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¡Presente!
Music, Mobilization, and Global Engagement:
The Case of the Coalition of Immokalee Workers

By

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Doctor of Philosophy

Graduate Institute of the Liberal Arts

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Music, Mobilization, and Global Engagement:
The Case of the Coalition of Immokalee Workers

By

Laura Emiko Soltis
A.B., University of Georgia, 2006

Advisor: Regine O. Jackson, Ph.D.

An abstract of
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2012

Abstract

¡Presente!
Music, Mobilization, and Global Engagement:
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By Laura Emiko Soltis

This dissertation presents a case study of the migrant farmworker movement led by the Coalition of Immokalee Workers (CIW) in Immokalee, Florida. I conducted an interdisciplinary investigation that brings together the fields of social movements, ethnomusicology, and global studies. The research focuses on the formation and maintenance of ethnically diverse movements, the form and function of music and cultural repertoires in mobilization, and the relationship between local movements and global cultural processes.

The movement has achieved remarkable success, as indicated by its interethnic solidarity among workers from Mexico, Guatemala, and Haiti, and its attainment of significant material improvements, including wage increases and improved working conditions. I argue that the movement's cultural repertoires – such as music programs on CIW's radio station, *Radio Conciencia*, and visual arts in Immokalee, and music and theater performances in public protests – were crucial to the movement's success.

Adopting an ethnographic approach, I conducted field research in Immokalee during the 2010-2011 tomato harvest season. I employed several interrelated research methods: interviews, participant observation, archival research, and photography. I also used the methods of ethnomusicology, which included tuning in to *Radio Conciencia* and performing the Mexican *son jarocho* tradition in public demonstrations.

I found that farmworker unity was achieved through a forthright recognition of ethnic differences, in which ethnic identity took on new meanings to signify membership in an immigrant coalition. This articulation of ethnic identity was often expressed through music and other cultural practices. I also found that CIW's attainment of material gains, such as a 70 percent wage increase and new rights protections, did not result from an increase in power or changes in federal laws. It was achieved through a strategy that targeted multinational corporations with a human rights framework, bypassing obstacles imposed by the state and relying on the power of legitimacy in the world polity. CIW effectively shamed its adversaries and conferred legitimacy on the movement through vibrant demonstrations filled with music, art, and theater. This study contributes to the study of social movement culture and globalization because it demonstrates how cultural aspects of mobilization can help movements with few resources succeed.

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INTRODUCTION

This project investigates the social movement mobilization of a diverse community of migrant farmworkers in Immokalee, Florida. While there are many aspects of this movement one could investigate, the scope of this project examines three primary areas of research: the social formation and maintenance of a cohesive interethnic coalition, the meaning and efficacy of music performances and cultural resources in political mobilization, and the relationship between local movements and global cultural processes. My interest in these areas developed over the course of my graduate career, both as an interdisciplinary student of social movements, ethnomusicology, and global studies, as well as a participant in various human rights movements. It was as an activist that I first came across an extraordinary social movement led by a group of migrant farmworkers organized as the Coalition of Immokalee Workers.

As a student-participant in social movements, I was struck by how these migrant farmworkers were able to organize themselves in the face of numerous obstacles to mobilization. These obstacles include ethnic diversity, a fluctuating community due to seasonal migration, exclusion from federal labor laws (and often times, the protections of U.S. citizenship), high illiteracy rates and low educational levels of workers, severe poverty, and in extreme cases, modern-day slavery. In practice, these obstacles signify a range of constraints to the project of political mobilization.

First, farmworker community in Immokalee represents a convergence of languages and cultural diasporas from Mexico, Guatemala, and Haiti. This not only poses significant challenges to communication, it also renders the farmworker community vulnerable to internal ethnic tensions and employer tactics of division.

Second, the majority of today's farmworkers on the East Coast not only immigrate to the United States, they also *migrate* within the United States – which means that the community of workers in Immokalee changes every season. This makes the maintenance of a social movement community a constant challenge, as workers move in and out of Immokalee throughout the year to follow the demand for labor during harvests along the east coast of the United States.

