

Duquesne University

Duquesne Scholarship Collection

Electronic Theses and Dissertations

2005

Migrant Mobilization: Factors Contributing to the Success of the Coalition of Immokalee Workers

Jane Walsh

Follow this and additional works at: <https://dsc.duq.edu/etd>

Recommended Citation

Walsh, J. (2005). Migrant Mobilization: Factors Contributing to the Success of the Coalition of Immokalee Workers (Master's thesis, Duquesne University). Retrieved from <https://dsc.duq.edu/etd/1328>

This Immediate Access is brought to you for free and open access by Duquesne Scholarship Collection. It has been accepted for inclusion in Electronic Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of Duquesne Scholarship Collection.

*Migrant Mobilization:
Factors Contributing to the Success of the Coalition of Immokalee Workers*

A Thesis

Presented to the Faculty

of the Graduate Center for Social and Public Policy

McAnulty College and Graduate School of Liberal Arts

Duquesne University

in partial fulfillment of

the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

by

Jane M Walsh

November 14, 2005

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thank you to the students, faculty and staff of the Policy Center at Duquesne University for challenging me intellectually, professionally and personally during my graduate studies. Dr. Sharon Erickson-Nepstad, thank you for your inspiration, guidance and support throughout the entire two years of this program. By sharing your gifts as a scholar and a teacher, I have come to realize that we all have the power to enact social change. I am grateful to have had you as my mentor. Dr. Clifford Bob, thank you for your interest, direction, support and encouragement throughout this project. Monica, thank you for unselfishly sharing you bilingual skills. Nancy, thank you for your companionship throughout the program and for your support during “thesis training”.

Thank you to the staff of Spiritan Campus Ministry and to the thirteen students of Duquesne who enthusiastically allowed me to travel and live with them for a week in Immokalee. Thank you to Matt for sharing your passion for justice and social change during our countless conversations. Without your insight and support, this project would not have been possible.

I especially thank the staff and members of the Coalition of Immokalee Workers and the Student Farmworker Alliance who graciously shared with me their insights, struggles, successes and expertise. I dedicate this project to the farmworkers of Immokalee, Florida who work for peace each day through their struggle for justice.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	v
INTRODUCTION	1
BACKGROUND	4
Immokalee and Farmworker Conditions	4
Formation of the Coalition of Immokalee Workers (CIW)	5
FACTORS IN MOVEMENT MOBILIZATION	7
Leadership	8
Collective Farmworker Identity	8
Strategic Uses of Various Sources of Power	10
Conscience Constituency Involvement	13
Political Opportunities	15
METHODOLOGY	18
Population and Sample	19
Procedure for Obtaining Informed Consent	20
Data Collection	20
Data Analysis	21
Limitations	21
FINDINGS: FACTORS IN THE CIW'S SUCCESS	22
Leadership	22
<i>Local Knowledge</i>	22
<i>Motivation</i>	26
Collective Farmworker Identity	29
<i>The Affirmation of a Farmworker Identity</i>	30
<i>The Presence of Consciousness</i>	32
<i>Interaction with Opposing Groups</i>	33
Strategic Uses of Various Sources of Power	34
<i>Intangible Factors</i>	34
<i>Material Resources</i>	40
<i>Human Resources</i>	45
<i>Skills and Knowledge</i>	49
<i>Authority</i>	50
Conscience Constituency Involvement	52
<i>Resources Provided by Students</i>	52
<i>Why do Students Support the CIW?</i>	56
Political Opportunities	64
<i>Political Climate</i>	64
<i>Globalization</i>	66
<i>National Labor Relations Act</i>	67
<i>Guest Worker Program</i>	68

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS	71
Recommendations for Continued Success	71
<i>Greater Inclusion of Women Farmworkers</i>	71
<i>Marketing of “Fair Food”</i>	72
<i>Collaboration with Immokalee Social Organizations</i>	73
The CIW: A Model for Farm Labor	74
APPENDIX I: LIST OF INTERVIEWS	77
APPENDIX II: CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN A RESEARCH STUDY	79
APPENDIX III: LIST OF PARTICIPANT-OBSERVATIONS SITES	81
REFERENCES	82

ABSTRACT

What factors have facilitated the success of the Coalition of Immokalee Workers (CIW)? This is the key question that this study attempts to answer. The answer to this question can provide valuable lessons for other farmworker organizations and unions. Social movement literature emphasizes 1) effective leadership; 2) collective identity; 3) the strategic use of various sources of power; 4) conscience constituency involvement; and 5) political opportunities as factors necessary for mobilization. I have used these five factors to analyze the success of the CIW.

The design of this research study includes both participant-observation and in-depth interviews. Subjects for in-person interviews were selected from three categories: 1) CIW staff; 2) Immokalee farmworkers; 3) student supporters of the CIW. Participant-observation was used to gather field notes in the community of Immokalee, FL.

My findings suggest that since CIW staff members are elected from the farmworker community, the leaders have local knowledge and motivation. The CIW has emphasized the creation a collective farmworker identity that transcends ethnic divisions. The CIW has successfully withdrawn five sources of power from growers and corporations through innovative tactics and strategies. The sources of power withdrawn include: 1) intangible factors; 2) material resources; 3) human resources; 4) skills and knowledge and 5) authority. Finally, the conscience constituency involvement of college and university students has helped the CIW to achieve its goals. I have discovered that the CIW has achieved success despite the presence of political obstacles. Therefore, political opportunities are not a factor contributing to the CIW success.

During the early and mid-1990s, it was common practice for contracted crew leaders to beat farmworkers in Immokalee, Florida into submission. When a farmworker, who was severely beaten for taking a drink of water in the fields, came to the Coalition of Immokalee Workers (CIW), the farmworker community took a stand. The CIW mobilized 600 workers to march on the crew leader's house with the farmworker's bloody shirt and chanted, "*Golpear a uno es golpear a todos!*" ("To beat one of us is to beat us all!") (Field Notes: 3/21/05; Lydersen 2005; Solnit 2004). This collective action was successful in two ways. Since that action, there have been no more reports of physical violence in the fields of Immokalee. It also proved to the farmworkers that they had the power to change the conditions, in which they lived and worked each day (Field Notes: 3/21/05).

This action was one of the first achievements of the CIW and Florida farmworkers. Despite the difficulty of organizing farm labor, often a transient population, the CIW has succeeded in achieving its goals. The most recent and substantial success was the Taco Bell boycott, which resulted in Taco Bell executives agreeing to the CIW demands. The boycott officially ended on March 8, 2005. Taco Bell executives agreed: 1) to pay an immediate farmworker wage increase of a penny more per pound of tomatoes; 2) to become part of a three-part dialogue with the CIW and the Immokalee tomato suppliers to discuss solutions to the problems that Immokalee farmworkers face; and 3) to join the CIW and tomato industry representatives in drafting a Code of Conduct for Taco Bell tomato suppliers (www.ciw-online.org; Business Wire 2005).

The tactics used by the CIW to achieve its goals have also been successful. Since 1995, the CIW has organized several successful collective actions that have impacted Immokalee's transient farmworker community. Beginning in 2002, the farmworkers led an annual Truth Tour across the United States in order to publicize the Taco Bell boycott. The Truth Tours stopped in major cities across the country to educate the public on farmworker conditions as well as to gain third-party supporters for the boycott. A ten-day hunger strike outside Taco Bell Headquarters in Irvine, CA in 2003 helped to re-open talks between CIW representatives and Taco Bell executives. The hunger strike pushed Taco Bell shareholders to file and pass "a resolution demanding that Taco Bell take responsibility for labor conditions in the fields where its produce is picked" (*Immokalee: a story of slavery and freedom* 2004). General strikes and a 240-mile march from Ft. Myers to Orlando helped to strengthen the collective identity of the workers and to publicize their cause to the general public of Florida and the United States (Solnit 2004).

The CIW has also been successful in its recruitment of third-party supporters. College and university students as well as church members have been mobilized in order to help raise awareness of the plight of the farmworkers and its current tactics and strategies throughout the United States. Many students were actively involved with the Taco Bell boycott under a campaign called "Boot the Bell", which helped to put pressure on Taco Bell and YUM! Brands, the parent company of Taco Bell. A hunger strike in 2003 resulted in church leaders promising farmworkers and the CIW that they would promote the CIW campaigns in their congregations. Therefore, the CIW gained increased support on campuses as well as churches (AP State & Local Wire: 3/5/03).

What factors have facilitated the success of the CIW? This is the key question that this study attempts to answer. The answer to this question can provide valuable lessons for other farmworker organizations and unions. As the United Farm Workers (UFW) became a model for farmworker organizing during the progressive era of the civil rights movement during the 1960s and 70s, the CIW can become a model for farmworker organizing in the current conservative political context.

BACKGROUND

Immokalee and Farmworker Conditions

Immokalee, FL is home to many immigrants of Mexican, Guatemalan and Haitian descent who earn their living by working in Florida's agriculture industry. It is also the home to several large tomato and citrus farms that employ these workers. During the picking season, September through June, workers often live in sub-standard housing and work extremely long hours for less than minimum wage.

Immokalee is located in Collier County and east of Naples in southwest Florida. During September through June, the months when there is high demand for workers, the population of Immokalee swells from 14,000 to between 20,000 and 30,000 (Solnit 2004: 348; Lydersen 2005: 219). The majority of the workers are male, Latino and between the ages of 18 and 44. Many workers have little formal education, speak minimal English and are recent immigrants, sometimes undocumented, to the United States (Oxfam America Report March 2004).

Farmworkers compete for work each morning at 4 A.M at *La Mexicana* #5 parking lot. Usually, workers are hired by contracted crew leaders and not by the farms directly. The farms hire the crew leaders and these crew leaders decide who will work for them each day. When they get onto the bus, they have a card from the Department of Agriculture called an "agricard". The card has the worker's number and a barcode that corresponds with W-2 and W-4 information. Because of this "agricard", workers do not have to work at the same farm each day, therefore, wherever they can find work (Field Notes: 3/22/05).

Prior to the recent wage increase, 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. Real wages actually dropped in the past twenty years when they are compared with inflation. If the rate had kept up with inflation since 1980, “the piece rate for tomato picking should have been at least \$0.73.5 per bucket in 1987” (Oxfam America Report March 2004:13).

Besides low salaries, workers do not receive overtime pay, health benefits, sick leave, vacation time or pension plans. They are also subjected to toxic chemicals in the fields that lead many workers to suffer from pesticide poisoning. Because agricultural workers in Florida are excluded under the National Labor Relations Act, they do not have the right to organize (Oxfam America Report March 2004). Workers also tend to live in overcrowded and expensive housing “that routinely violate federal regulations”(Oxfam America Report March 2004: 2). Despite these poor conditions, the CIW has been successful in addressing them and bringing them into the public eye.

Formation of the Coalition of Immokalee Workers (CIW)

The CIW was first launched in 1995 by a small group of workers who were suffering from poor and abusive working conditions (Lydersen 2005: 219). It is a nonviolent community- based organization hoping to improve farmworker living and working conditions. The CIW is doing this by working to increase the workers’ pay to a fair and livable wage, to enforce the workers’ right to organize and to eliminate indentured servitude in the fields.

Many Haitian, Guatemalan, Salvadoran and Mexican peasants left their own countries for the United States when war and human rights attacks were being aimed at

their peasant organizations. They had hoped to leave their history of struggle behind but continued to suffer in oppressive situations in Immokalee, FL (Solnit 2004:350). These new immigrants found themselves working long hours in the Florida agricultural industry for little pay while also suffering poor working and living conditions. In the early 1990s, people with prior organizing experience from Guatemala, El Salvador, Mexico and Haiti began meeting in the Immokalee Catholic Church to discuss their new immigrant situation (Solnit 2004:352).

They began to employ “three key tools common to their organizing experience at home to forge a movement for grassroots, democratic, worker-led change” in the United States (Solnit 2004:352). They focused on 1) popular education, 2) leadership development and 3) powerful political actions (Solnit 2004:352). These three tools that they utilized were similar to those they had used against war and human rights violations in their own countries. These immigrants of Immokalee formed the Coalition of Immokalee Workers (CIW). They continue to use these three tools in order to mobilize the Immokalee farmworker community.

FACTORS IN MOVEMENT MOBILIZATION

Social movement literature can provide some answers as to what factors have facilitated the success of the CIW. While reviewing the literature and the studies that have evaluated the unionization of agricultural workers, I found that the United Farm Workers (UFW) were particularly relevant to my study of the CIW. Under the leadership of Cesar Chavez, the UFW was successful in improving the living and working conditions of agricultural farmworkers in California. The findings in this literature have emphasized five key factors that allow for an organization to be successful. These factors are leadership, collective farmworker identity, the strategic use of various sources of power, conscience constituency involvement and political opportunities.

These five factors draw upon different social movement theories. I have analyzed leadership according to the writings of Marshall Ganz and his experiences with the UFW. Collective identity is an aspect of the cultural model of social movements as described by Verta Taylor and Nancy Whittier. Gene Sharp describes the importance of undercutting various sources of an opponent's power through the use of strategic tactics in his nonviolent pluralistic power model. John McCarthy and Mayer Zald emphasize the importance of conscience constituency involvement in their resource mobilization theory and Doug McAdam discusses political opportunities as an important element in the rise of social movements in his Political Process Model. I have used these five factors in order to analyze the success of the CIW. The case of the UFW is used as a means of discussing the various factors in the theories.

Leadership

Marshall Ganz argues that “an organization is more likely to achieve positive outcomes if it develops strategic capacity”(Ganz 2000:1019). This strategic capacity develops when leaders 1) possess local knowledge, 2) employ tactics that stem from this local knowledge and 3) possess motivation (Ganz 2000). Studies of the United Farm Workers emphasize that leadership was a critical factor in their success. Cesar Chavez, Dolores Huerta and Gilbert Padilla were Mexican or Mexican American “whose lives were rooted in the farmworker community” (Ganz 2000), therefore, the leaders had local knowledge of the community and the farmworker situation. Because of this, the success of the UFW became a personal mission, which enhanced their motivation. This motivation pushed them to find new strategies that would work (Ganz 2000). Since these UFW leaders also had previous professional community organizing experience, they were familiar with a broad range of possible tactics (Ganz 2000; Haskins, 1970).

The Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC), a farmworker organization affiliated with the AFL-CIO that was also trying to organize farmworkers in California at the same time as the UFW, did not enjoy the same level of success. All of the leaders were white males who did not have adequate knowledge of the farmworker communities (Ganz 2000). The leaders of AWOC had been assigned to organizing farmworkers, therefore, it became an assignment as opposed to a personal mission (Ganz 2000).

Collective Farmworker Identity

According to Taylor and Whittier, collective identity “is the shared definition of a group that derives from members’ common interests, experiences, and solidarity”

(1992:105). They emphasize three factors that contribute to collective identity formation. One, there needs to be an existence of a boundary that categorizes an aggrieved population from other groups within the dominant society and affirms their identity (Taylor and Whittier 1992). Two, there should be the presence of consciousness within the group of its “goals, means, and environment of action”(Taylor and Whittier 1992:110). Finally, there needs to be negotiation, or interaction, “between dominant and opposing groups” that helps to “reinforce established definitions” regarding who they are and how society perceives them (Taylor and Whittier 1992:118). Negotiation refers to the private as well as the public setting (Taylor and Whittier 1992).

