, strikes, and fasts. Third, like CIW staff members who go house to house in Immokalee to recruit newly arriving farmworkers to the CIW, Chavez traveled house to house in various communities within the San Joaquin Valley to recruit farmworkers for the union. Finally, both groups relied upon non-farmworkers (consumers) across the United States to escalate campaigns beyond their place of origin.

Even though both movements seem to tactically resemble each other, especially if we were to compare the Fair Food Movement now with the UFW from 1962-1970, their overarching strategies are actually quite different. The goal of the UFW was to become a labor union that represented farmworkers in California and to sign union contracts with individual growers. Therefore, the industry change occurred only on the farms that had union contracts. A buyer could still purchase produce from a grower that did not employ unionized workers or comply

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with the contracts enacted on other farms. While the workers and the growers are part of the UFW solution, corporate buyers are left out. And once the initial boom of the UFW faded, individual consumers were left out as well. The UFW eventually became a conventional labor union that began to struggle as the corporate and global food system was beginning to take hold.

By contrast, although the CIW initially sought to target individual growers for higher wages and better working conditions, evidenced by three general strikes, it changed course and turned its attention to corporate buyers (not sellers) of tomatoes in 2001. It was then that the CIW and its allies became the Fair Food Movement and its social movement tactics flourished. The movement began pressuring corporations to pay a higher price for the tomatoes they purchased (money that is passed down to the farmworkers in the form of higher wages) and to demand better working conditions through Codes of Conduct in the growers' (sellers') fields. The Fair Food Agreements apply to all growers that sell tomatoes to corporations that have signed with the CIW. In the Fair Food Movement, farmworkers, growers, corporations, and consumers are all part of the solution and are called upon to take responsibility for our collective food system.

In addition, the UFW was reluctant to formalize, especially in regards to paid staff, which hindered its ability to negotiate and enforce large numbers of contracts, to carry out administrative duties, and to mobilize non-farmworkers throughout the United States who had joined in the struggle during the grape boycott. But the Fair Food Movement's paid staff and its relatively formalized structure and procedures, which were in place prior to, during, and after its first corporate campaign, contributed to its ability to maintain membership and collective action capacity. In addition, its formal allied organizations have helped to sustain a consumer base of allies. And unlike the leadership of the UFW that rested on the shoulders of Cesar Chavez, the CIW does not have a single leader. Instead, the farmworkers, as a collective, are the leaders and

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the Fair Food Movement takes its lead from the CIW. Therefore, when individuals move in and out of staff positions, there have not been dramatic shifts in strategy or movement structure. Similarly, those who occupy allied SMO staff positions change every two to three years, but the formalized positions work to maintain the SMOs' organizational structures. The goal of the Fair Food Movement is to maintain itself despite the individuals who occupy staff positions whereas the UFW lost momentum without the leadership and charismatic presence of Cesar Chavez.

	Labor Union	Structure	Individual Leadership	Beneficiaries	Target	Tactics	Parties Involved
UFW	Yes	Labor Union	Yes	Farmworkers	Sellers (Growers)	Collective Bargaining	Workers Growers Activists (nonfarmworkers)
CIW and Fair Food Movement	No	Formalized/ Decentralized Social Movement	No	Farmworkers	Buyers (Corporations)	Social Movement Tactics	Workers Growers Corporations Consumers

Table 7.1: Summary Comparison of the UFW and the Fair Food Movement

The Fair Food Movement represents an entity that more closely resembles social movement unionism (SMU), an academic concept coined by Waterman (1988), which has been used in the labor literature "to analyze labor movements working toward human rights, democracy, and social justice (Scipes 1992)" (Walsh 2012:194). Although the UFW employed social movement tactics in its initial stages, it evolved into a more traditional business union. However, the CIW and its resulting Fair Food Movement did not evolve into a formalized business union. By contrast, it formalized in a way that maintained its commitment as a social movement, and more specifically, decentralized organizing.