Third, migrant farmworkers are in a vulnerable position in relation to the state due to their exclusion from the protections of the 1935 National Labor Relations Act and the 1938 Fair Labor Standards Act, which denies farmworkers the federal right to join unions, to engage in collective bargaining, and to overtime pay. Many farmworkers also lack full citizenship status in the United States and arrive alone under H2A guest worker visas, without authorization, or as victims of human labor trafficking. Drawing from data in the 2004-2006 National Agricultural Workers Survey, the U.S. Department of Agriculture estimates that approximately 50 percent of farmworkers lack work authorization in the United States (USDA 2008, 12).[1] This effectively creates vulnerable laborers who are uprooted, isolated, and unfamiliar with the geographic or political environment around them.

[1] In the same report, the USDA estimates that 15 percent of farmworkers entering the United States in 1981 lacked authorization, as compared to 71 percent in 1991 and 98 percent in 2001. See USDA 2008, 12.

Fourth, because farmworkers are largely from poor rural communities in Latin America and the Caribbean who arrive in the United States as young adults, many farmworkers have completed relatively few years of formal education. The *2001-2002 National Agricultural Workers Survey* reports that 97 percent of workers completed their highest grade in their country of origin, with sixth grade being the average highest grade completed (U.S. Department of Labor 2005, 18). Moreover, approximately 1 out of 6 workers have completed grade three or less, or have never attended school (ibid.). This presents significant communication obstacles for political mobilization, as routine channels of spreading information – such as fliers and newspapers – are not accessible to a large proportion of workers.

Finally, farmworkers earn approximately $10,000-$12,499 a year[2], and are paid either by the hour or by an antiquated piece rate system, or a combination of the two (U.S. Department of Labor 2005, xi). Tomato pickers in Immokalee are almost exclusively paid by the piece rate system, which until recently, is approximately 40-45 cents per 32-pound bucket of tomatoes, a rate that has remained virtually unchanged since 1978. This means that workers have to harvest more than 125 buckets, or two tons of tomatoes, to earn just $50 a day (Bowe 2003). To earn the equivalent of minimum wage in a typical 10-hour day, which is $7.25 an hour at the time of this writing, a worker would have to pick 160 buckets, or two and a half tons of tomatoes. For these reasons, the U.S. Department of Agriculture concludes, "Hired farmworkers remain among the most economically disadvantaged working groups in the United States," whose "relative

[2] See U.S. Department of Labor 2005, xi. However, these data also include earnings of field packers and supervisors. Because workers in the fields make considerably less than supervisors, it is likely that this annual earnings figure is much lower for field workers. Farmworkers in Immokalee generally report earning between $7,000-$9,000 per year.

position within the U.S. occupational structure has changed little over time" (USDA 2008, 1). Similarly, the U.S. Department of Labor states that farmworkers' "low wages, sub-poverty annual earnings, significant periods of un- and underemployment, and low utilization of safety net programs all add up to a labor force in significant economic distress" (U.S. Department of Labor 2000, 17).

In addition to low pay, farmworkers also labor in working conditions that pose significant hazards to their health. Despite 10-12 hour workdays (without overtime pay) of strenuous physical labor with constant exposure to sun and pesticides, many workplaces do not provide shade, drinking water, or plumbing facilities of any kind (U.S. Department of Agriculture 2008, 33). Yet, because of pervasive farmworker poverty, few workers are able to afford quality healthcare or housing with adequate sanitary facilities (ibid., 31-34). This abject poverty, coupled with a constant oversupply of labor, presents profound risks to workers who choose to strike or participate in demonstrations to improve their working conditions, as they not only lose their only source of income for the duration of the action, but they also jeopardize their chances of being rehired.

While the daily life of migrant farmworkers is dismal at best, at its worst, farmworkers in Florida have been subject to modern-day slavery. Since 1997, the Coalition of Immokalee Workers has assisted the U.S. Department of Justice Civil Rights Division in uncovering and investigating seven cases of modern-day slavery in Florida's agricultural industry, which has led to the liberation of more than 1,200 workers. While the Thirteenth Amendment of the United States Constitution abolished slavery in 1865, modern legal statutes prohibiting slavery were so outdated that prosecutors in the late 1990s had to use peonage, involuntary servitude, and forced labor laws passed in the

years following the Civil War to prosecute the offenders.[3] These cases were instrumental in the development and passage of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) of 2000, which updated existing laws to adequately address contemporary forms of slavery and introduced new tools to combat human trafficking[4] (U.S. Department of Justice 2010). These multiple cases of forced labor in South Florida compelled one Justice Department official to refer to the region as "ground zero for modern slavery" (Bowe 2003). The CIW stresses that while slavery is not the norm in Florida agriculture, these cases should be understood as one point along a continuum of institutionalized exclusion and powerlessness of today's farmworkers.