According to Deborah Tootle and Sara Green (1989), the effect of ethnic identity can have an impact on the willingness of people to support a farmworker union, which becomes an obvious factor in the success of a union. In a study of agricultural workers in Florida, Tootle and Green found that different ethnic groups kept wages low by undercutting each other (1989). This study also found that farm labor is then divided in terms of ethnic groups as these groups antagonize each other (Tootle and Green 1989). In Tootle and Green’s study, ethnic identity took precedent over a collective farmworker identity.

Cesar Chavez and the UFW were able to create a farmworker identity, which transcended different ethnic identities. This concept first became apparent when the Filipino workers under Larry Itilong had begun the Delano grape strike. Chavez gathered the members of the UFW for a vote to join the strike and said the following, “The strike was begun by the Filipinos, but it is not exclusively for them. Tonight we must decide if we are to join our fellow workers in this great labor struggle” (Brown 1999:239). After a

unanimous vote to join the strike, “they were no longer Filipinos or Mexicans but farmworkers” (Brown 1999:239).

Strategic Uses of Various Sources of Power

I have used Gene Sharp’s nonviolent pluralistic power model as described in *The Role of Power in Nonviolent Struggle* (1990) to analyze the strategies and tactics of the CIW. This model of nonviolence and the six sources of power are a way for those who have very little power to claim it from powerful corporations that are causing oppression. According to Sharp, “Political power appears to emerge from the interaction of all or several of the following sources: (1) authority (2) human resources (3) skills and knowledge (4) intangible factors (5) material resources (6) sanctions” (Sharp 1990:3-4). Sharp advocates withdrawing any one or a combination of these sources of power in no particular order.

Intangible factors

According to Gene Sharp, intangible factors are defined as, “psychological and ideological factors, such as habits and attitudes toward obedience and submission, and the presence or absence of a common faith, ideology or sense of mission” (Sharp 1990:4). The intangible factors for the UFW were the Catholic faith, a sense of unity, commitment, nonviolence and the success experienced by the farmworkers. The UFW looked to the farmworker community for both financial and human resources in order to sustain and to empower the movement (Ganz 2000).

It was decided that the dues for the union would be \$3.50 a month. By charging dues, the level of commitment to the cause rose significantly within the farmworker community (Levy 1975:178). By financially contributing what little they had to the

movement, the farmworkers felt that they had a responsibility to the UFW. The union had truly become supported by the farmworkers. These dues helped to house and feed people who participated in the strike as well as helped to pay the day to day expenses of the organization (Ganz 2000). In contrast, AWOC did not require workers to pay dues (Ganz 2000). One can assume that this not only hurt the union financially, but also dropped the level of commitment of the farmworkers.

Chavez also organized a 300-mile, 25-day march from Delano, CA to the state capitol of Sacramento (Mooney and Majka 1995:157). Sacramento was chosen as a destination since the California state government was responsible for refusing the right of a minimum wage for the farmworker (Levy 1975:207). The UFW was very strategic in the design of this march. Chavez drew on the devoutness to Catholicism held by many of the workers. The march took place during the Lenten and Easter season of 1966 and ended on Easter Sunday. This reminded many Mexican farmworkers of the pilgrimages made during the Lenten season in Mexico (Levy 1975:207). The members of the UFW were able to come together and to focus on the purpose of their struggle during this march. This experience provided farmworkers with the opportunity to rededicate themselves to the movement and to use devout Catholicism as a tool for empowerment. This reunification made them stronger, deepened their commitment and allowed them to “possess significant social power” which was “capable of controlling the rulers’ power” (Sharp 1990:8).

Material resources

Since the UFW effectively withdrew material resources, their strategies were successful. By launching a national boycott, the UFW cut the financial flow to growers

on several levels. Since it was difficult to boycott specific growers, choosing to boycott all grapes as well as all products of Schenley and DiGiorgio industries, enabled the farmworkers to impact the entire California industry. 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. The growers’ power had “been simply dissolved”(Sharp 1990:16).

Human resources

Sharp defines human resources as “the number of persons who obey, cooperate, or provide special assistance” (Sharp 1990:4). The UFW developed a set of tactics that withdrew human resources from those in power. When the grape strike began, only 100-200 activists were available to picket (Ganz 2000). The UFW realized that the strike would be ineffective without more people available to strike so they developed “roving picket lines” that mobilized 2,500 workers with 200 pickets (Ganz 2000). Cars of pickets would travel to a grape field, call workers out of the fields and then move on the next field (Ganz 2000). AWOC used stationary picket lines instead, which were not as effective (Ganz 2000).

Skills and Knowledge

The UFW was able to successfully withhold skills and knowledge by striking. The UFW was encouraging the farmworkers not to cooperate with the growers and the working conditions to which they were being subjected. The growers depended on the farmworkers’ harvesting skills. By withholding these important skills, which the grower depended upon, the grower was left with an unharvested crop not ready for sale. The

power began to shift from the grower to the worker. Combined with other factors mentioned by Sharp, the strike was a key part of the UFW's strategy.

Conscience Constituency Involvement

When evaluating relationships between the CIW and the college and university students, who the CIW is depending upon for support and publicity, I have used the Resource Mobilization Model as developed by John McCarthy and Mayer Zald (1987). This model looks at the support base, or the conscience constituents. Conscience constituents are third party supporters who are not direct beneficiaries of the movement. McCarthy and Zald define support base as individual and organizational conscience constituents who are able to provide support (McCarthy and Zald 1987). Although conscience constituents may not benefit from supporting a movement, they continue to support it by providing resources such as labor, publicity and finances. If mobilized efficiently, conscience constituents can have a significant impact on a movement.

Conscience constituents are also able to provide a national infrastructure that a social movement can utilize. McCarthy and Zald define this aspect as a relation to larger society (1987). For example, students belong to college and university campuses, which often have increased levels of communication already in place. These campuses can be a way in which a movement can promote its cause on a national level that otherwise may not have been possible. It also helps to minimize media and publicity expenses.

College and university students often have the ability to travel and visit and witness a movement that they are supporting during school breaks. In this situation, a movement is able to provide experiences that can generate emotions in their third-party supporters. Nepstad talks of the importance of these emotional responses that can be

evoked through the use of stories and interpersonal contact. She states that “activists can generate anger by revealing information that violates moral norms or by framing an event as a breach of ethical standards” (Nepstad 2004:120). Polletta also makes the case “that the stories activists tell are critical in configuring mobilizing emotion” (Poletta 2000: 77). This scholar explains that stories provide “a guide to our own feelings” (Poletta 2000:77). The emotions experienced by conscience constituents and the transformation that results from them is another aspect that can contribute to the recruitment and maintenance of third-party supporters.

The UFW was able to mobilize human resources quite effectively for support in the table grape boycott as well as volunteer efforts. The UFW recruited third party supporters, a conscience constituency, which was nationally dispersed, thereby expanding the effects of the boycott. According to Rory McVeigh, much of the support acquired by the UFW was due to its ability to be non-threatening to the bystander public (1993). McVeigh states that “the public’s acceptance of an insurgent group’s cause is shaped by 1) the degree that the movement threatens their own interests (material, status, economic), and 2) the degree that individuals feel the group’s claim is moral and just”(McVeigh 1993:9). The UFW took advantage of the political environment, such as the rising civil rights movement, and highlighted the justice and morality of the movement (Jenkins and Perrow 1977). This helped them to recruit a larger conscious constituency.

Full-time volunteers in the form of students and part-time volunteers in the form of sympathetic supporters helped to solidify the UFW volunteer base (Mooney and Majka 1995: 160). Volunteers were recruited from labor leaders, civil rights and anti-war

activists, college students, and Chicano communities (Mooney and Majka 1995: 160).

The volunteers spread the news of the boycott and had boycott communities organized in hundreds of small towns across the United States (Mooney and Majka 1995: 160). The staff was able to recruit “10,000 people to pass out leaflets or to telephone neighbors, friends, churches, and stores, urging support of the boycott” (Dunne 1967:129).

Volunteers would picket supermarkets while others gave talks to organizations such as civic groups and woman’s clubs (Taylor 1975:233). This differs from AWOC, which was very particular about accepting financial and human resources. “AWOC rejected all offers of ‘outside’ support, except those coming through ‘legitimate’ labor channels” (Ganz 2000:1033).

Political Opportunities

According to Doug McAdam, political opportunities are defined as “any event or broad social process that serves to undermine the calculations and assumptions on which the political establishment is structured occasions a shift in political opportunities” (1982:176). The 1960s saw a sharp increase in the number of social movements, most notably, the civil rights movement. A final factor contributing to the UFW’s success was its ability to take advantage of the political opportunities available in the United States in the 1960s and 1970s. The UFW was a part of a different political environment in comparison to previous farmworker organizing attempts in California such as the National Farm Labor Union (NFLU). Jenkins and Perrow say that the political environment of the UFW era was willing to provide increased support for the movement and that the political elite had become neutral regarding the farmworkers situation (Jenkins and Perrow 1977). According to Jenkins and Perrow, the farmworkers became

more of a political symbol during the grape boycott as support continued to be prevalent from liberals and organized labor (Jenkins and Perrow 1977). For this reason, the UFW had more success with the national table grape boycott, which, in combination with several strikes, hurt the grape growers economically, pressuring them to recognize the UFW as a legitimate union.

Prior to the establishment of the UFW, agricultural workers found an obstacle in the *bracero* program. The *bracero* agreement with Mexico, a ‘guest worker’ program, began in 1942 in order to provide for the agriculture labor shortage during World War II (Mooney and Majka 1995:151-152). Workers were brought from Mexico under contracts to work the farms for specific periods of time in “labor-short” crops (Taylor 1975:67). Once the war was over, agribusinesses convinced the federal government that a labor shortage remained and the *bracero* program continued. In 1951, the *bracero* system became more permanent with the passage of Public Law 78 by Congress (Mooney and Majka 1995:152). This allowed the growers to take advantage of the surplus of workers, which kept wages low and housing substandard. Because the workers were contracted from Mexico, they were sent back if they had complaints. With the continuation of the *bracero* program, the local labor pool was skipped and workers continued to be exploited (Brown 1999:237). The farmworkers had no legal means to challenge the practices of the growers. Agricultural workers were not protected under the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA); therefore, there was no way for the workers to negotiate with the employers (Haskins 1970:66).

Lee G. Williams, a U.S. Department of Labor official, who supervised *bracero* employment from 1959-1964, referred to the program as “legalized slavery” (Mooney

and Majka 1995:152). The *bracero* program finally ended on December 31, 1964 (Mooney and Majka 1995:154). The UFW was formed in 1965, only a year after the end of the *bracero* program showing that the termination of the program became a political opportunity for the UFW (Mooney and Majka 1995:154).

Political opportunities and political instability can encourage “collective action by *all* groups sufficiently organized to contest the structuring of a new political order”(McAdam 1982:41). If a movement can increase its political strength, it will have more bargaining power in order to achieve its goals. This increased bargaining power then helps to decrease the repression from those in a higher political position (McAdam 1982:42). It is also necessary to take into account the current political climate in order to evaluate how it is helping or hurting the cause of a movement.

These factors were present during the 1960s, which aided in the success of the United Farm Workers. However, conditions in the 21st century have changed and there is also a different political climate. My study will be exploring whether these same five factors appear to be essential for the work of the CIW today.

METHODOLOGY

To see if these five factors have aided the mobilizing efforts of the CIW, I have designed a research study that included both participant observation and in-depth interviews. I selected my subjects for in-person interviews from three categories: 1) CIW staff; 2) Immokalee farmworkers; and 3) student supporters of the CIW. I identified initial interviewees through the CIW. I also requested the names of additional persons from the CIW staff of those who are members or student supporters of the CIW. Duquesne University Spiritan Campus Ministry provided me with names of student supporters on their campus. Through these snowballing techniques, I gained contact with and formally interviewed twenty-five subjects. I also was able to be a participant-observer with a student group in Immokalee.

The oral interviews lasted 30-60 minutes. Their primary purpose was for me to gain insight to the short and long term goals and the tactics and strategies of the CIW staff, its members and its student supporters. I asked for information regarding any type of impact on the farmworker living and working conditions as a result of the CIW. In-person interviews were conducted in March 2005.

I used participant-observation as a technique to gather field notes in the community of Immokalee, FL. I visited the CIW and observed its interaction with farmworkers and students. I observed the qualities and the organizing skills of the CIW staff as well as the working and living conditions of the members, who are farmworkers in the agricultural fields. I also visited the tomato fields and the tomato packing plants of Immokalee. Finally, I was able to visit social service organizations, which serve the

farmworker population in Immokalee. These observations also took place in March 2005 in Immokalee, FL.

Population and Sample

The population being evaluated and interviewed was: 1) the farmworkers of Immokalee, FL, who are also members of the CIW; 2) CIW staff members; and 3) student supporters of the CIW. Although I was unable to draw a random sample, I did aim for a purposive theoretical sample. I was able to interview three Mexican and two Guatemalan workers but I was unable to interview Haitian workers. Because there are proportionately more men than women farmworkers, I interviewed four men and one woman. All five of the interviewees are active members of the CIW.

I interviewed three of the organizational staff members of the CIW, all of which were male. From what I was able to observe, I estimate this number to be approximately one third of the CIW staff. I interviewed two of the three organizational leaders of the Student Farmworker Alliance (SFA), one male and one female, who work in conjunction with the CIW in the CIW building. These SFA staff members also contributed to my student supporter interview sample, since both interviewees were also organizers at their college campuses prior to working in Immokalee. I was also able to observe the interaction of all of the CIW staff members with the farmworker community and the student supporters, who were visiting Immokalee from 3/21/05 through 3/25/05. These student supporter-visiting groups were from Wells College, Clemson University, Santa Clara University and Duquesne University.

I interviewed sixteen student supporters. These interviewees were from Notre Dame, University of Texas at Austin, Wells College and Duquesne University. Notre

Dame and University of Texas at Austin promoted the “Boot the Bell” campaign aimed at terminating Taco Bell contracts on college campuses. Fourteen interviewees were female and two were male. Of the visiting groups mentioned, I observed the majority of the student supporters to be female.

Procedures for Obtaining Informed Consent

I began each interview by briefly explaining the purpose of my research, offering each interviewee confidentiality and anonymity, and requesting that the interviewee permit audio recording. My request for audio recording was not denied. I had interviewees sign a consent form. For an interviewee who spoke Spanish and did not speak English, I had them sign the Spanish version of the consent form. For interviewees who were illiterate, I read the consent form to them and had them give verbal consent immediately after I began recording on the audio tape.

Data Collection

When collecting data, as previously stated, I used the methods of interviews and field notes. Since I recorded my observations over a period of time in several settings, including the fields, the office of the CIW, social organizations and homes of members of the community, my data contains high validity. I collected descriptions of the farmworker situation in the March 2005.