7.4.3   Social movement unionism and the Fair Food Movement

Often thought to be the antithesis to labor's business unionism model of the 1950s-1990s, which works toward traditional collective bargaining agreements with employers, SMU is "a type of

unionism based on member involvement and activism" (Turner and Hurd 2001:11; Almeida 2008). Some labor theorists describe SMU as something to be measured empirically such as Moody (1997), Clawson (2003), and Fantasia and Voss (2004) and argue that SMU should extend beyond the workplace to incorporate the community. Others propose SMU as a strategy and identify it as tactically innovative as well as "mobilizing in alliance with traditional social movements, such as the women's or environmental movement, or recent movements, such as the gay or immigrant rights movement (Turner and Hurd 2001; Nissen 2003; Clawson 2003)" (Walsh 2012:194). Yet others offer propositions about labor's social processes. For example, Moody (1997) and Nissen (2003) contend that SMU must be internally democratic; therefore an internal transformation would be required of most unions. Finally, some note the "internationalist component to SMU, such as a link to global-justice campaigns and the global political economy (Moody 1997; Levi 2003; Evans 2005)" (Walsh 2012:194). I have proposed that SMU consists of six overlapping trends that are inclusive of these descriptions, strategies or processes (Walsh 2012). These trends include: 1) rank-and-file mobilization, 2) changes in leadership, 3) community-based organizing, 4) worker centers, 5) corporate campaigns, and 6) transnational components. Some campaigns, movements, and unions may exhibit some of these trends without others yet still fall within the confines of what is understood as SMU. But the Fair Food Movement engages with each of these trends in some way.

In contrast to business unionism's attempt at selling "unions as a kind of representational service that will benefit those who purchase it" (Fantasia and Voss 2004:127), supporters of SMU try to build and organize a worker collective from the rank-and-file. At the same time, there is an intimate and cyclical connection between rank-and-file participation and leadership. For example, CIW staff members work to recruit the rank-and-file by going the homes of

farmworkers at the beginning of each season. In turn, CIW staff members are derived from the CIW membership base. The leadership is the rank-and-file. Similarly, allied SMO staff members are derived from the membership of SFA, Interfaith Action, and Just Harvest USA. Staff members encourage rank-and-file participation. At the same time, the rank-and-file can mobilize to motivate reluctant leaders.

Recently, SMU has pushed for solidarity among workers and broad-based community organizing, which brings larger segments of the community together for workers' rights, "particularly those most marginalized and vulnerable in the new economy" (Fantasia and Voss 2004:131). Workers may come into labor activism through neighborhood ties, pre-existing organizations, and identities but within the union or labor organization, develop new, broader solidarities (McAdam 1988; McCarthy 1987). One way this can be achieved is through worker centers, which organize "workers regardless of employment site to address the limitations that subcontracting brings to traditional business union organizing (Bonacich 2000; Ness 1998)" (Walsh 2012:198). The CIW could be characterized as a worker center that is geographically bound in Immokalee and welcomes all low-wage workers. But at the same time, the Fair Food Movement and its vast and diverse allied base represent a broader notion of community and solidarity (Clawson and Clawson 1999; Walsh 2012).

Like worker centers that attempt to address the limitations of business unionism in an era of subcontracting, corporate campaigns are also a strategy to combat the current environment of changing employment practices and structures (Perry 1996). In an effort to reject the traditional procedures of the National Labor Relations Board, unions, especially those subscribing to SMU, rely on corporate campaigns to address 1) power inequalities between employers and employees and 2) subcontracting, temporary, and part-time work (Fantasia and Voss 2004; Hurd, Milkman

and Turner 2003). Corporate campaigns, in comparison to strikes, are not only cost effective, but also leave room for the possibility of "alliances with unions and political actors in other countries" (Hurd et al. 2003:113) and opportunities for transnational organizing (Perry 1996). Although the CIW initially targeted growers, it was not until it started targeting corporations that their demands were met and realized. The Fair Food Movement's targets are multinational and activism is not limited to the United States. For example, in Spring 2013, staff members from the CIW and NESRI "traveled to the Netherlands to press large food purchaser Royal Ahold, parent company of Giant Food and Stop and Shop, to join the Fair Food Program and guarantee human rights of farmworkers."[148] But this was not the first time the Fair Food Movement was active in the Netherlands. Earlier, in 2010, Dutch allies marched and performed musical street theater in an effort to raise awareness of the CIW's campaign against Ahold in Amsterdam at the same time the CIW was on a Truth Tour in the Northeastern region of the United States.[149] Most activism in conjunction with the Fair Food Movement has been US-based. But in the case of the Ahold, a non-US based CIW target, allies have also mobilized outside of the United States.

To identify SMU, I have briefly discussed six prominent, overlapping trends in labor organizing: 1) rank-and-file mobilization, 2) leadership, 3) community-based organizing, 4) worker centers, 5) corporate campaigns, and 6) transnational components. The Fair Food Movement engages with each of these six trends, but has not sought to become an official recognized union. It remains a movement and is an example of the concept of SMU.