Together, these obstacles – ethnic diversity, seasonal migration, exclusion from federal labor laws and the protections of U.S. citizenship, high illiteracy rates, severe poverty, and in some cases, modern slavery – render farmworkers in Florida one of the least powerful and most difficult populations to mobilize into collective action.

Yet, despite these obstacles, the migrant farmworkers in Immokalee organized themselves as the Coalition of Immokalee Workers (CIW) in 1992.[5] In 2001, the CIW launched a nationwide "Campaign for Fair Food" to pressure multi-national fast food, food service, and grocery corporations to take direct responsibility for the poor working conditions, the multiple cases of modern-day slavery, and the low wages of the farmworkers at the bottom of their supply chains. Between 2001 and 2011, after years of

[3] See 18 U.S.C. § 1581, 1584, 1589, respectively.
[4] The Trafficking Victims Protection Act defines "severe forms of trafficking" as: a) sex trafficking, and b) "the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for labor or services, through the use of force, fraud, or coercion for the purpose of subjection to involuntary servitude, peonage, debt bondage, or slavery" (U.S. State Department 2010, 8). It is important to note that "slavery" is now included within the definition of "human trafficking" in U.S. law.
[5] The precursor to the CIW, the Southwest Florida Farmworker Project, was founded in 1992. The name was not officially called the Coalition of Immokalee Workers until around 1995 at the time of its first strike. The CIW officially incorporated as a non-profit organization in 1996.

boycotts, hunger strikes, and mass mobilizations, multiple corporations such as Taco Bell, McDonald's, and Burger King (among others, including Subway, Bon Appétit, Compass, Aramark, Sodexo, Whole Foods, Trader Joes,[6] and Chipotle[7]) conceded to all of CIW's demands: to pay a penny more per pound of tomatoes to be passed down to farmworkers, to implement a human rights code of conduct throughout the corporation's supply chain, and to include farmworker participation at all levels of negotiations. This first demand alone would insure that instead of earning 45 cents per 32-pound bucket of tomatoes, the farmworkers would earn approximately 77 cents per bucket. In other words, an additional penny more per pound in the piece-rate effectively increases workers' earnings by more than 70%.

While determining what constitutes success in a social movement is a complex issue, and one that I will address in more detail in Chapter One, I argue that the Coalition of Immokalee Workers has achieved significant gains for some of the country's most vulnerable and impoverished workers. Yet the fundamental question remains: how is this ethnically diverse group of poor and disenfranchised migrant farmworkers able to organize and maintain a social movement community and achieve groundbreaking human rights agreements with the world's most powerful corporations in the food-industry?

Notably, I am one of several young scholars drawn to the Coalition of Immokalee Workers as a focus of study. In fact, there exists a small body of complementary literature on this movement, written primarily by staff members or movement participants. Greg Asbed (2008), one of the founding participants of the CIW, wrote an essay on the human rights philosophy of the movement. Sean Sellers (2009), a former

[6] Trader Joe's signed with the CIW in February 2012.
[7] Chipotle signed with the CIW in October 2012.

staff member of the Student Farmworker Alliance (SFA), completed a master's thesis on the Coalition of Immokalee Workers, paying special attention to the history of agricultural labor in Florida and CIW's relationship with the Student Farmworker Alliance. Several other SFA staff members, including Brian Payne (2000), Melody Gonzales (2005), and Marc Rodrigues (2006), have contributed insight into the processes of class-based identity formation, the lessons unions can learn from the CIW, and the unique mobilizing methods of the CIW, respectively. These works, among others (Laughlin 2007, Walsh 2005), provide important empirical studies of the CIW. This study builds on these earlier works, but also addresses several significant gaps that remain in this literature.

These works often introduce the CIW as a community-based organization of "Mexican, Guatemalan, and Haitian workers." While this is indeed an accurate depiction of the CIW, the existing literature often assumes the interethnic cohesion of the movement given the participants' shared class interests, and fails to account for the social processes involved in the initial formation and continued maintenance of an interethnic movement, whose ethnic composition has transformed over time.