Because many of the CIW members are immigrants, there were ethical considerations. The safety of the members was always considered. Their names and identities have remained anonymous and protected so that their jobs and safety remain secure. Safety includes the treatment they receive from the employers and government officials. I assured that anonymity existed and that my information, if lost or stolen,

would not have jeopardized this in any way. Finally, because I am an outsider entering the community, I had to make certain that I did not appear threatening or intrusive. Although this was difficult to completely overcome, I was conscious of this fact at all times.

Data Analysis

When analyzing the data, I transcribed all interviews and field notes. For interviews that were conducted in Spanish, I translated them into English. Once this was accomplished, I coded the information. I coded using five categories including 1) leadership, 2) collective farmworker identity, 3) the strategic use of various sources of power, 4) conscience constituency involvement and 5) political opportunities. Once this was accomplished, I summarized the results of my findings to determine whether or not these five factors appear to be essential for the work of the CIW.

Limitations

This study has limitations. First, I did not have access to all of the staff and many of the members of the CIW and farmworker community. There are limits to generalizing my findings since this was not a random sample. Second, language was a limitation. My level of Spanish and my ability to record interviews was able to help me to overcome this particular limitation. The CIW staff members also helped me to overcome this limitation by acting as translators during some of the interviews.

FINDINGS: FACTORS IN THE CIW'S SUCCESS

Leadership

Effective leadership has proven to be a necessary component for a social movement to achieve success. Marshall Ganz argues that “an organization is more likely to achieve positive outcomes if it develops strategic capacity”(Ganz 2000:1019). This strategic capacity develops when leaders 1) possess local knowledge, 2) employ tactics that stem from this local knowledge and 3) possess motivation (Ganz: 2000). The CIW staff members and farmworkers, whom I have interviewed, illustrate these three aspects. This section will focus on the local knowledge and motivation of the staff members. The tactics they employ will be addressed later.

Local Knowledge

By local knowledge, I am referring to the CIW staff members' biographies and their knowledge of Immokalee and the farmworker living and working conditions. CIW staff members possess local knowledge because they are farmworkers and are elected from the farmworker community each year during a general assembly by the CIW members. Some staff members are re-elected each year and others are not. Since the staff members have no land to work, they receive stipends that are tied to the farmworker wage. The staff is equally surviving like their fellow workers. Most of the staff leaves in the summer to pick watermelons with many of the active members (Author Interview: 3/24/05). One staff member stated:

CIW staff member #3: Our organization is run by farmworkers. And the idea is that it is not people from outside or who don't work in the fields but are people who work in the fields and live the situation here in Immokalee every single day. Those people are the ones who analyze the situation and decide the goals of the organization. And as farmworkers ourselves, we are the ones who are raising the consciousness among the

other farmworkers here in Immokalee about what's going on and just about getting people to begin to think about these situations (Author Interview: 3/24/05).

If the CIW staff members are farmworkers and live and work in the farmworker community, they are able to build their local knowledge daily through this constant interaction. By talking daily with farmworkers, the CIW staff is continually able to reevaluate their goals and strategies. This interaction enables the movement to be dynamic and consistent with the current needs of the workers.

Most of the Immokalee farmworkers are Latin American immigrants. Since the CIW staff members are also members of the farmworker community, they have biographies that are similar to the workers. Of the three staff members that I interviewed, two are originally from Mexico and one is from Guatemala. Not only do these staff members have local knowledge of the Immokalee farmworker community, but they also possess local knowledge of the workers' home countries. This provides for similarities in language, Spanish and indigenous languages, as well as culture and religion. I was told that the CIW is based in organizing techniques from Mexico, Central America and Haiti, which provides an additional familiarity to the workers. Many workers as well as staff members worked in agriculture in their home countries before arriving in Immokalee (Author Interview: 3/24/05). These similarities that exist between the workers and the staff members provide local knowledge that runs deeper than a simple knowledge of the Immokalee farmworker community.

Farmworker interview responses illustrate that the workers believe that staff members understand the needs of the farmworkers.

Jane: Do you feel that the CIW leaders understand the needs of the farmworkers?

Farmworker #3: Yes (laughing), of course! Yes, the coalition has always helped many people with different types of problems that someone has with their boss. I personally had a problem with my boss. It was five other friends and I and they owed us \$5000 and because of this I met the Coalition because before I didn't come to the Coalition. When I had this problem, I came to the Coalition but unfortunately we were unable to retrieve the money because the boss left. He left and we were not able to locate him. But yes, the Coalition has done this for some people (Author Interview: 3/22/05).

This response helps to show that workers seem to feel comfortable coming to the CIW with their needs. The CIW is able to try to help them because, being farmworkers and having local knowledge, they are familiar with many of these situations. A response by another farmworker also emphasizes this point:

Jane: Do you feel that the CIW leaders understand the needs of the farmworkers?

Farmworker #4: Yes.

Jane: How?

Farmworker #4: We come so that the Coalition can help the workers with the dangers that the workers have here. The coalition helps with the hours too (Author Interview: 3/22/05).

The CIW building where the leaders work from each day is located within walking distance of where the farmworkers live as well as *La Mexicana* #5 parking lot where the farmworkers board busses each day to go the farms. It is also the parking lot where the busses bring them back to each evening (Field Notes: 3/21/05). This close proximity allows the CIW staff greater access to the community so that they can continue to gain knowledge of the workers' living and working conditions as well as the needs of the farmworkers.

The interaction of the CIW staff and the workers is most prominent on Wednesday evenings when the CIW holds its weekly meetings with the farmworkers. Of the five workers that I interviewed, each one of them stated that they come to the CIW on

Wednesdays for the meetings. This allows the CIW staff to have contact with many of the workers at least once a week. During the time that I spent observing the activity at the CIW, I noticed that many workers come to the CIW building more often than once a week. Many workers buy food and other basic necessities from the cooperative store that is run by the farmworkers in the CIW building (Field Notes: 3/21/05-3/24/05). This gives the staff another opportunity to talk with workers during the week. One farmworker said the following about the amount of contact with the CIW staff:

Jane: How many times do you come to the Coalition and your friends come to the Coalition?

Farmworker #5: Three or four times a week when I have time. I have helped them at times when they need help.

Jane: Like?

Farmworker #5: When they need, when they are busy with other things and they need to put away the juices and they need to clean. I come to help them when I have time (Author Interview: 3/24/05).

If the leaders were further away from where the farmworkers reside, these opportunities to interact with the workers at least on a weekly basis would not exist. This is one example of the opportunities the CIW staff have to increase their local knowledge of the farmworkers' situations.

Only farmworkers can be CIW staff members. But in addition to the CIW staff, there are two sister organizations of the CIW that includes the Student Farmworker Alliance (SFA) and Interfaith Action. These two sister organizations represent many of the CIW's third-party supporters. SFA consist of students working with and not for the farmworkers and Interfaith Action is comprised of church members. Both organizations have staff members who also work out of the CIW building. Even the leadership of

conscience constituent groups has good local knowledge of the Immokalee situation.

One SFA staff member working in Immokalee explained the organization as the

following:

SFA staff member #1: It's a decentralized network of over 300 colleges and high schools throughout the U.S. that work in solidarity with the Coalition of Immokalee Workers so we pretty much, like, during the Taco Bell Boycott, trying to coordinate the "Boot the Bell" campaigns. So, it was pretty much working with youth.

Jane: And now you're working specifically with the Coalition?

SFA staff member #1: No, I'm still doing the Student Farmworker Alliance, it's just that, I live in Immokalee now and we coordinate from here and it's obviously better situated in figuring out how we can work with the Coalition (Author Interview: 3/24/05).

I did observe SFA and CIW staff members meeting together (Field Notes: 3/24/05).

Because of the many students who are third-party supporters of the CIW, having staff members in Immokalee and in the CIW building helps the SFA and Interfaith Action enhance their local knowledge. This allows these sister organizations to be more effective in creating strategies that will help the CIW meet its goals.

Motivation

Ganz also mentions motivation as a leadership requirement for an organization's enhanced strategic capacity. As I interviewed the CIW staff members, I gathered that the motivation that they possessed was because they saw their jobs as missions or vocations. During interviews, presentations and at the weekly farmworker meetings, the expression that was consistently used was "we as farmworkers" (Author Interviews: 3/24/05; Field Notes: 3/21/05-3/24/05). The staff does not talk of being leaders or staff members of the CIW but as farmworkers struggling against poor living and working conditions. One staff member said the following:

CIW staff member #1: The Coalition is that we are all here. We are not professional organizers. We are animators of the community. The coalition is in this form for the members, for the community (Author Interview: 3/21/05).

The CIW staff members do not call themselves leaders but refer to themselves as “animators”. This seemed to illustrate an increased solidarity with the workers as stated by another staff member’s response:

CIW staff member #3: 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 the public image. We’re bringing all the workers to the public image. For instance, members of the staff here, we’re elected to be members of the staff; we’re not organizers. 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 (Author Interview: 3/24/05).

When interviewing the CIW staff members and listening to them talk to outside groups, I could not help but notice that “we” was used as opposed to “I”. There is a solidarity that exists between the CIW staff and the workers that seems to exhibit a motivation beyond that of a job or an assignment. This final CIW staff member response regarding motivation is a clearer example of the mission that seems to be felt across the leadership team.

Jane: To what extent do you see this job as a personal mission?

CIW staff member #1: I believe that it is...nobody imposed on you to be here. Nobody tells you that you are going to have to do this. One decides on their own will to be here. When all types of violations of your rights have happened, you really see the necessity to do something. We have to do something in order to change the situation, not in order to stop the people that come after us but for them to find it better here than when we arrived in Immokalee. When I arrived here, these people were a people without law. Bosses that did what they wanted with you. You would see them at work with pistols under their shirt while someone would be working, shouting at you, at times not giving you water to drink. There were all types of violations that existed. This is a mission that you decide to take. We are going to be here as long as it is necessary (Author Interview: 3/21/05).

The SFA and Interfaith action staff members also emphasized that they were not in Immokalee because it was a job that they had decided to take but because they felt that they had a moral responsibility to help the cause. The following dialogue illustrates this:

Jane: Why do you think that you became so involved?

SFA staff member #2: I remember realizing, like I had grown up being taught that if you work hard, you will get what you need, you know what I mean, you know like this American dream, you know, work hard and everything will be fine. And then I came here and I just saw that everything was not like that. Like here where people who were working the hardest probably of anyone in this country and being treated the worst and I saw such horrible conditions that I was kind of like, something has to be done and it was also tied in with my faith at that time. I wanted to do something about it (Author Interview: 3/24/05).

According to this response, this person is working with the Coalition through the SFA and Interfaith Action in order to better the conditions for farmworkers. This member also sees the work as part of a faith tradition. This helps to emphasize a concept of vocation over assignment, which naturally leads to increased motivation. Another SFA staff member also responded with a sense of mission:

SFA staff member #1: There's just something that's so striking that a lot of people can't help but get on board, you know, because they wouldn't feel right about it, you know. The fact that there's been five slavery rings uncovered, for example, in the past decade or even less than that. I mean it's just something that's so absolutely outrageous that, I mean, you really just can't sleep the same unless you don't feel like you're trying to do something to undo that, you know (Author Interview: 3/24/05).

Again, this person is not working to maintain a job or to fulfill an assignment. The work represents a personal mission to change farmworker conditions. Because the CIW staff members and the SFA and Interfaith Action staff members whom I interviewed seem to feel a sense of mission regarding their leadership positions, there is going to be a greater motivation to work towards the goals of the CIW. This enhanced motivation will also aid the organization's overall strategic capacity.

It seems apparent that the CIW has followed the Ganz' three points, 1) possession of local knowledge, 2) employment of tactics that stem from this local knowledge (which will be discussed in detail later) and 3) possession of a motivation, that are necessary for leaders to realize in order to enhance the organization's strategic capacity. Therefore, my evaluation according to Ganz' argument is that effective leadership is a contributing factor to the success of the CIW. Since the CIW staff members are also farmworkers, the CIW is similar to the UFW who also used indigenous leaders rather than outside organizers. The CIW staff has impacted working conditions by being present for workers when they are having difficulties obtaining payment from their bosses, experiencing dangers in the fields and wanting improved hours. Because of the proximity of the CIW staff to farmworker housing and *La Mexicana* #5 parking lot, it is possible that there is an increased sense of security among the workers. This also provides for more interactions between the workers and the staff members.

Collective Farmworker Identity

Since farmworkers in Immokalee belong to different ethnic groups, it is important for the CIW to reinforce the idea of a collective farmworker identity over ethnic identities. Verta Taylor and Nancy Whittier (1992) emphasize three factors that contribute to the creation of a collective identity within a social movement. For the CIW this would include: 1) a boundary that separates the farmworkers from the rest of society, which affirms their identity as farmworkers, 2) the presence of consciousness within the group of its tactics, strategies and goals and 3) interaction with opposing groups, which helps to reinforce who they are and how they are perceived (Taylor and Whittier 1992).

This section will illustrate how the CIW has been able to establish a collective farmworker identity, which has led to the increased success of the movement.

The Affirmation of a Farmworker Identity

Upon entering the CIW building, the first thing that is noticed is a very large mural painted on the wall. The mural contains workers of different ethnicities standing with a united fist in the air. It is titled, “The Coalition of Immokalee Workers”. Written on the mural is *Yon Sel Fos* (Creole) and *Una sola fuerza* (Spanish). This translates to “A Single Force” and reminds the workers that they are all working together, despite their different countries of origin (Field Notes: 3/21/05). With such a large mural conveying a message to the farmworkers that they are one force also helps to emphasize the importance of this collective farmworker identity.

I was curious about the success of this attempt at creating a collective identity and asked all of the farmworker interviewees if there was unity or conflict among Mexicans, Guatemalans and Haitians in Immokalee. A Mexican farmworker responded by telling me that there was conflict in the trailer over which movies to watch but that overall they all treat each other like brothers (Author Interview: 3/22/05). A Guatemalan farmworker had the following to say:

Jane: Is there unity among the farmworkers?

Farmworker #4: Yes, there is unity among the workers. There are no problems here in Immokalee. In other areas, there are divisions but not here (Author Interview: 3/22/05).

Farmworker #5, a Mexican worker, also stated that everyone gets along well (Author Interview: 3/24/05).

One farmworker from Guatemala did tell me that there is discrimination towards Guatemalans. The following dialogue helps to elaborate this idea.

Jane: Are there divisions among the farmworkers? Between the Mexicans, the Guatemalans, the Haitians?

Farmworker #4: Discrimination?

Jane: Yes, in between...

Farmworker #4: WOO! A lot!

Jane: Yes?

Farmworker: There is a lot of discrimination because the Guatemalans talk a different type of language from the Mexicans and they are a different color and height. I have been discriminated against because of my height because I am not very big. So there is always discrimination. For example, at work, the trucks are very big and people have to throw a bucket up so someone's height does not help them much and they say, "Hey, you runt, hurry up!" Like Guatemalans do not know their vocabulary and pronounce the words differently and they say, "You don't know how to talk!" The Guatemalans are discriminated against by the Mexicans and the Americans (Author Interview: 3/22/05).