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7.5   A FINAL REFLECTION

For consumers, the CIW and the Fair Food Movement reveal that the produce we put into our shopping carts or order at a restaurant begins its journey with toiling hands in the fields. For people of faith, the movement exposes how our food system lacks inherent dignity for all of its members. For students, they learn about the realities of farm labor and are capable of rejecting lies and using their heads. For activists with several layers of privilege, they discover that they have a place in the movement as an ally without the danger of participating as a naïve or paternalistic supporter. The Fair Food Movement is a case study example of how marginalized and privileged groups can come together to take back a collective right, the food system of which we are all a part.

APPENDIX A

LIST OF AUTHOR INTERVIEWS

1. Reid, Student Farmworker Alliance, former staff person, December 2009

2. Brady, Student Farmworker Alliance, member, January 2010

3. Oannes, Alliance for Fair Food, January 2010

4. Cara, Interfaith Action of Southwest Florida, staff person, January 2010

5. Lena, Just Harvest USA, staff person, January 2010

6. Kelsey, Student Farmworker Alliance, member, January 2010

7. Louisa, Student Farmworker Alliance, member, February 2010

8. Ethan, Student Farmworker Alliance, member, February 2010

9. Rob, Student Farmworker Alliance, member, February 2010

10. Amanda, Student Farmworker Alliance, member, February 2010

11. Jon, Student Farmworker Alliance, member, March 2010

12. Natasha, Student Farmworker Alliance, staff person, March 2010

13. Matt, Coalition of Immokalee Workers, staff person, April 2010

14. Anna, Interfaith Action of Southwest Florida, staff person, April 2010

15. Dan, Interfaith Action of Southwest Florida, member, April 2010

16. Ella, Interfaith Action of Southwest Florida, member, April 2010

17. Meghan, Student Farmworker Alliance, staff person, April 2010

18. Nadia, Coalition of Immokalee Workers, staff person, April 2010

19. James, Student Farmworker Alliance, staff person, April 2010

20. Carlos, Coalition of Immokalee Workers, staff person, April 2010

21. Alex, Coalition of Immokalee Workers, staff person, April 2010

22. David, Coalition of Immokalee Workers, staff person, April 2010

23. Katherine, Interfaith Action of Southwest Florida, member, April 2010

24. Maggie, Interfaith Action of Southwest Florida, member, April 2010

25. Allie, Interfaith Action of Southwest Florida, member, April 2010

26. Myles, Interfaith Action of Southwest Florida, staff person, April 2010

27. Cici, Student Farmworker Alliance, member, May 2010

28. Todd, Interfaith Action of Southwest Florida, member, June 2010

29. Greg, Coalition of Immokalee Workers, staff person, June 2010

30. Micah, Interfaith Action of Southwest Florida, member, July 2010

31. Morgan, Interfaith Action of Southwest Florida /Just Harvest USA, former staff person for Interfaith Action and current staff person for Just Harvest USA, August 2010

32. Joel, Guadalupe Social Services, former staff person, September 2010

33. Laura, Interfaith Action of Southwest Florida/Student Farmworker Alliance, former staff person, October 2010

34. Sam, Interfaith Action of Southwest Florida and Just Harvest USA, member, November 2010

35. Jim, Just Harvest USA, member, January 2011

36. Noelle, Presbyterian Church USA/Alliance for Fair Food, January 2011

37. Cathy, Alliance for Fair Food, June 2012

LIST OF SECONDARY INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTS[150]

1. "Anna",[151] Interfaith Action of Southwest Florida, staff person

2. Brian, Student Farmworker Alliance, former staff person

3. Francisca, Coalition of Immokalee Workers, former staff person

4. Gerardo, Coalition of Immokalee Workers, staff person

5. "Laura", Interfaith Action of Southwest Florida/Student Farmworker Alliance former staff person

6. "Louisa", Student Farmworker Alliance, member

7. Lucas, Coalition of Immokalee Workers, staff person

8. "Natasha", Student Farmworker Alliance, staff person

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[150] Daphne Holden, PhD, or her research assistant, Brent Purdue, conducted these interviews.
[151] These interview transcripts did not use pseudonyms, but instead, included the actual names of interviewees. To preserve the confidentiality of my own interviewees, I apply the same pseudonym and place it in quotes in order to distinguish the transcript as one that overlaps with my own interview sample.

INTERVIEW TEMPLATE

Abbreviations:
CIW: Coalition of Immokalee Workers
SFA: Student/Farmworker Alliance
IA: Interfaith Action of Southwest Florida
JH: Just Harvest USA
AFF: Alliance for Fair Food

These are examples of the types of questions I asked during semi-structured interviews:[152]

Date/ Time Interview Began:
Location of Interview:
Demographic information (age, gender, race, mother tongue):
Where is interviewee from?