Also, while more recent works have started to address the global aspects of the movement, I aim to provide a more detailed ethnographic and archival analysis that examines not only the form of human rights activism the CIW employs or the global conditions that shape the movement, but also the process of how global consciousness is developed and maintained, how the employment of human rights discourse has changed over time, and how these globally informed and oriented strategies influence movement outcomes (Asbed 2008; Sellers 2009).

Lastly, while these works make numerous references to movement culture, such as the theater and music performances, they are largely substantiated by normative statements of their symbolic importance, and lack a detailed analysis of how these cultural repertoires contribute to social processes of mobilization and factors of movement success.

These three gaps in the existing CIW research are also reflective of larger theoretical gaps present in academic literatures. In light of these deficiencies, I provide a unique perspective of the movement that has yet to be thoroughly investigated while also contributing new empirical insight from recent movement developments and theoretical considerations at the intersection of social movement theory, ethnomusicology, and global studies.

Based on three years of preliminary observations of the CIW community, it appeared that music performance, popular theater, and visual art played central roles in collective identity formation, consciousness-raising, and solidarity building among farmworkers and their allies. As a student of ethnomusicology, music seemed to be an essential component of the daily lives of migrant farmworkers as well as a key feature in their public demonstrations. Specifically, since 2003, the farmworkers in Immokalee have tuned in to *Radio Conciencia* (Consciousness Radio), a low-power radio station built and staffed by CIW members. Farmworkers call in regularly to the radio programs to request songs and communicate with fellow farmworkers.

In public demonstrations, the CIW calls on its movement allies and musicians to perform during public demonstrations and victory celebrations. These musicians are active supporters of the CIW, and perform a variety of Latin American and Caribbean

music styles, such as the group *Son del Centro* from Santa Ana, California, that performs the Mexican *son jarocho* tradition, *Nuestro Tambo*, a Puerto Rican *bomba* ensemble from Chicago, *Olmeca*, a hip-hop artist from Los Angeles, and *Rara Lakay* from Miami, whose members perform the Haitian *rara* tradition, among others. Farmworkers also participate musically in demonstrations by drumming on tomato-buckets and leading chants. Other cultural repertoires and popular education methods, including mural painting, street theater, puppetry, and farmworker training in radio programming, are also critical components of mobilization in both the community of Immokalee and in public demonstrations.

In short, the farmworkers utilize music and cultural repertoires in many aspects of their movement, and research is needed to understand the ways that music performance, community radio, and other cultural elements are related to political mobilization. In this dissertation, I describe how these cultural repertoires function in the negotiation of ethnic diversity and the formation of collective identity, consciousness, and solidarity, which, among other factors, are indispensable for social movement success.

The history, strategies, and outcomes of this farmworker movement also have significant implications for the study of global structures and processes. While this farmworker movement is physically situated in the United States, understanding the many complex ways it intersects with global processes contributes much needed insight into how world culture is enacted, adapted, and contested in local contexts. The existence of a diverse farm labor force in Immokalee is a result of transnational migration processes emerging from global histories of colonialism and capitalism. However, as an interethnic movement that challenges multinational corporations on claims of global citizenship and

universal human rights, the CIW represents a fascinating case study of how world culture functions in a local movement situated at the intersection of transnational migration, an expanding capitalist world-system, and an ever-growing international human rights regime. However, case studies that reveal how global moral principles, such as those embedded in the concept of universal human rights, become absorbed or modified in local movement contexts are underdeveloped in world culture theory. I investigate these processes by exploring the local cultural mechanisms through which global scripts are enacted and how local movement frameworks may adapt dominant global advocacy models and contribute to transformations in world culture.

In this dissertation, I illustrate how the CIW has come to engage in a discourse of human rights and how cultural repertoires such as music performance, radio programming, and popular education techniques connect the movement to world cultural flows, such as those originating from farmworkers' transnational migrations or collaborations with groups in transcultural advocacy networks (TCANs). I also address the more complicated process in which local movements come to deviate from global norms, such as CIW's development of an alternative boomerang strategy of targeting corporations with human rights demands instead of nation-states and local government officials. Ultimately, this research reveals how CIW's local cultural practices and its negotiation of world cultural meanings and norms have influenced movement outcomes over time.