This worker emphasized though that the CIW talks about justice and discrimination and the importance of unity during the weekly farmworker meetings held each Wednesday evening. This worker also told me that during these meetings, the workers and the CIW continue to look for solutions to this problem so that it does not continue. Although discrimination does exist, as this worker's response illustrates, it is important to note that this same worker realizes that the CIW is working to fix this problem. The CIW is striving to create a collective farmworker identity despite the transience of the population. This is evident in many of the CIW's tactics that will be discussed in detail in the next section.

During a presentation to students, a CIW staff member mentioned being from Guatemala but emphasized that everyone works together (Field Notes: 3/21/05). In an interview with this staff member it was said that the members of the community want to be recognized as farmworkers (Author Interview: 3/24/05). I believe that the constant

emphasis and use of the word “farmworker” aids in the creation of a boundary and affirms a farmworker identity over an ethnic identity. This permits the CIW to focus on consciousness raising among the farmworker community without the worry of the different ethnic groups undercutting each other.

The Presence of Consciousness

The presence of this consciousness starts with the CIW’s motto which is “Consciousness + Commitment = Change”. This is emphasized in the community through popular education techniques that are meant to animate the community about their situation as farmworkers. To recount a response that was included in the leadership section:

CIW Interview #3: 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 (Author Interview: 3/24/05).

The CIW animates the farmworkers by holding weekly farmworker meetings, interacting in the farmworker camps, posting and handing out of flyers about the situation and broadcasting about the farmworker situation on the CIW radio station, 107.9, called *Radio La Tuya* (Your Radio) (Field Notes: 3/21/05-3/24/05).

This presence of consciousness among the farmworker community enables the workers to transcend past ethnic divisions. It also provides the CIW with the opportunity to take this newly formed farmworker identity one step further. Since the CIW has employed tactics that bring the workers together, they then are able to put the farmworkers face-to-face with their adversaries. This interaction is the third and final step that Taylor and Whittier say are necessary for a collective identity.

Interaction with Opposing Groups

By interacting with opposing groups such as employers and large corporations, the CIW is able to reinforce this collective farmworker identity. There are several ways in which the CIW and its farmworker members interact and negotiate with the employers of Immokalee and large corporations. The march of 600 workers on the crew leader's house who abused a worker brought CIW members face-to-face with an employer. Another collective action was the CIW's Taco Bell boycott that was launched on April 1, 2001 and concluded with a victory on March 8, 2005. The annual Truth Tours led by the farmworkers that promoted the Taco Bell Boycott culminated in front of Taco Bell International Headquarters in Irvine, CA or Yum! Brands International Headquarters in Louisville, KY. Farmworkers also took part in the collective action of a ten-day hunger strike outside Taco Bell Headquarters in Irvine, CA from February 24-March 5, 2003 (*Immokalee: a story of slavery and freedom* 2004; AP State & Local Wire: 3/5/03; Nieves 2005). These collective actions emphasized the farmworkers' common interests and helped the workers to overcome their ethnic differences.

Although conflict among workers based on ethnicity is bound to exist, the CIW has attempted to follow the three points that Taylor and Whittier state are necessary for the creation of a collective identity. These include: 1) a boundary affirming a farmworker identity, 2) the presence of consciousness within the group of its tactics, strategies and goals and 3) interaction with opposing groups helping to reinforce who they are and how they are perceived (Taylor and Whittier 1992). According to this argument, the creation and emphasis of a collective farmworker identity over ethnic identities has also contributed to the success of the CIW as it did with the UFW.

Strategic Uses of Various Sources of Power

According to Gene Sharp in *The Role of Power in Nonviolent Struggle*, “Political power appears to emerge from the interaction of all or several of the following sources: (1) authority (2) human resources (3) skills and knowledge (4) intangible factors (5) material resources (6) sanctions” (Sharp 1990:3-4). In order for the farmworkers to be successful against the corporations and the growers, the tactics that they used needed to “reduce the availability of each of the sources of political power” (Sharp 1990:16). The CIW has led the farmworkers in reducing the power of the corporations and the growers by means of consciousness raising of farmworkers. This was achieved through the employment of popular education techniques, general labor strikes, a march from Ft. Myers to Orlando, FL, a national boycott against Taco Bell, hunger strikes, and the recruitment of third party supporters. Through these tactics, the CIW and the farmworkers have reduced the power of the corporations and the growers. They have done this by addressing intangible factors such as consciousness and identity, denying the authority of employers and large corporations, withdrawing human and material resources and withdrawing skills and knowledge. According to an interview with CIW staff member #1: “In this struggle, in this campaign that we began after the coalition was initiated, how do I say, everything is possible in this struggle”. This next section will further evaluate the effectiveness of these tactics employed by the CIW and the farmworkers.

Intangible Factors

Before the CIW was able to launch tactics outside of the farmworker community, it first had to address the farmworker community itself. The CIW designed several

tactics that addressed intangible factors, such as the consciousness, commitment and culture of the workers. I argue intangible factors were first necessary in order to mobilize the farmworker community before engaging in tactics aimed outside of the community.

The CIW uses its motto, Consciousness + Commitment = Change and popular education to raise the consciousness among the farmworker community (Solnit 2004:353). Paulo Freire developed this educational technique in the late 1950s. It focuses on teaching adults how to read using words and concepts that are familiar to them such as crops, tools, and customs. The process then moves to ask questions regarding conflict, power and land ownership (Berryman 1987: 35). Not only did many of the CIW's founders have experience with popular education, but many of them were also trained facilitators of this tactic. Popular education techniques such as theater, songs, videos and stories are used to present the community situation of Immokalee to the farmworkers participating in the CIW (Solnit 2004:354).

Weekly farmworker meetings. The weekly farmworker meetings help to raise the consciousness and the commitment of the farmworkers. CIW staff members go to where the farmworkers live to talk with them and to tell them about the weekly meetings. They also distribute and post flyers so that “the workers might run into someone and just talk about it [the Immokalee farmworker situation] on a personal basis” (Author Interview: 3/24/05; Field Notes: 3/21/05-3/24/05). *Radio La Tuya*, which I will discuss in detail momentarily, also reminds the workers of the meetings as one worker told me in the following response:

Farmworker #4: Here people met every Wednesday for the meetings of the coalition.

Jane: Other days or only Wednesdays?

Farmworker #4: Wednesdays...only Wednesdays. All Wednesdays and on the radio, the coalition informs us (Author Interview: 3/22/2005).

Although meetings generally begin around 7:30 PM, workers trickle in up until 9:00 PM if they arrive home late from work (Field Notes: 3/23/05). This flexibility helps to increase the number of workers that are able to attend the meetings. It is at these meetings that the CIW staff updates the farmworkers on campaigns, goals, tactics, strategies and gains.

The meeting that I attended as a participant-observer on March 23, 2005 was the first meeting after the termination of the Taco Bell boycott. The purpose of the meeting was to inform the workers of the boycott results. The meeting began with the showing of the 2005 Truth Tour video in Spanish. The workers seemed to enjoy seeing themselves in the footage of the Truth Tour as they talked with students, protested in cities and celebrated their victory in Louisville, KY outside of the Yum! Brands International Headquarters. The video also reinforced why the CIW had chosen to boycott Taco Bell, what the results meant for the farmworkers and how students and church members helped to promote their cause. It also emphasized that the CIW supports those who support them. During the Truth Tour, a carpenter's union that supported the CIW was protesting. The CIW increased the number of people who were protesting by three times. Everyone who was on the Truth Tour put their efforts towards this carpenter's union protest on this particular day (Field Notes: 3/23/2005).

Once the video was over, two CIW staff members began asking questions of the farmworker community. It resembled a classroom. A staff member would ask, "Does anyone remember when the Truth Tour began?" When a worker answered, the staff member would respond with, "Ok, good. Now, does anyone remember when it ended?"

They then asked the workers what they talked about on the Truth Tour and what part of the tour they liked best. They also asked the workers questions such as, What do the students do? Why do students visit us? What do the churches do? What were the CIW's demands that Taco Bell agreed to? The meeting continued in this fashion. These questions helped to reinforce the goals and gains of the CIW to the farmworker community present at the meeting. CIW staff members also told the farmworker community that the next meeting would be a brainstorming session as to how the results of the Taco Bell boycott could be supervised and implemented in the fields. The workers were told to tell their friends to come and to talk about the possibilities (Field Notes: 3/23/2005).

Next, the staff members passed out copies of a newspaper article printed in Mexico about the success of the Taco Bell boycott for the CIW and the Immokalee farmworkers. They read the article aloud and the CIW staff members asked for volunteers to read. They asked that people volunteer to read, even if they could not read well and emphasized that everyone would help them. Some workers read well and others struggled. For those that struggled, other members helped them with the words that they were stumbling over. The staff emphasized that articles such as these were being printed around the United States and in their home countries about the gains they had won. By reading this article together, the staff members were emphasizing the importance of the boycott win as well as literacy skills (Field Notes: 3/23/2005).

Towards the end of the meeting, the CIW staff members reminded workers and emphasized to them the importance of the CIW membership card. This card is available at no cost to any worker who asks for it and this was reiterated at the meeting. The

workers were told to tell their friends to come to the Coalition to get one. This is another way that the CIW helps to raise the consciousness and the commitment of the workers. One worker took his card out of his wallet to show me. It has the worker's personal information and picture on the front of the card. On the back, it states in English, Spanish and Creole that "This person is in good standing with the CIW" (Field Notes: 3/24/2005). Although CIW members do not pay dues, unlike UFW members, this card gives the farmworkers a sense of belonging and responsibility to the CIW as well as an official identity as a farmworker.

A staff member asked a worker to tell his story of how the card helped him when a boss was trying to treat him poorly. This worker said that the card makes bosses afraid to mistreat workers. The staff member then emphasized that the card represents the farmworkers' struggle and that it is much more than a piece of plastic (Field Notes: 3/23/05). This card is another way that the CIW is raising the consciousness of the workers and facilitating the feeling of empowerment for each individual worker.

At the end of the farmworker meeting, the workers and the staff take part in a call and response chant. A CIW staff member chants in Spanish, "What do we want?" and the farmworkers respond by yelling in Spanish "Justice!" This is repeated three times and signifies the end of the meeting (Field Notes: 3/23/05). This ritual chant helps to reiterate that the workers attend the meetings in order to change their conditions.

Radio La Tuya. Besides the farmworker meetings, local 107.9, *Radio La Tuya* (Your Radio), is another way that the CIW addresses intangible factors such as consciousness and culture. The radio station helps to remind workers of the farmworker meetings and to distribute new information to them (Brand 2003). All of the programs

are from 5:00 P.M until 8:00 P.M. during the week. CIW staff members and farmworkers run the programs. There is information as well as music programs for all of the workers. Programs are in different languages and dialects in order to reach as many workers as possible. They also emphasized that they enjoy the radio programs very much (Author Interview: 3/22/2005).

If the workers enjoy the radio, they are more apt to listen to it on a regular basis. This helps the CIW to ensure that farmworkers will hear the information that is being distributed. The CIW is then able to focus on its consciousness raising efforts each day through the programs. It may also aid in recruitment efforts. If workers enjoy the radio programs, they may be motivated to come to a Wednesday meeting. These programs can also aid in the acceptance of third party supporters. During my visit, a CIW staff member interviewed student visitors on the radio. It is my assumption that this helped to give the workers an idea as to why students visit and to enforce that student supporters are important in their struggle (Field Notes: 3/21/2005).

Leadership base. Another intangible factor that the CIW is addressing is the maintenance of its leadership base. The CIW is able to maintain its leadership base within this transient farmworker population by running leadership workshops for those in the farmworker community who aspire to animate their fellow workers. Approximately each month, the staff gives classes on leadership formation in order to widen the leadership base that it has. The CIW considers this to be another tactic of raising the consciousness of the individual farmworkers in the community (Author Interview: 3/21/05).

Commitment to the organization. Although CIW members are not required to pay dues as was required of the UFW members, CIW members contribute in other ways. First, as I was told by four of the workers that I interviewed, they each stop by the CIW on days other than Wednesdays (days of the farmworker meetings) in order to help with the daily duties. Three workers stated that they come by the CIW to help staff members to clean or to organize paperwork or items for the cooperative store. I also witnessed several workers coming into the CIW building to help with these daily tasks. One member escorted me to the radio station when the staff members were busy (Author Interviews and Field Notes: 3/21/05-3/24/05). Second, there is a cooperative store that is run by the farmworkers. Third, some workers volunteer their time by running the programming on *La Tuya* (Author Interview: 3/22/2005). Although the Immokalee farmworkers are not contributing financially to the CIW, they are contributing their time, which helps to increase their commitment to the movement.

It is also evident that the CIW is member owned since staff members are elected from the farmworker community. They receive the same pay that workers in the fields receive. The staff also works in the fields during the summers. This helps to emphasize that there is not a hierarchy within the farmworker community or the CIW and that each worker has a stake in the goals and the outcomes (Author Interview: 3/24/2005).

Material Resources

Taco Bell Boycott. Gene Sharp would classify the tactic of a boycott as one that attacks the power of the corporation's material resources. Sharp defines material resources as "property, natural resources, financial resources, the economic system, means of communication and transportation" (Sharp 1990:4). The CIW was able to

“sever the supply of material resources” of Taco Bell and Yum! Brands, a major buyer of Immokalee tomatoes (Sharp 1990:17).

The CIW was very strategic in the design of the Taco Bell boycott. First, Taco Bell is a major purchaser of Immokalee tomatoes and it is also a recognizable name to the general public (Author Interview: 3/24/05). Second, since Taco Bell’s target market is young people from the ages of 16-24, it also launched the “Boot the Bell” campaign (Nieves 2005). This campaign encouraged students on college and university campuses and high schools to not only boycott a campus Taco Bell, but to also try to remove Taco Bell franchises from their campuses. The SFA “a decentralized network of student and youth activists who stand in solidarity with the farmworkers” helped to promote the “Boot the Bell” campaign by issuing organizing kits to campuses that encouraged teachers, petitions, editorials in school newspapers, and a demand for a “sweat-free” school (www.ciw-online.org; www.sfalliance.org).

A SFA organizer elaborated the philosophy behind the “Boot the Bell” campaign:

SFA Interview #1: They [CIW and SFA] took the target and put it back on Taco Bell, you know. Not only were we not going to buy from there. We’re going to spend our free time trying to make sure a contract gets cut and we’re going to try to remove you from campus and that happened. We had 23 different campuses in the past three years (Author Interview: 3/24/05).

The “Boot the Bell” campaign proved to be successful for the CIW in promoting the Taco Bell boycott. Over 350 universities and high schools were organized around the boycott, over 30 schools ran “Boot the Bell” campaigns and over 20 schools were able to remove or prevent Taco Bell contracts (www.ciw-online.org; www.sfalliance.org; Nieves 2005).