Main Question #1: How do you characterize your role in the CIW/SFA/IA/JH and/or AFF?

Probing Questions: What sorts of things do you do?
What part of this role has the biggest impact on you? Why?

Main Question #2: How did you first hear about the CIW/SFA/IA/JH and/or AFF?

Probing Questions: What were your initial thoughts and feelings?
Have these impressions changed? If so, how?
How did you come to participate in the CIW/SFA/IA/JH
and/or AFF?

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[152] Prior to each interview, I adapted and modified this interview template in order to individualize it for each interviewee.

Main Question #3: What past experiences and motivations might have led you to get involved?

        Probing Questions: Was there a person or event that was particularly influential in your life?

Main Question #4: Why do you think the CIW has so many allies, such as students and people of faith?

        Probing Questions: Why do you think CIW allies visit Immokalee?
                              What do you like/dislike about allies visiting Immokalee?
                              Do you think the CIW would like more allies to visit? Why or why not?
        Probing Questions: How does the CIW incorporate allies into the movement?
                              What type of support does the CIW want from allies?
                              How does the CIW obtain this type of support?
                              What type of support does the CIW <u>not</u> want from allies?
                              What kinds of conflicts exist between the CIW and allies?
                              Can you describe it and how it gets resolved (if it does)?
                              What are the dangers to having so much allied support?
                              What are the benefits to having so much allied support?
                              Can you describe situations in which the wants and goals
                              of allies have been different than those of the CIW?
                              How are these differences addressed?

Main Question #5: How are decisions regarding, CIW/SFA/IA/JH and/or AFF tactics, strategies and campaigns made?

        Probing Questions: Who participates in the decision-making process?
                              Does everyone have equal say (workers, allies, etc)?
                              Are power relations and hierarchies openly discussed?
                              How does the CIW respond to dissent from allied organization(s) and/or individual supporters when making these types of decisions?
                              How does the CIW make sure that the movement continues to represent workers here in Immokalee and not about students or people of faith [allies]?

Main Question #6: Is there any conflict among workers here in Immokalee?

        Probing Questions: If so, what type of conflict?
                              Is there discrimination toward certain ethnic groups in Immokalee? If so, could you describe it?
                              Do workers talk about this? How?
                              Do workers have close friendships with other workers? With allies?
                              Did you know anyone when you came to Immokalee?

Why do you think you are friends with the people you are friends with here in Immokalee?
Does the CIW/SFA/IA/JH and/or AFF play a role in the process of making friends?

<u>Main Question #7:</u> Is there a high turnover in CIW/SFA/IA/JH and/or AFF membership?

Probing Questions: How does the CIW/SFA/IA/JH and/or AFF get people together for campaigns and actions?
Is the CIW/SFA/IA/JH and/or AFF able to create a sense of "community" with workers/students and/or people of faith?
How?

<u>Main Question #8:</u> Where does the name of the 'Coalition of Immokalee Workers' come from? Student/Farmworker Alliance? Interfaith Action of Southwest Florida? Just Harvest USA? Alliance for Fair Food?

Probing Questions: What does "coalition" in the title mean?
What does "alliance" mean?

<u>Main Question #9:</u> What are the roots of the CIW/SFA/IA/JH and/or AFF organizing philosophy? Did you have prior experience with this philosophy?

<u>Main Question #10:</u>   How has the CIW/SFA/IA/JH and/or AFF made a difference in Immokalee?

Probing Questions: What types of actions and issues would the CIW/SFA/IA/JH and/or AFF like to do or take up in the future?

<u>Main Question #11:</u> Are there any changes to the CIW/SFA/IA/JH or AFF that you would like to see?

<u>Main Question #12:</u>   Is there anything else you would like to tell me about you, the CIW/SFA/IA/JH and or AFF, your participation in the movement, Immokalee or the people who live in Immokalee?

PARTICIPANT-OBSERVATION TEMPLATE

Date and time of observation:
Address:
Description of event/action/setting:
Number of people there at time of observation:

1. Signs and Visuals:

2. Which SMO is facilitating the event?

3. Which SMOs are represented at the event?

4. What are the attendees SMO positions?

5. Participant Responses/Reactions:

6. Activities: (What are people doing? What are people supposed to be doing? Is anything unexpected happening?)

7. Interactions: (How and with whom are participants and facilitators interacting? What are participants talking about? Do people seem to know each other? What language(s) are people using to communicate?)

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