Despite the historic separation among the fields of social movement theory, ethnomusicology, and global cultural theory, bringing together these perspectives and their associated analytical approaches helps address the complex interdisciplinary

questions that arose in my research project. Using a combination of methods, including oral history, interviews, participant observation, participation in music practices, and archival research, "¡Presente! Music, Mobilization, and Global Engagement" answers the following research questions:

> 1) How are farmworkers in Immokalee, who face obstacles of ethnic and linguistic diversity, frequent migration, exclusion from federal legal protections, high illiteracy rates, and extreme poverty, able to organize and maintain a cohesive social movement with a collective identity, consciousness, and solidarity among its members? How is this cohesive movement developed among the movement's diverse allies?
>
> 2) What is music's role in building and sustaining the farmworker movement? More specifically, what is the relationship between musical form and function in social movement mobilization?
>
> 3) How is world culture enacted, adapted, and contested in the local movement context of Immokalee and in public demonstrations? Have resulting forms of global engagement had an impact on movement success? If so, why?

Theoretically, I draw from social movement theory, ethnomusicology, and global cultural theory to address these questions. I seek to move beyond the descriptive impasse in the study of social movement culture by articulating how cultural repertoires are related to key variables of social movement success, especially in a context of ethnic diversity and global engagement. Furthermore, I bring together seemingly incongruous social movement theories under a common framework that investigates issues of meaning and identity of so-called "new social movements" alongside issues of economic justice in class-based mobilizations. I also explore the dynamic relationship between music and social movements by explaining how musical form and performance function in social movement mobilization, and conversely, how social movements may influence the meaning and transformation of music traditions. And lastly, this project helps fill a major

gap in world polity and world culture literatures by providing an in-depth case study that addresses how world cultural norms are enacted and contested in local contexts.

In short, I provide a history, ethnography, and analysis of farmworker experiences that are often excluded from both academic literatures and public discourse. It is my hope that this dissertation captures the vibrant music, creativity, and determination of this movement in a way that is accessible and meaningful to anyone interested in local experiments in global justice.

Outline of Chapters

In Chapter One, Social Movements: Navigating Culture and Global Crossroads, I situate the interdisciplinary project within the academic literatures of social movement theory, ethnomusicology, and global studies. I then discuss the theoretical gaps that arise in each of the fields and the opportunities for investigation at the intersection of the three literatures. Next, I expand upon the three primary research questions that will guide the project and outline the scope of the research. To close, I articulate the indicators of movement success. Chapter Two describes the research methods I used to collect the data for this project. It also provides an explanation of how the data were analyzed.

In Chapter Three, Racial Formation in U.S. Agriculture: The Making of Farmworker Powerlessness, I utilize a racial formation approach to analyze the historical development of farm labor in the United States and explain how race and ethnicity have contributed to the construction of farmworker powerlessness over time. This provides necessary historical context to the obstacles of mobilization that farmworkers in Immokalee currently face. I build upon analyses of farmworker powerlessness presented in the CIW's Florida Modern-Day Slavery Museum and Sellers' (2009) brief

examination of racial formation in Southern agriculture in his study of the CIW by including a comparative analysis of farm labor on the East and West Coasts and focusing on the issue of racial and ethnic diversity in the history of farmworker movements. I engage with studies of modern farmworker movements and identify major gaps in the literature to underscore the need to examine social movement culture and the process of interethnic movement formation in the study of the Coalition of Immokalee Workers.

In Chapter Four, The Coalition of Immokalee Workers: Migration, Popular Education, and Interethnic Mobilization 1992-2000, I discuss the initial formation of the Coalition of Immokalee Workers alongside highlights of select farmworkers' oral histories of migration to Immokalee. I explore CIW's early transcultural collaborations with groups such as the *Mouvman Peyizan Papay* (MPP), a peasant movement organization from Haiti, and *Sna Jtz'ibajom*, a popular theater troupe from Chiapas, Mexico, and the movement's development of popular education repertoires that contributed to early collective identity formation and consciousness-raising in Immokalee.

In Chapter Five, *Radio Conciencia*: Music and Maintenance of the Farmworker Movement 2001-2011, I focus on the broadcasts of *Radio Conciencia*, and the strategic use of soundscapes in Immokalee. Utilizing oral histories, interviews, radio logs, and participant listening and observation, I analyze how farmworker interaction with *Radio Conciencia* and participation in musical practices contribute to the maintenance of a cohesive farmworker movement, the negotiation of ethnic and gender differences, and the development of a human rights consciousness.