Truth Tours. The annual Truth Tours that were led by the Immokalee farmworkers were an effort to publicize the Taco Bell boycott across the United States

and to involve the farmworkers in the boycott since the boycott was aimed outside of the Immokalee community. In order for the Truth Tour to be successful, it required the commitment and the participation of the workers (Solnit 2004). Each Truth Tour culminated at either the Taco Bell International Headquarters in Irvine, CA or the Yum Brands International Headquarters in Louisville, KY (*Immokalee: a story of slavery and freedom* 2004; AP State & Local Wire: 2/27/04). On their way to these headquarters, farmworkers would stop in major cities to protest and educate the public through protests and skits on Taco Bell's ties to the poor conditions of Florida's tomato fields (*Immokalee: a story of slavery and freedom* 2004; Seery 2004). This helped to continue the education and consciousness raising process of the workers as well as the general public.

The first Truth Tour that occurred in the spring of 2002 allowed for a group of CIW members to participate in "their first face-to-face talks with Taco Bell executives" (*Immokalee: a story of slavery and freedom* 2004). The Truth Tour that occurred in the spring of 2005 coincided with Taco Bell and Yum Brands agreeing to the CIW demands. It also successfully publicized the boycott, but more importantly, it reminded the workers of their adversaries, why they were maintaining their struggle and the boycott, and who their supporters were. It also put the workers into leadership positions during speeches and protests, which may have increased the levels of commitment (Fosmoe 2005). I suspect that the Truth Tour also continued to raise the consciousness of the workers and pushed them to not accept their current situation of poor living and working conditions.

The Truth Tour also helped to raise the consciousness of the general public of the United States and therefore, mobilize an increasing number of third party supporters such

as students and church members. One CIW staff member commented on why the 2005 Truth Tour was so successful:

CIW Staff Interview #1: The last tour we completed was in reality the shortest in the amount of distance but with much more impact because two buses went to different parts [of the country], therefore we had the opportunity to encompass 15, 16 cities in the space of six days. All this was to publicize, to bring out the voice of the workers that have been oppressed for years. To bring out into the public light to say: “Here we are! We are part of this economy! We are part of the United States and for this we will not be seen as second or third class citizens!” (Author Interview: 3/21/05).

Consciousness raising is a CIW tactic aimed at farmworkers and third party supporters.

In a tactic such as the Truth Tour, third party supporters are learning of farmworker conditions from the farmworkers themselves. This motivated many of them to participate in the Taco Bell boycott. It was necessary for these third party supporters to withdraw their material resources in order for the boycott to have an impact.

The Taco Bell boycott officially ended on March 8, 2005. There were three CIW demands to which Taco Bell agreed. First, Taco Bell agreed to become part of a three-part dialogue with the CIW and the Immokalee tomato suppliers to discuss solutions to the problems that Immokalee farmworkers face. Second, they agreed to pay an immediate increase of a penny more per pound of tomatoes that will go directly to the workers. Third, they agreed to join the CIW and tomato industry representatives in drafting a Code of Conduct for Taco Bell tomato suppliers that would define wage and working condition standards. The CIW hopes that this agreement with Taco Bell will help to raise the standard of living for migrant workers (www.ciw-online.org; Business Wire 2005).

The agreement with Taco Bell and Yum! Brands appears to be thorough in that it attempts to safeguard against the grower keeping the extra penny per pound of tomatoes

picked and not passing it on to the grower. This penny not only has to pass through the hands of the grower but it also has to pass from the grower employed contracted crew leaders to the farmworkers. The safeguards, which have been implemented in the agreement, state that Taco Bell will pull contracts from growers that do not pass the penny on to the workers. In order for the results of the boycott to actually work, the CIW knows it will have to continue its work to inform the workers of their rights to this wage increase. They will also have to monitor, through interaction with the workers, the extent to which this extra penny is a farmworker reality.

CIW cooperative store. The CIW has also been successful in withdrawing material resources from local retailers in Immokalee. Some local stores were “known to engage in price gouging to take advantage of the workers”(Lydersen 2005:223). The CIW cooperative store is run by the farmworkers and it provides basic goods at slightly over cost. It is easily accessible to the workers since it is located in the CIW building just inside the front door. I noticed several workers coming in to buy from the store and on the last day I was in Immokalee, there was a line of at least ten workers waiting to buy their goods (Field Notes: 3/21/05-3/24/05). By providing an alternative to high prices in the Immokalee stores, farmworkers are able to buy their goods at a reasonable cost and the local markets may be forced to lower prices since farmworkers are withdrawing their material resources from them.

CIW Building. According to CIW staff members, one family owns three-fourths of Immokalee property. These properties are often in poor condition, carry extraordinary high rent and are often occupied by farmworkers. An article by John Bowe states: “The town’s largest landlord, a family named Blocker, owns several hundred old shacks and

mobile homes...which can rent for upward of two hundred dollars a week”(Bowe 2003: 106). This family is also the owner of the building that the CIW rents. During a question and answer session with student supporters, a CIW member stated that they have not pressured the Blockers to reduce the rents of farmworker housing for fear of being evicted from their current building. The CIW is in the process of moving to a property that will be owned by them. They hope that after they move to this new community center, they will have the ability to put pressure on this family and hopefully affect the high rent in the Immokalee area. By moving to an independent property, the CIW is withdrawing material resources from a family whose is supposedly controlling real estate prices in Immokalee (Field Notes: 3/21/05).

Human Resources

Sharp defines human resources as “the number of persons who obey, cooperate, or provide special assistance” (Sharp 1990:4). The CIW helped to mobilize farmworkers and third party supporters in order to withdraw the human resources from employers and corporations. According to the staff members, the CIW has over 3,000 farmworker members. Therefore, any collective farmworker action can become potentially devastating to those in power (Field Notes: 3/21/05). Likewise, the increasing numbers of third party supporters such as students and church members continually help the CIW to promote its campaigns.

Because the CIW has over 3,000 members, the withdrawal of their human resources can significantly impact employers. For instance, the general strikes employed by the farmworkers encouraged the farmworkers not to cooperate with the growers and the working conditions to which they were being subjected. By targeting the labor pool and

not a specific farm, the CIW was able to increase the number of people who were participating in the strike, a form of noncooperation. The more strikers that are involved, the greater the level of noncooperation.

Hunger Strikes. A ten-day hunger strike of workers, students, union members and church members took place in front of Taco Bell Headquarters in Irvine, CA from February 24-March 5, 2003 (*Immokalee: a story of slavery and freedom* 2004; AP State & Local Wire: 3/5/03). This hunger strike was a form of noncooperation by the workers. Not only were the farmworkers not picking in the Florida fields, but they were refusing to comply with conditions that they believed were a result of Taco Bell's business practices. It helped to reinforce to the farmworkers who they are and how they are perceived.

Church leaders urged the CIW to end the hunger strike after some members were hospitalized. A church leader broke a loaf of bread as a symbol of the end of the strike (*Immokalee: a story of slavery and freedom* 2004; AP State & Local Wire: 3/5/03). This action of breaking bread most likely resonated with the Catholic faith of the workers. It not only symbolized the end of the strike and therefore the end of their suffering of hunger, but also provided a sense of spirituality and a sense of mission for the workers.

This action aided the CIW in three ways. First, it helped to solidify the commitment to the movement by the farmworkers. Second, Taco Bell shareholders filed and passed "a resolution demanding that Taco Bell take responsibility for labor conditions in the fields where its produce is picked" (*Immokalee: a story of slavery and freedom* 2004). According to the Coalition, this action by the shareholders helped to re-open talks with CIW representatives (*Immokalee: a story of slavery and freedom* 2004). Finally, since church leaders urged an end to the hunger strike, they promised the

farmworkers and the CIW that they would promote the CIW campaign in their congregations. Therefore, the CIW gained increased support and an increased mobilization of human resources (*Immokalee: a story of slavery and freedom* 2004; AP State & Local Wire: 3/5/03).

The CIW also held a hunger strike in December of 1997. Six farmworkers went on a thirty-day hunger strike to protest low salaries and poor working conditions. The strikers were watched over twenty-four hours a day by other farmworkers who supported their actions (Solnit 2004; Baker 1998). Those on the hunger strike again were refusing to cooperate with their employers and the conditions in which they were required to work. It seems as if this hunger strike was not only aimed at the growers, but was also aimed at attracting other farmworkers to the cause.

Marches. In 2000, the CIW, with its workers and staff members marched from Ft. Myers to Orlando, FL. The 240-mile march took two weeks. This was an action done to protest the Florida Fruit and Vegetable Growers Association. The farmworkers left the fields and demanded higher wages (Lydersen 2003; 2005; Solnit 2004;). This collective action was also a form of noncooperation. The workers were refusing to accept poor wages and were demanding to be treated with dignity. In a photo taken by Kari Lydersen, a CIW staff member wears the T- shirt that commemorates the march. The T-shirt states, "March for Dignity, Dialogue and A Fair Wage" (Lydersen 2005:216). This saying is also accompanied by a picture of the Statue of Liberty holding a tomato in place of the torch (Lydersen 2005:216).

In addition to the march from Ft. Myers to Orlando, workers also embarked on a 34-mile march from Fort Lauderdale to Miami (Lydersen 2003). This march that began

on November 16, 2003, involved approximately fifty workers who were opposing the proposed Free Trade of the Americas agreement. The CIW and the farmworkers were hoping to bring awareness to the farmworker plight while also drawing attention to the possible consequences of free trade on farmworkers in the U.S. as well as on the economies of other Latin American countries (Lydersen 2003).

Noncooperation is also evident when workers call the CIW regarding abusive working conditions and potential slavery operations. They are refusing to comply with the conditions to which they are subjected. Noncooperation was also evident when the workers marched on the house of the abusive crew leader. Collective actions that are aimed at raising the consciousness and the commitment of the farmworkers also withdraw human resources from the employers. When the farmworkers were leading the Truth Tours or marching from Ft. Myers to Orlando, they were not working in the fields, thus, pulling their human resources and directing them elsewhere.

Third party supporters. The Student Farmworker Alliance (SFA) and Interfaith Action has helped to mobilize third party supporters that withdrew human resources from corporations like Taco Bell. Students withdrew not only their material resources from Taco Bell, but also participated in forms of noncooperation such as the hunger strikes, marches and protests. These actions helped to put pressure on administrations to terminate or prevent Taco Bell contracts from being signed with their colleges and universities.

CIW third party supporters also mobilized around protests at Taco Bell headquarters and Yum! Brand headquarters that brought increased attention to the CIW and the farmworkers. These supporters put forth their human resources for the cause of

the farmworkers, therefore increasing the CIW's success. When I asked a CIW staff member why the Taco Bell boycott was such a success, the response was the following:

CIW staff member #1: It had support of different types of people. For example, in this campaign, there were not only students but church people. There were politicians at the federal level. Many of them put their voice with us. There were artistic world celebrities like Tom Morello, Rage Against the Machine, and many, many young anarchists. All of this combined strength was what took us to victory and it was most beautiful that the boycott was here and was based here in Immokalee. The base was here but at the time it was national and it had autonomy (Author Interview: 3/21/05).

This statement shows that the CIW not only withdrew human resources from those in power but also recruited human resources for its own success. This recruitment of human resources was a key factor in the success of the boycott.

Skills and Knowledge

General strikes. The CIW has organized and encouraged three labor strikes in Immokalee. The CIW has not targeted one grower since there are several farms in the areas surrounding Immokalee and workers tend to work on several of them in a month or even in a week. These strikes were encouraged at *La Mexicana #5* parking lot where the farmworkers search for work each morning (Field Notes: 3/21/05-3/24/05; Solnit 2004). The first strike was in response to a corporation that was trying to lower the minimum wage. The strike was successful and the wage stayed at \$4.25 (Field Notes: 3/21/05).

The farmworkers were withholding their skills and knowledge, which Sharp defines as "the skills, knowledge, and abilities of such persons, and their capacity to supply the needs of the ruler" (Sharp 1990:4). In this case, the ruler refers to the grower. The growers depend on the farmworkers' skills and the knowledge of tomato picking in order to successfully harvest the tomatoes. By withholding these important skills, the

grower is left with unharvested tomatoes. This helps to create a power shift from the grower to the worker.

Authority

Gene Sharp states that authority is another source of power that must be withdrawn from one's opponent. He defines authority as "the extent and intensity of the rulers' authority or legitimacy among its subjects" (Sharp 1990:4). The CIW has helped the farmworkers to deny the authority of the employers in two significant ways.

As stated by interviewees, farmworkers know that they can call on the CIW when they are having difficulty with bosses including difficulties in receiving their paychecks and mistreatment. This was evident when the CIW mobilized farmworkers to march on the house of the crew leader that abused a worker for taking a drink of water in the fields. The CIW and the farmworkers refused to recognize the authority of the crew leader and took away his power in the way of mistreatment over the workers.

The CIW has also worked to deny the authority of employers that hold workers in slavery conditions. In these situations, farmworkers do not have permission to leave the farms, to have visitors, to talk with other workers, or to purchase their goods outside of employer owned stores. They are under the control of the employer and are subjected to a security force that monitors them. In order to fight these cases, the CIW takes phone calls year round regarding potential slavery operations in Florida and the East Coast. Workers report abuses as they migrate north and all calls are archived. The CIW's new building also has a private room where workers can come to speak with CIW staff members confidentially regarding these situations. The CIW has worked with the

Department of Justice and the FBI (Field Notes: 3/21/05). It is important to note this state and federal aid despite the current conservative era.

A CIW staff member worked in an undercover crew to investigate a slavery operation. The ringleaders of this Lake Placid, FL operation “were found guilty of conspiracy to hold workers against their will and sentenced to prison” (http://www.rfkmemorial.org/human_rights/2003.htm). With the help of the CIW, five slavery operations have been discovered and prosecuted and over 1,000 workers have been liberated (http://www.rfkmemorial.org/human_rights/2003.htm). Since the CIW staff members are also farmworkers and have the local knowledge of the working conditions, they were able to better investigate these slavery operations through an undercover operation. This allowed them to take the authority away from those running these slavery operations.

The tactics and strategies employed by the CIW have contributed to their success. The tactics that address the intangible factors of the farmworkers aided in mobilizing the farmworker community and increasing their commitment to the cause. The Taco Bell boycott withdrew material resources from Taco Bell and Yum! Brands and helped to create a wage increase for the workers. The skills and knowledge of the workers was withdrawn through general labor strikes that left the growers without workers to harvest. By marching on the crew leader’s home and uncovering slavery operations, farmworkers and the CIW are refusing to recognize the authority of those that submit them to abusive conditions. Finally, the human resources mobilized by the CIW have provided for increased leverage during collective actions. The CIW has accurately followed the nonviolent model of tactics and strategies outlined by Gene Sharp that has created a power shift from the employers and corporations to the farmworkers of Immokalee, FL.

Conscience Constituency Involvement

The conscience constituency, or third party supporters of the CIW, has contributed greatly to the success of this farmworker movement by providing labor, publicity and finances. According to Rory McVeigh (1993), a movement has greater success in the recruitment of third party supporters and their resources by 1) not threatening their material, status or economic interest and 2) proclaiming the CIW's cause as moral and just. As the UFW highlighted their cause on the basis of justice, the CIW has also used this recruitment strategy through the use of narratives that evoke emotion and passion (Jenkins and Perrow 1977).

Resources provided by students

Many conscience constituents of the CIW are college and university students. With the help of the SFA, these students have aided the movement in several ways. They have provided labor by participating in collective actions such as the Taco Bell boycott, the "Boot the Bell" campaign and the Truth Tour. They have taken the movement from Immokalee to college campuses throughout the country further publicizing the cause of the CIW. Students and campuses have also helped to lower the costs of the movement by using communication and media services available on campus.

Labor. Although the CIW and the Immokalee farmworkers were planning to boycott Taco Bell, it would not have had a pressuring effect had Taco Bell's target market of 16-24 year olds not participated. The participation of students in the boycott, in my opinion, became key labor resource to the CIW. Many students refused to eat at campus Taco Bells. This became very easy to do for students since it was non-threatening. According to one student interviewee:

Jane: Were you involved with the boycott at all?

Student #1: I stopped eating Taco Bell about a year and a half ago as soon as I heard about it, so, in that aspect, yes (Author Interview: 3/22/05).

A simple yes response would have answered my question of boycott participation but what I perceived from this college student was that not eating at Taco Bell restaurants constituted minimal participation. What this shows is that the CIW was strategic in launching the boycott. It did not take much effort for students to choose to eat at another restaurant on campus or in their town. With the boycott being simple and non-threatening, students that took up the cause of the farmworker situation were willing to provide greater commitment and additional resources to the movement.

Students not only chose to boycott Taco Bell, but they also worked to remove these restaurants from college campuses. The SFA helped students on campuses across the country to organize “Boot the Bell” campaigns. These campaigns provided students with an opportunity to participate in the movement on another level by making the trip to visit Immokalee, witnessing the conditions, reporting back to the administrations of their campuses and putting pressure on Taco Bell and YUM! Brands. Over 30 schools across the United States had “Boot the Bell” campaigns and over 20 schools removed or prevented Taco Bell contracts (www.ciw-online.org; www.sfalliance.org; Nieves 2005).

A former student and SFA staff member in Immokalee recounts the level of participation at the University of Texas at Austin:

Jane: How many students got involved in Austin?

SFA staff member #1: I guess in terms of principle organizing there was probably about a dozen of us that were really the core of organizing, but, roughly 1100 people signed a petition saying they wanted Taco Bell kicked off campus and that they weren’t going to eat there anymore and you know, we kept it hot in the media for a long time. It was definitely the main topics or whatever on campus (Author Interview: 3/24/05).

These campus groups at the University of Texas-Austin launched protests against Taco Bell and attempted to remove Taco Bell from the Union. The Student Government tried to evict Taco Bell by passing a resolution. Although the resolution failed and Taco Bell was not removed from the University of Texas-Austin, the students' efforts demonstrate the amount of labor that they provided the CIW (Author Interview: 3/24/05; University Wire: 11/10/04).

Another former student who is now working in the CIW building as an SFA staff member provided labor for the boycott as well as labor in Immokalee. This is illustrated in the following response:

SFA staff member #2: I became really involved in doing a lot with the boycott there [Notre Dame] and we organized a lot of different events around the boycott and then I did a summer internship here and I've been back several times and now I'm here full-time (Author Interview: 3/24/05).

Students were willing to provide labor during the academic year as well as during the summers and at times, as this former student shows, after graduation.

Students also participated in the annual Truth Tours that helped to publicize the Taco Bell boycott across the country. In video footage of the tours, students are visible in the cities that the caravan of farmworkers stopped. Students had made signs to carry as they protested in front of Taco Bell restaurants (*Immokalee: a story of slavery and freedom* 2004; Critzon 2002). It also seems probable that the interaction with the students and their convictions helped to solidify the collective farmworker identity as the farmworkers traveled from city to city throughout the tour. Once again, the students provided the CIW with labor by protesting and encouraging the commitment of the workers.

Publicity. The CIW was able to minimize publicity costs by recruiting students to publicize for them on college campuses. From the students that I interviewed, many of them had heard about the CIW and the boycott from another student who had visited Immokalee during a spring break trip. This is evident in the following response:

Jane: So, how did you first hear about the CIW?

Student #1: Actually my partner worked with a girl who visited on her previous spring break with her college. We got really interested in the project because we're both really involved in social justice activities (Author Interview: 3/22/05).

This same student is planning on publicizing the Immokalee situation upon returning to campus after the spring break trip.

Student #1: We're making a documentary, which we're going to show to the entire campus so it's also going to be on Inter-Library Loan so that other campuses can take it out and use it for anything else that they want to use (Author Interview: 3/22/05).

Another student that I spoke with went to a roundtable discussion held by students that had traveled to Immokalee during a 2004 spring break. This student not only took up the cause of the boycott, but signed up for her university's 2005 spring break trip to Immokalee in order to learn more about the CIW and the farmworker situation. This student returned to talk with other students on campus as well as family members (Author Interview: 3/19/05; 4/13/05). This "word of mouth" tactic regarding the Immokalee situation is clearly contributing to the publicity of the movement.

The CIW website provides downloadable forms that student organizers can use regarding information about the CIW, the boycott, and farmworker situations (www.ciw-online.org; www.sfalliance.org). The SFA encourages students to hold teach-ins on campus and provides them with an organizing kit in order to facilitate interactions with other students. An SFA staff member in Immokalee gave me a packet that included

reproducible flyers for students, a video about the CIW, Immokalee and its farmworkers and recent success stories of campus actions to “Boot the Bell”. Although the CIW can rely on students to publicize for them on campuses, they are making this easier for students by providing them with the necessary tools.

Finances. Students contribute to the CIW financially by helping with the publicity costs on campus. The downloadable forms on the CIW or SFA website or the reproducible forms sent in the SFA organizing kit make it possible for many students to receive information without it costing the CIW paper, ink and postage. Students are able to use copying services on campus and rooms free of charge to hold teach-ins. These students also have access to internet services, inter-campus mail, media services and campus newspapers. Articles containing information on the CIW, their goals and collective actions can be found in school newspapers at UCLA, Central Michigan, Northwestern, University of California-Davis, University of Texas-Austin, as well as several others (Critzon 2002; University Wire: 11/10/04; Springgay 2005; Chmielnicki 2004; Suvansilpakit 2004). Expenses such as these are often covered financially under tuition costs that further publicize the movement without significantly impacting the CIW financially.

Why Do Students Support the CIW?

The CIW is able to recruit third party supporters by appealing to students’ moral convictions. The CIW’s accommodation of student groups during spring break trips has proven to be a key component to their recruitment process. Through the interaction of students and farmworkers, the touring of farmworker conditions and the educational sessions regarding issues such as fair food, immigration, free trade and Catholic Social

Teaching, the CIW is able to evoke emotions that may compel some students to commit to the movement.

Interaction of students and farmworkers. When student groups visit Immokalee during spring break trips, the CIW makes an effort to provide the students with group as well as one on one interaction with Immokalee farmworkers. The most prominent example of this was at a student-farmworker dinner that was hosted by the CIW on a Tuesday evening. Students from Duquesne University, Clemson University, Santa Clara University and Wells College and approximately twenty farmworkers were present at the dinner. After students and workers loaded their plates with Cuban food, small informal groups of students and workers began to form throughout the CIW building. Some of the CIW staff members helped to translate conversations as students and farmworkers began to talk (Field Notes: 3/22/05). Because of this one on one interaction between students and farmworkers, the stories of the workers' living and working conditions became real. The personification of this farmworker movement helped to solidify the commitment of these already third party supporters by evoking emotions and appealing to their moral frameworks.

After the farmworker dinner, I spoke with several students about their experience. One aspect of farm labor that seemed to strike the students was that many of the farmworkers are the same age as the college students. At times, workers are younger than the students are. One student's response illustrates this point:

Student #4: The one story that really got to me was when we were talking to the two guys on the couch and the one said he was 19 and left all his family and everything and he's the same age as we are (Author Interview: 3/22/05).

By this student realizing that there is an age similarity between the farmworkers and the students, it may trigger an onset of emotions. Students may begin to see that this group of workers also feels the fear, anxiety, joy and rage that they experience. It is possible that the students may begin to see themselves in the workers.

This similarity in age also caused the students to notice the physical effects of farm labor as one student stated:

Student #6: Just from working in the fields for maybe a year or two, maybe just here in Immokalee, has made them age so much past their time. [One worker] is twenty years old and I never would have guessed it. And the same with the 19 year old. They just don't look like...they've aged so much (Author Interview: 3/22/05).

College-aged students are often concerned with looking older than they actually are.

Many of these students at the farmworker dinner had estimated the age of the workers to be thirty or above. When the students discovered that the workers were their age, they tried to disguise their shock. The effects of the sun and the pesticides often along with a lack of sleep stunned and often horrified many of the students (Field Notes: 3/22/05).

The effects of farm labor on the appearance of the workers once again triggered emotion in the students that compelled them to want to do something.

Since many college students live away from home, this similarity in age also caused the students to empathize with the farmworkers that immigrate to the United States and leave their families behind. One student responded:

Student #5: We asked our group when we were talking if they missed home. They almost wanted to scoff at it for a second and they got real serious and they just said, "always". And uh, that it was very hard for them to be away from home. What it must be like to them to think about going back and going home and being with their family. That, that's incredible. I, I can't even handle being at school until break until I see my family. I can't even fathom what, what it would mean to go home for them (Author Interview: 3/22/05).

It is common knowledge that many students get homesick when they first go away to school. Often, this homesickness sporadically presents itself throughout a student's college career. This particular student realized that many of these workers might not see their families or even their home countries for years. I would suspect that many students look inside themselves in order to realize how the farmworkers may be feeling regarding their situations.

Finally, this age similarity struck a student who began to contemplate life after graduation. Many students concentrate on making themselves marketable in order to obtain a job and an income. Students not only want to provide for themselves, but also for their future families and their retirement. There is not only a current emphasis on college students to be aware of the need for retirement savings but many students also have parents at or close to retirement age. This student's response illustrates this thought process in relation to the workers:

Student #6: I was thinking about the farmworkers themselves and the way that they have to live is making enough money to just get by for the time being. And I was thinking, you know, if they're scrounging to get everything together for today, they're not even, they don't even have the means to plan for a retirement and their bodies age so fast from the type of labor that it is, that, you know, they probably retire a lot, or that they *have* to retire a lot earlier from the fields because they just can't physically do it anymore. But what can they do once they're out of the fields and they don't have retirement? They don't have things to live on. But I know senior citizens around the country who are constantly struggling to get their medications or to maintain the cost of living with the money that they *thought* that would be enough when they did retire. And then, it's another vicious piece of the cycle of poverty because once they can't work anymore and they're retired, and you know, someone has to take care of them, so the younger generations again are scrounging to make just enough money to just support the older generations and themselves and then, you know, it just keeps going and going and going. I get so frustrated sometimes because you just see it and there's like no way out. And there's no one right answer to just fix all the problems and there's *so* many of them and I just really wonder, one, how to get out of them, two, where do they start and why didn't anybody see what's been happening (Author Interview: 3/22/05).

This student supporter of the CIW continues to work for farmworker change because she sees injustices and flaws in the system of farm labor. This triggers an empathetic response in the students that affects them emotionally. These emotions of pity and fury create a motivation to work with the farmworkers in order to promote social change. This is why the CIW has been so successful in its recruitment of third party supporters.

Overall, the age similarity that exists between the workers and the students seems to make student supporters empathize with the farmworkers and the conditions in which they live. Because the students can relate to a farmworker who is 19, living away from home and unable to plan for the future, they are more likely to support the movement. The student supporters do not benefit from the gains that the CIW makes for the Immokalee farmworkers. However, these students and farmworkers are part of the same generation, which may inspire some students work for change. I do not feel that these emotional responses would have been possible without the interaction that the students experienced at the student-farmworker dinner.

The interaction between the students and the farmworkers also challenged students' preconceived notions regarding undocumented workers. One student had expressed difficulty justifying her support of the movement to friends and family who also grapple with the issue of "illegal" immigration. After the farmworker dinner, this student discovered why she continues to support the CIW despite some of its members' status as U.S. citizens. This is illustrated in the following response:

Student #10: These people, these human beings, their dignity is more important than the rules. You know, the dignity of a person as a human should transcend these stupid rules that we put into place that people cannot come here just because they were born somewhere else. They had no control over it, it seems. It's very hurtful and very unfair. It was a big awakening for me today (Author Interview: 3/22/05).

This student has categorized the farmworkers as members of humanity and not as “illegal aliens”. By looking beyond what the law states regarding undocumented workers, this student has begun to see the poor living and working conditions of Immokalee farmworkers as attacking the dignity of humanity, a group in which she is also a member. As students may feel compelled to support those of their same generation, they may also see their support of the CIW as a way to improve conditions for all humans.

This emotional interaction strikes students’ moral convictions. Once students are made aware of the farmworker situations, commitment seems to follow fairly quickly. This is evident in another student’s response at the conclusion of the student-farmworker dinner with:

Student #8: I really came to the realization that this is so unfair and it hurts me. It almost makes me feel guilty of the lifestyle in which I live but it strengthened my belief that I will do whatever I can to improve and equalize this (Author Interview: 3/22/05).

Although I doubt that the CIW and the farmworkers intended to make this particular student feel guilty, the CIW can definitely capitalize on this response. Many students begin to empathize with the workers as they begin to realize that everyone does not necessarily have the same resources at their disposal. As students come to the conclusion that not everyone has the same opportunities regarding housing, employment and education, they try to find ways to correct these inequalities. The CIW gives students a way to participate in the improvement of conditions for farmworkers.

Former students who are now SFA staff members working in Immokalee committed to the movement after experiencing personal interaction with the farmworkers and the CIW.

SFA staff member #2: My freshman year in college I came down to Immokalee on an alternative spring break trip and we went and did different things at service agencies in

town and then two people found us at the house we were staying and asked us if we wanted to come to a meeting with a bunch of farmworkers and so I said, "Sure!" And we went to the meeting and I was just really impressed and then the next day or the day after, we met with the Coalition and learned about their struggle and it was before the Taco Bell boycott started but they were at the point where if they didn't respond soon, they were going to declare the national boycott. So in general, the trip to Immokalee was very eye opening for me. I had never seen anything like this. I was just so shocked and it was just so clear that this wouldn't stop unless we did something about it and unless like the corporations were just demanding this cheap labor were held accountable (Author Interview: 3/24/05).

Similar to the previous responses, this student, who now works in Immokalee, was 1) made aware of the farmworker conditions; 2) given concrete ways to participate in the movement; and 3) compelled to address these social inequalities. The CIW not only raises students' awareness about the Immokalee farmworkers, but also helps them to get involved when they feel the need to do so. This satisfies needs of the students and the CIW.

The variety of these student responses illustrate that the personal interaction experienced by students that visit Immokalee is a key component to the recruitment of third party supporters by the CIW. Students may feel compelled to support the movement because of age similarity, their moral convictions or their emotional responses. These accounts help to explain why students are supporting the CIW as third party supporters.