In Chapter Six, Performing Solidarity: Music, Ritual, and Theater in Public Demonstrations 2001-2011, I investigate music and cultural repertoires in the context of CIW's public demonstrations. In particular, I examine how, as ritual practices, these demonstrations contribute to developing a collective identity, consciousness, and solidarity among farmworkers and their diverse allies. I also analyze music and popular theater as strategic movement tools that target adversaries by considering their ability to name and shame these adversaries, intimidate them through satire, and widen the circle of public contention through disruptive means. While a variety of music ensembles are considered in the examination of interethnic identity formation, the focus of ethnomusicological analysis is on the *son jarocho* ensemble *Son del Centro*. *Son del Centro's* long-term relationship with the CIW and its acoustic presence at all of CIW's major public demonstrations during the Campaign for Fair Food (Taco Bell, McDonald's, Burger King, Publix) make it an excellent case study for examining the sound and significance of music in social movement mobilization. Analysis of *Son del Centro's* performances responds to larger interdisciplinary considerations regarding the form and function of music in social movements as well as the impact social movements may have on music traditions.

In Chapter Seven, Global Engagement: World Culture, Human Rights, and Local Movement Success, I detail how farmworkers in Immokalee conceive of themselves and their movement in relation to the world as a whole. I also analyze the mechanisms through which world cultural scripts and the ideology of universal human rights have been introduced, interpreted, and made real to movement participants, as well as adapted and contested by participants, both in the context of Immokalee and in public

demonstrations. Furthermore, a historical analysis of CIW's utilization of the human rights framework, interactions with international non-governmental organizations and groups in transcultural advocacy networks, and strategic shift to targeting multi-national corporations inform a discussion of how and why CIW's forms of global engagement may have had an impact on movement success. By engaging with world culture theory, world polity theory, macro-anthropological perspectives, and insights from world-system theory, I examine the global circumstances that have led local movements to confront global capitalism with the human rights framework – as well as the challenges and possibilities that arise from such a strategy – and contribute new insight to existing literature on global human rights advocacy.

In the Conclusion, I outline major findings from the research project and provide considerations for further interdisciplinary investigation into music, social movements, and globalization. I also present two appendices: a visual appendix of select photographs I created and collected and an audio appendix of select music recordings made during the course of my field research.

While this dissertation presents the findings of a five-year project, during which I traveled to Veracruz, Mexico to learn *son jarocho*, marched and sang with the CIW from Florida to California, toured with the Modern-Day Slavery Museum throughout the Southeast, photographed farmworkers in the tomato fields, and sat down with farmworkers, staff, musicians, and puppeteers as they told me their personal histories and involvement in the movement, this document remains limited in several ways.

First, because I was in Immokalee for only one harvest season, 2010-2011, my participant observations of daily farmworker participation with the CIW and life in

Immokalee more generally are partial to the particularities of that season and are not comparative in nature. For example, several seasons before I arrived, there was a Haitian worker who volunteered as a deejay on *Radio Conciencia*, where hosted a program in Kreyòl and played music such as *kompa* and Haitian hip-hop. However, he had since "moved on" – as they say in Immokalee – and found better, safer, work elsewhere. My participant listening of *Radio Conciencia* during 2010-2011 was thus unable able to consider the sounds, discourse, or call-in requests of his program as part of an analysis of interethnic identity formation and was constrained to the programs of one particular season.

Another limitation of this study is that I do not analyze the experiences and influence of farmworker women in the movement to the extent that the subject deserves. While I was able to capture some of these experiences in my interviews and oral histories and my analysis of the content of the women's radio program *Las Voces*, a more vigorous investigation into gender dynamics in Immokalee could have been more central to my research questions and methods at the start of my research project. As a result, there remains a significant gap in the literature on the CIW that considers women and gender as a focus of study.

One final limitation is that due to the time parameters I set for this project, from CIW's founding to the conclusion of the 2010-2011 harvest season, this dissertation does not analyze the implementation of CIW's agreements with Pacific Tomato Growers, Six L's Packing Company, and the Florida Tomato Growers Exchange (FTGE), which occurred two months into my field research in Immokalee, in October and November 2010. These agreements with growers have developed into what is now known as the Fair

Food Program, and signify a decisive victory for the CIW, as they mark the end of a fifteen-year battle against local growers. They also secured new rights for workers in the field, including time cards, a complaint resolution program, shade in the fields, and the implementation of a CIW led worker-to-worker rights education program on company property, on company time.