Touring of farmworker conditions. Students visiting the CIW during spring break were given tours of the farmworker camps where many Immokalee farmworkers live. Students were also taken at 4:00 A.M. to *La Mexicana* #5 parking lot where farmworkers look for work each morning. As I walked with these student groups through the farmworker camps, I noticed students gasp at the small trailers where as many as fifteen workers lived. At the parking lot, students were quiet and uncomfortable. They were

trying not to stare at people waiting in line for a bus. It was difficult for the students to arise at 4:00 A.M. At 7:00 P.M. when the students were exhausted from starting their day so early, they commented that they could not imagine waking at 4:00 A.M. each morning, working in the hot sun, returning home to sleep only to start the day at dawn again the next morning. By touring the farmworker conditions, the CIW illustrated some of the struggles that the farmworkers face to the students. This experience not only educated students but also encouraged their commitment (Field Notes: 3/21/05-3/22/05).

Educational sessions. The final way that the CIW is able to appeal to students' moral convictions and evoke emotion is through educational and consciousness raising sessions and presentations. On the students' first day in Immokalee, the CIW staff members spoke to approximately sixty students about the goals and successes of the CIW, the farmworker conditions and the importance of the fair food and fair trade campaigns. At another point, CIW staff members were organizing a presentation on the effects of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) to present to a group of students (Field Notes: 3/21/05; 3/24/05).

After the tour of the farmworker camp, a SFA staff members invited students from Catholic Universities to participate in a discussion on how Catholic Social Teaching can be applied to the CIW and the Immokalee farmworker situation. As students sat on couches and on the floor, the SFA staff member talked about the dignity of the human person and the preferential option for the poor. Each point was related to the CIW and the farmworkers (Field Notes: 3/21/05). In this situation, the CIW appealed to the faith of the students in order to enhance the students' commitment to the movement.

I consider conscience constituency involvement to be a contributing factor to the CIW's success. These students who are third party supporters provide the CIW with labor during collective actions, publicity and finances. The CIW mobilizes students by accommodating them during alternative spring break trips. They are able to raise students' awareness of the farmworker situations and their commitment to the cause. The CIW does this by providing personal interaction with the farmworkers, tours of the farmworker living and working conditions and educational sessions that further explain the movement and appeal to their faith. Many of these students return to their campuses to educate family and friends about the CIW and the Immokalee farmworkers. These third party supporters make it possible for the movement to reach all areas of the country.

Political Opportunities

Doug McAdam developed the Political Process model to explain a movement's emergence. Political opportunities are one of the factors that McAdam uses to explain the emergence of a social movement. Because the CIW has reached many of its goals, including the Taco Bell boycott, one would assume that the presence of adequate political opportunities aided in this success. Through my research, I have discovered quite the opposite. The CIW achieved success despite the presence of political obstacles. In some cases, the CIW has managed to turn political obstacles into political opportunities. The current political climate also points to obstacles that the CIW may have to overcome in the future.

Political Climate

When I asked one CIW staff member how the current political climate has helped or hurt the farmworkers' struggle, the following response was given to me was "We're

here in the south (laughing)” (Author Interview: 3/21/05). This staff member went on to say that the CIW knows that Republican and Democratic campaigns in Florida have the support of the agriculture industry and that the CIW believes that these politicians will not help to pass strong laws that benefit workers (Author Interview: 3/21/05). Although I have no evidence to support this claim, if the CIW perceives this to be the truth, they must work to overcome it.

This CIW member also pointed to Amendment 5, a 2004 ballot initiative that would amend the Florida Constitution to raise the minimum wage from \$5.15 an hour to \$6.15 an hour that did not apply to farmworkers. Amendment 5 passed with 71 percent of the vote (St. Petersburg Times: 2004), despite strong opposition from the “Coalition to Save Florida Jobs” (South Florida Sun-Sentinel: 2005). Although Amendment 5 was eventually implemented, it was battled and questioned in Florida’s state capitol of Tallahassee (Therolf 2005). Because of the minimum wage controversy, this CIW staff member implied that legislation to raise the wages for farmworkers would be quite difficult.

This staff member’s assumptions may not be wrong. While the minimum wage was being debated in the state government of Florida, the Federal government contributed to Florida agriculture. The United States Department of Agriculture recently passed \$200 million for the citrus canker, a citrus tree infection that has affected the Florida groves. According to Senator Mel Martinez of Florida, “Eradication and compensation is Florida’s highest agricultural priority” (Martinez Press Release 2005). If the eradication of the citrus canker is Florida’s highest priority in agriculture, Immokalee farmworkers may have to wait some time until their cause becomes a priority.

The conclusion of this staff member's response to my question of whether or not the political climate was helping or hurting the farmworker struggle was the following:

CIW staff member #1: "Realistically, the political climate in this moment does not help us and I believe that it is not going to help us"(Author Interview: 3/21/05).

Another staff member commented that the conservative political climate and U.S. administration is "practically speaking, a pain" (Author Interview: 3/24/05). This staff member believes that farmworkers agree more with Democratic principles and that a Democrat as opposed to a Republican administration may help to change what is occurring in Florida's agricultural industry (Author Interview: 3/24/05). Generally speaking, if the CIW does not believe that the current political climate can help them, they most likely will not look for potential opportunities in the near future or rely on them as a necessity for their success.

Globalization

Besides the conservative political context being an obstacle for the CIW, staff members also commented on globalization as an inhibitor of their cause. Two of the three staff member that I interviewed spoke of globalization as an obstacle to farmworkers. One staff member stated:

CIW staff member #1: We have a Wal-Mart on the market that is a company that has the benefit of exploiting the workers demanding the cheapest products of the market. Now we are struggling against corporate globalization that is directly benefiting from all of us (Author Interview: 3/21/05).

Because of the current global economy, the CIW has concluded that international corporations should be the targets of their collective actions. This is one reason why the CIW targeted Taco Bell and Yum! Brands as opposed to the local Immokalee growers regarding a wage increase for farmworkers. Besides corporations, the CIW also appeals

to students regarding the effects of globalization. The CIW gives presentations to visiting student groups about the effects of free trade and increased globalization on the farmworkers (Field Notes: 3/24/05).

The implementation of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1994 and the recent passage of the Central American Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA) in 2005 concerns CIW staff members. According to CIW staff member Lucas Benitez's statement made before Congress in an attempt to dissuade the passage of CAFTA:

Thousands of us who find ourselves in Florida have been obliged to leave our countries because of the consequences of the free trade agreements that have flooded our countries with cheap agricultural products from the US and Canada, making it impossible for us to sell the crops we have grown for generations (Klein 2003).

This statement suggests that with the passage of CAFTA, the effects of free trade on small agricultural farms could bring more workers to the United States in search of work and subsistence.

The CIW has been successful in its secondary boycott of corporate giant Taco Bell and Yum! Brands and has begun to counter the effects of globalization. However, the CIW was not able to prevent the passage of CAFTA by Congress. Therefore, the agricultural situations may deteriorate in Central American countries bringing more farmworkers to Florida. This increased supply of workers may make it more difficult for the CIW to work for better salaries and working conditions.

National Labor Relations Act

A political obstacle that the CIW has been able to overcome or even take advantage is the exclusion of farmworkers from the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA). Inclusion in the NLRA, established in 1935, "forbids employers from firing a worker for joining, organizing, or supporting a labor union. The NLRA also establishes a

structure for unions and employers to engage in collective bargaining” (Oxfam America Report March 2004: 39). Since the farmworkers are unable to bargain with employers regarding wages, hours, overtime pay and working conditions, farmworkers have not had any political leverage.

The CIW was able to turn this political obstacle into a political opportunity. If farmworkers were covered under the NLRA, the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) would have prohibited the secondary boycott of the Taco Bell and Yum! Brands, since corporations such as these are considered to be more vulnerable (Oxfam America Report 2004:39). Since the CIW believes that these large corporations have the power to change farmworker wages and working conditions, this secondary boycott was a necessity. Exclusion from the NLRA allowed the CIW to target those in power as well as the issue globalization.

Guest worker program

The *bracero* (guest worker) program proved to be a political obstacle for farmworker organizing from 1942 until the program’s termination in 1964 (Mooney and Majka 1995:154). Recent speeches by President Bush and Vice President Cheney have mentioned the possible return of the guest worker program. During a Q & A at a Coffee with Community Leaders in Gainesville, FL, Vice President Cheney stated:

On immigrant workers, the guest worker program has worked in the past...I know out West, California and so forth, we used to have fairly successful program there. The President originally started talking with President Fox of Mexico about trying to improve that situation. He’s obviously eager to have people come to work in the United States (10/06/2004).

This renewal of the guest worker program was also reiterated in President Bush’s 2005 State of Union Address. He stated that “It is time for an immigration policy that permits

temporary guest workers to fill jobs Americans will not take” (2/05/05). If the *bracero* program was a political obstacle for farmworker organizers from 1942-1965, it is likely that the program, if reinstated, would become an obstacle for the CIW.

The guest worker program could help to undermine some of the gains the CIW has made. One CIW staff member explained to me why the return of this program would be costly to the farmworker movement:

CIW Interview #3: What would really hurt us in the agricultural sector would be if any of the politicians or Congress decided to pass a *bracero* program. This would hurt the agricultural situation a lot because not only would it eliminate jobs for American citizens it would also eliminate jobs for people who are legally here from other countries and looking for work. It would make it so all the agricultural industry would just be able to take advantage of the cheapest possible hand labor. A *bracero* program would also make it possible for very extreme abuses to flourish in the agricultural industry (Author Interview: 3/24/05).

The *bracero* program would give the growers and their contracted crew leaders increased power over the farmworkers. It could force farmworkers to sell their labor at the lowest possible rate in order to obtain work. By reducing labor costs, large agri-businesses would post a higher profit. In addition, the farmworker population is already a highly transient group of people. A guest worker program would add to this transience making it more difficult for the CIW to maintain a collective farmworker identity and to launch collective long-term actions.

Although political opportunities were a factor in the emergence and maintenance of the UFW, there was a lack of political opportunities for the CIW. The CIW had to overcome political obstacles in order to achieve its success. The CIW has countered the effects of globalization and their exclusion from the NLRA. It has yet to be determined if the CIW could overcome the return of the guest worker program as U.S. policy.

Regarding local and state politicians of Florida, the CIW staff members that I interviewed

perceive that these elected officials have not and will not present the farmworkers with political opportunities. Political opportunities have not been a factor that has helped to facilitate the success of the CIW.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Recommendations for Continued Success

The CIW has been quite successful in achieving its goals thus far and in employing tactics that have facilitated this success. It is recommended that the CIW maintain its efforts to empower and raise the consciousness of the farmworker community, an effort that has achieved success despite the transience of the farmworker community. My data has also revealed that the education efforts of third party supporters has empowered students and church members to work with the farmworkers thereby increasing the CIW's chances of success. However, my research revealed potential issues that the CIW may consider addressing in the future. These include 1) the greater inclusion of women farmworkers, 2) the marketing of "fair food" and 3) the collaboration with Immokalee social organizations. It is in my opinion that these three factors may help to further the success of the CIW.

Greater Inclusion of Women Farmworkers

As the CIW continues to build a collective farmworker identity, the greater inclusion of women farmworkers within the CIW community may help them to enhance this concept. For instance, a female CIW member talked with me about the difficulties of being a woman in the farmworker community. The following dialogue illustrates this point.

Jane: What is it like being one of the women of the Coalition?

Farmworker #5: Like?

Jane: Because there are not many women in the Coalition. What is it like being a woman?

Farmworker #5: There are women in Immokalee but the most of them have husbands and the husbands almost never let them leave. If they go to the store, they have to ask permission from their husband and they are not able to do what they want. The majority of the women are not able to leave without permission because the men are “machistos”. This is a problem that women always have to ask permission to leave and because of this, they do not come here (Author Interview: 3/24/05).

In order for the collective identity of the farmworkers to become stronger, the CIW needs to not only promote the importance of transcending ethnic differences but also the importance of overcoming gender differences and including a larger proportion of women in the movement. It may be beneficial to the entire farmworker community for the CIW to address this issue during weekly farmworker meetings. One worker stated that the CIW staff talks about how to overcome ethnic differences during these meetings and that they look for solutions to the problems that exist. In addition to these discussions, the CIW should also consider facilitating discussions about the importance of women in the movement and in the fields. It may also be useful to encourage male farmworkers to bring their wives, if married, to the meetings. For women that have children, CIW staff members who are not facilitating the meeting may offer to watch the children so that the women can become participants in the farmworker discussions. The inclusion of women into the collective farmworker identity can help to build a stronger organization.

Marketing of “Fair Food”

In the past few years, there is a noticeable increase in the presence of organic grocery stores. In addition, large grocery chains have aisles specified as “organic”. Coffee shops often promote that they brew fair trade coffee. The demand for fair trade and organic goods is increasing despite the additional cost to the consumer as these goods are usually higher priced than traditionally grown items.

Since Taco Bell has agreed to the CIW demands, perhaps the CIW can work with Taco Bell advertising executives. Taco Bell has agreed to pay a fair wage to the farmworkers who pick tomatoes and has acknowledged farmworkers as a part of their supply chain. If the CIW can encourage Taco Bell to advertise that they are selling “fair food” or “fair tomatoes”, and this proves to increase business, other fast food chains, such as Subway, Burger King, McDonald’s and Wendy’s, may follow this example.

Collaboration with Immokalee Social Organizations

I was fortunate not only to spend time at the CIW headquarters but also in the town of Immokalee, FL. Because Immokalee has a large farmworker population, many of the town’s social organizations are geared towards serving the needs of the farmworker community. One housing organization in particular, Sanders Pines, caught my attention. Sanders Pines is a not for profit apartment complex that houses farmworkers. One member of the family must make at least fifty percent of their income from farm labor in order to reside in the complex. The Department of Health inspects Sanders Pines approximately once every six weeks. I had the opportunity to accompany the inspector in order to observe the conditions for myself. They are large two bedroom apartments that are modest yet clean and a vast improvement from the farmworker housing located next to the CIW headquarters and *La Mexicana* #5 parking lot (Field Notes: 3/21/05-3/23/05).

Since the managers of Sanders Pines are former farmworkers, they are able to address the needs of the farmworker community. Sanders Pines offers social programs to the residents which include literacy programs, citizenship classes and computer classes. The managers want to promote curiosity through computer courses in order to encourage

children of farmworkers to break the cycle of poverty. Churches and other service organizations donate groceries to the residents on a regular basis, which I witnessed while I was there. In addition, the managers stated that many different ethnicities live in Sanders Pines and they all are able to work together.

When I asked the managers about the CIW, they told me that they are aware of the CIW but they do not have contact with them or engage in collaborative efforts (Field Notes: 3/23/05). Although I was unable to ask the CIW staff about Sanders Pines, I suspect that there are logistical problems with the CIW staff referring farmworkers to the apartment complex. In order to live at Sanders Pines and work in the fields, workers have to find their own transportation to the *La Mexicana* #5 parking lot, where they search for work, each morning. For many workers, they cannot afford this additional expense.

Perhaps there is a way for the CIW and Sanders Pines to coordinate transportation for workers each morning. This would of course require additional finances and staff but the effects on the movement and farmworker community may prove to be positive. One, workers would be living in better housing conditions. Two, workers and their families would have the opportunity to participate in the educational programs provided by Sanders Pines. Three, this is another way for the CIW to withdraw material resources from the Blocker family that owns much of the farmworker housing located adjacent to *La Mexicana* #5. Finally, this withdrawal of material resources may bring rent prices down. It may also be beneficial for the CIW to research other organizations such as Sanders Pines, if they have not done so already. By involving the larger Immokalee

community, resources can be pulled and the effects of each group can have a larger impact on the entire farmworker community.

The CIW: A Model for Farm Labor

Farmworkers are notoriously difficult to organize and the UFW has often been used as the model for other farm labor groups to emulate. However, the UFW's momentum has diminished in the conservative political context while the CIW has been able to employ successful tactics in order to achieve positive outcomes. It is in my opinion that the CIW should be looked to as a model by other farm labor organizations and unions since this farm labor organization is not relying on political opportunities. This last section will summarize why the CIW has achieved success.

The CIW staff members possess local knowledge of the Immokalee situation and the farmworker community. This local knowledge gives the staff the necessary tools to employ successful tactics and strategies. The CIW staff members also possess the motivation necessary to continue in their struggle. This effective leadership enhances the organization's strategic capacity and clearly contributes to the CIW's success.

The CIW's construction of a collective identity has helped to generate a farmworker community. This collective farmworker identity has helped to overcome ethnic differences by emphasizing common interests. The CIW has achieved this by creating a boundary that separates the farmworkers from the rest of society, affirming their identity as farmworkers. The CIW has facilitated a consciousness within the group of its tactics, strategies and goals. Finally, the CIW has encouraged interaction with opposing groups such as Taco Bell and Yum! Brands, which helps to reinforce who they are and how they are perceived.

The CIW's withdrawal of their opponent's sources of power through innovative tactics has contributed to the success of the movement and the empowerment of the farmworkers. The CIW has effectively withdrawn five of the six sources of power that Sharp advocates in his nonviolent pluralistic power model. By withdrawing human resources, material resources, skills and knowledge and authority from their opponent while at the same time addressing intangible factors present within the farmworker community, the CIW has managed to evoke social change.

The effective mobilization of conscience constituents in the farmworker struggle brought the CIW's cause to a national level. Students have provided the CIW with labor during collective actions, publicity and finances. By accommodating students in Immokalee and educating them of the farmworker situation, the CIW was able to raise student awareness. This in combination with appealing to their faiths and emotions helped to commit many students to the farmworker cause. These third-party supporters enabled the movement to reach all areas of the country.

Despite the presence of political obstacles, the CIW has managed to overcome and anticipate them. The CIW has managed to overcome some of the globalization effects and their exclusion from the NLRA by targeting large corporations such as Taco Bell and Yum! Brands. Although it is difficult to determine if the CIW could overcome the return of the guest worker program as U.S. policy, they are aware of the possibility. If this program would become a present day reality, this awareness may make it easier to counter the effects. Political opportunities have not been a factor in the facilitation of the CIW's success. However, the CIW has illustrated that the political opportunities are not necessary in order for a social movement to achieve its goals.

APPENDIX 1*List of Interviews*

1. CIW Staff Member #1, 3/21/05
2. CIW Staff Member #2, 3/24/05
3. CIW Staff Member #3, 3/24/05
4. SFA Staff Member #1, 3/24/05
5. SFA Staff Member #2, 3/24/05
6. Farmworker #1, 3/22/05
7. Farmworker #2, 3/22/05
8. Farmworker #3, 3/22/05
9. Farmworker #4, 3/22/05
10. Farmworker #5, 3/24/05
11. Student #1, 3/22/05
12. Student #2, 3/21/05-3/24/05
13. Student #3, 3/21/05-3/24/05
14. Student #4, 3/21/05-3/22/05
15. Student #5, 3/19/05-3/24/05; 4/13/05
16. Student #6, 3/21/05-3/24/05
17. Student #7, 3/21/05-3/24/05
18. Student #8, 3/21/05-3/24/05
19. Student #9, 3/21/05-3/24/05
20. Student #10, 3/21/05-3/24/05

21. Student #11, 3/21/05-3/24/05
22. Student #12, 3/21/05-3/24/05
23. Student #13, 3/21/05-3/24/05
24. Student #14, 3/21/05-3/24/05
25. Student #15, 3/24/05
26. Student #16, 3/24/05

APPENDIX II

DUQUESNE UNIVERSITY

600 FORBES AVENUE ♦ PITTSBURGH, PA 15282

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN A RESEARCH STUDY

- TITLE:** The Community Impact of the Coalition of Immokalee Workers
- INVESTIGATOR:** Jane Walsh
1714 Mary St.
Pittsburgh, PA 15203
412-390-1142 / 412-719-1142
- ADVISOR:** Dr. Sharon Erickson Nepstad
Department of Sociology
412-396-5920
- SOURCE OF SUPPORT:** This study is being done as part of the requirements for the master's degree in Social and Public Policy at Duquesne University.
- PURPOSE:** You are being asked to participate in a research project that wants to learn more about the Coalition of Immokalee Workers staff. You will be asked to allow me to interview you. The interviews will be taped recorded.
- This is all that you are asked to do.
- RISKS AND BENEFITS:** There are no risks involved in this interview beyond those of daily life. The benefits include teaching others about the Coalition of Immokalee Workers and the living and working conditions of Immokalee, FL.
- PAYMENT:** You will not receive money for participation in this research. However, the interview will not cost you money.
- CONFIDENTIALITY:** Your name will never appear on any surveys or research. Your name will not be used in the final paper. All written materials and consent forms will be stored in a locked file in my home. Your response(s) will only appear in the summaries of the research. All materials will be destroyed at the end of the research. Transcripts will have all identifiers, both of you and anyone you talk about, deleted.
- RIGHT TO WITHDRAW:** You do not have to participate in this study. You have the right to stop the interview at any time.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS:

A summary of the results of this research will be given to you, at no cost, if you request it.

VOLUNTARY CONSENT:

I have read the above statements and understand what is being asked of me. I also understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to stop the interview at any time, for any reason. On these terms, I certify that I am willing to be interviewed in this research project.

I understand that if I have any other questions about my interview in this study, I may call Dr. Paul Richer, Chair of the Duquesne University Institutional Review Board (412-396-6326).

Participant's Signature

Date

Consent to Audio-Taping

Date

Researcher's Signature

Date

APPENDIX III

List of Participant-Observations

1. Student Supporter Spring Break Trip to Immokalee, FL:
Duquesne University and Spiritan Campus Ministry: 3/19/05-3/26/05
2. CIW Headquarters: Immokalee, FL: 3/21/05-3/24/05
3. Immokalee, FL Farmworker Housing: 3/20/05-3/21/05
4. *La Mexicana* #5 Parking Lot, Immokalee, FL: 3/22/05
5. 6L's Tomato Farm and Packing Company, Immokalee, FL: 3/24/05
6. Collier County Housing Authority: Farmworker Village, Immokalee, FL: 3/20/05
7. Sanders Pines Apartment Complex, Immokalee, FL: 3/21/05-3/23/05

REFERENCES

- Associated Press State & Local Wire. 2003. "Tomato pickers, supporters end hunger strike Outside Taco Bell" (March 6). Irvine, CA: The Associated Press State & Local Wire. Retrieved October 13, 2005 (<http://web.lexis-nexis.com.authenticate.library.duq.edu>).
- Baker, Donald P. 1998. "Florida Farm Workers Fast for Better Wages; 5 Enter Day 24 of Hunger Strike to Fight Pay They Say Is Lower Than It Was 20 Years Ago." *Washington Post*, January 13, p. A3. Retrieved October 13, 2005 (<http://www.proquest.umi.com.authenticate.library.duq.edu>).
- Barrouquere, Brett. 2004. "Farm Workers protest wages, conditions in cross-country demonstrations" (February 27). Louisville, KY: The Associated Press State & Local Wire. Retrieved October 13, 2005 (<http://web.lexisnexis.com.authenticate.library.duq.edu>).
- Berryman, Phillip. 1987. *Liberation Theology*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Bowe, John. 2003. "Nobodies Annals of Labor." *The New Yorker*, April 21, p. 106.
- Brand, Richard. 2003. "Immokalee, Fla., Radio Station Aims to Give Voice to Migrant Workers." *Knight Ridder Tribune Business News*, December 7, p. 1. Retrieved October 13, 2005 (<http://www.proquest.umi.com.authenticate.library.duq.edu>).
- Brown, Mary Elizabeth. 1999. *Shapers of the Great Debate on Immigration*. Westport: Greenwood Press.
- Bush, George W. 2005. "State of the Union Address." (February 2) Washington, D.C.: Project Smart Vote-Public Statements. Retrieved October 11, 2005 (http://www.vote-smart.org/speech_detail.php?speech_id=77056&keyword=Guest+worker).
- Business Wire. 2005. "Coalition of Immokalee Workers, Taco Bell Reach Groundbreaking Agreement." (March 8). Immokalee, FL and Louisville, KY: Business Wire, Inc.
- Cheney, Richard Bruce 'Dick'. 2004. "VP and Mrs. Cheney's Remarks and Q&A at a Coffee with Community Leaders in Gainesville, FL." (October 6) Gainesville: Project Smart Vote-Public Statements. Retrieved October 11, 2005 (http://www.vote-smart.org/speech_detail.php?speech_id=67660&keyword=Guest+worker).
- Chmielnicki, Jacqueline. 2004. "Northwestern U. students protest Taco Bell's wages for tomato pickers." *Daily Northwestern*, March 1. Retrieved October 13 (<http://www.web.lexis-nexis.com.authenticate.library.duq.edu>).

- Immokalee: a story of slavery and freedom*. 2004. Pan Left Productions and the Coalition of Immokalee Workers.
- Critzon, Michael. 2002. "Students spend spring break protesting Taco Bell." *Central Michigan Life*, April 8. Retrieved October 13, 2005 (http://www.cm-life.com/vnews/display.v/ART/2002/04/08/3cb0ec02a27c4?in_archive=a).
- Dunne, John Gregory. 1967. *Delano*. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux.
- Fosmoe, Margaret. 2005. "Taco Bell, farmworkers group to work together; Alliance brings end to local protests." *South Bend Tribune*, March 16, p. B3. Retrieved October 13, 2005 (<http://web.lexis-nexis.com.authenticate.library.duq.edu>).
- Ganz, Marshall. "Resources and Resourcefulness: Strategic Capacity in the Unionization of California Agriculture, 1959-1966." *American Journal of Sociology* 105: 1003-1062.
- Goodwin, Jeff, James M. Jasper and Francesca Polletta. 2000. "The Return of the Repressed: The Fall and Rise of Emotions in Social Movement Theory." *Mobilization: An International Journal* 5(1): 65-84.
- Haskins, James. 1970. *Resistance: Profiles in Nonviolence*. Garden City: Doubleday & Company, Inc.
- Jenkins, J. Craig and Charles Perrow. "Insurgency of the Powerless: Farm Worker Movements (1946-1972)." *American Sociological Review* 42:249-268.
- Klein, Naomi. 2003. "Miami or Bust." *The Guardian*, October 27. Retrieved October 13, 2005 (<http://www.guardian.co.uk/comment/story/0,3604,1071867,00.html>).
- Levy, Jacques E. 1975. *Cesar Chavez: Autobiography of La Causa*. New York: W W Norton & Company Inc.
- Lydersen, Kari. 2003. "Farm Workers Walk for Freedom." *Alternet*, November 17. Retrieved October 13, 2005 (<http://www.alternet.org/rights/17199/>).
- Lydersen, Kari. 2005. *Out of the Sea and Into the Fire*. Monroe: Common Courage Press.
- Majka, Theo J. and Patrick H. Mooney. 1995. *Farmers' and Farm Workers Movements*. New York: Twayne Publishers.
- McAdam, Doug. 1982. *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency*. University of Chicago Press, pp. 36-59.

- McCarthy, John D. and Mayer N. Zald. 1987. *Social Movements in an Organizational Society*. Transaction Publishers.
- McVeigh, Rory M. 1993. "Creating Opportunities for Insurgency: The Case of the United Farm Workers Movement." Master of Arts thesis, Department of Sociology, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC.
- Nepstad, Sharon Erickson. 2004. *Convictions of the Soul: Religion, Culture and Agency in the U.S.-Central America Solidarity Movement*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Nieves, Evelyn. 2005. "Florida Tomato Pickers Still Reap 'Harvest of Shame'; Boycott Helps Raise Awareness of Plight." *Washington Post*, February 28, p. A1. Retrieved October 13, 2005 (<http://www.proquest.umi.com.authenticate.library.duq.edu>).
- Oxfam America Report. 2004 (March). "Like Machines in the Fields: Workers without Rights in American Agriculture." Boston: Oxfam America.
- Seery, Megan. 2004. "U. Florida activists, others denounce Taco Bell, launch 'Truth Tour'." *Independent Florida Alligator*, February 26. Retrieved October 13, 2004 (<http://web.lexis-nexis.com.authenticate.library.duq.edu>).
- Sharp, Gene. 1990. *The Role of Power in Nonviolent Struggle*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Solnit, David, ed. 2004. *Globalize Liberation*. San Francisco: City Light Books.
- South Florida Sun-Sentinel. 2004. "Both sides try to sway opinion in Florida minimum wage debate." *South Florida Sun-Sentinel*, September 23. Retrieved October 11, 2005(<http://web.lexis-nexis.com.authenticate.library.duq.edu>).
- Springgay, Jessica. 2005. "Taco Bell boycott reaches resolution, ending protest at UC-Davis." *The California Aggie*, March 15. Retrieved October 13, 2005 (<http://web.lexis-nexis.com.authenticate.library.duq.edu>).
- Suvansilpakit, Vanda. 2004. "Taco Bell get federal review." *Daily Bruin*, January 16. Retrieved October 15, 2005 (<http://web.lexis-nexis.com.authenticate.library.duq.edu>).
- Taylor, Ronald B. 1975. *Chavez and the Farm Workers*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Taylor, Verta and Nancy E. Whittier. 1992. "Collective Identity in Social Movement Communities." Pp. 104-129 in *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*, ed. by A. Morris and C. Mueller. New Haven: Yale University Press.

- Times Publishing Company. 2004. "Election Roundup." *St. Petersburg Times*, November 4, p. 6. Retrieved October 11, 2005 (<http://web.lexis-nexis.com.authenticate.library.duq.edu>).
- Therolf, Garret. 2005. "Voters' Right to Alter Law Debated." *Tampa Tribune*, April 23, p. 1. Retrieved October 13, 2005 (<http://web.lexis-nexis.com.authenticate.library.duq.edu>).
- Tootle, Deborah M. and Sara E. Green. "The Effect of Ethnic Identity on Support of Farm Worker Union." *Rural Sociology* 54:83-91.
- University Wire. 2004. "What's in your taco?" (November 10). Austin, TX: Daily Texan. Retrieved October 13, 2005 (<http://web.lexisnexis.com.authenticate.library.duq.edu>).
- United States Senator Mel Martinez. 2005. "Martinez: \$200 Million for Citrus Canker is Welcomed." Press Release, October 6. Retrieved October 11, 2005 (<http://martinez.senate.gov/public/index.cfm?FuseAction=PressReleases>).