While these agreements are monumental in CIW's history and today covers over 90 percent of Florida's tomato industry, the implementation of these agreements were designed to take effect incrementally, with full implementation set for the fall of 2012. Thus, while I provide photographs in the visual appendix that capture the implementation of several components of the Fair Food Program and analyze how these agreements resulted from CIW's larger strategy of global engagement and sustained mobilization of the farmworker base in Chapter Seven, due to the time parameters of my participant observation and research schedule, I was not able to include a more comprehensive analysis of the impact of the Fair Food Program on the lives of farmworkers in Immokalee or on the continued work of the Coalition of Immokalee Workers.

Despite these limitations, this dissertation sheds light on important aspects of CIW's history that have not been widely recognized, shared, or documented, such as its repertoires of popular education in the early years of mobilization, the programs and sounds of *Radio Conciencia*, the music, art, and theater of its public demonstrations, and its transcultural collaborations with movements and groups from around the nation and the world that contributed to the development and implementation of CIW's global strategies.

I am deeply indebted to the many members of the CIW movement community who so openly shared their personal stories and knowledge with me. My historical analysis of the construction of farmworker powerlessness was first informed by farmworkers and staff members who shared parts of this history with me during our tours with the Florida Modern-Day Slavery Museum. My understanding of the content and significance of music broadcast on *Radio Conciencia* was made possible by deejays who always invited me into the station, no matter the hour. And my case study of *son jarocho* was only accomplished with the generosity of the musicians of *Son del Centro*, who invited me to *fandangos* in Santa Ana and taught me verses and chords amidst the chaos of public demonstrations if I ever needed guidance. While this project is only one part of the larger movement and cannot capture in its full complexity or entirety, I hope that by providing a deeper analysis of specific components of its history and movement culture, this dissertation can expand our knowledge of the movement as a whole and generate new insight on social movements.

CHAPTER ONE

Social Movements: Navigating Culture and Global Crossroads

> These hands are not tools
> For profit and slavery, but for dignity
> Any company that disagrees
> Is turned into an international mockery!
>
> Selected lyrics of the song "C-I-W Why?" Performed by Zack de la Rocha and Tom Morello at the CIW Concert for Fair Food at the House of Blues in Chicago. April 14, 2007.

After a two-year campaign urging McDonald's to join the Campaign for Fair Food, the Coalition of Immokalee Workers called on its allies around the country to meet in a demonstration outside McDonald's corporate headquarters near Chicago, Illinois on April 14, 2007. On the eve of what was to be a vibrant *carnaval* through the streets of downtown Chicago aimed at publicly shaming one of the world's largest fast-food corporations, McDonald's executives called the CIW in a frenzy and asked to schedule an immediate negotiation with the farmworkers. After months of organizing, securing city permits, building ally relationships in Chicago, and mobilizing supporters, the CIW organizers called off the demonstration. They had five days to figure out what to do with thousands of activists arriving in Chicago from all corners of the United States.

Yet, on the day of the cancelled *carnaval*, after sleepless nights of logistical nightmares, the CIW was able to organize a "Concert for Fair Food" at the House of Blues. Two thousand people who had come to protest McDonald's now packed themselves from floor to ceiling into a famed music venue for a victory celebration. The farmworkers of the CIW walked out on stage, thanked the crowd for their support, and

declared the launch of the next campaign- this time, against Burger King. Throughout the evening, more than eight music ensembles performed on stage. One of them was Rage Against the Machine, whose members, Zack de la Rocha and Tom Morello, reunited on stage for the first time in more than seven years. The set began with a composition Zack wrote on his flight to Chicago, which he dedicated to the CIW and its recent victory. When the lyrics of the each verse ended, the crowd roared with excitement and applause and joined in the catchy call-and-response chorus line:

> These hands are not tools
> For profit and slavery, but for dignity
> Any company that disagrees
> Is turned into an international mockery!
>
> Crowd: C-I-W, why?
> Zack: They walk the talk, and the word becomes the weapon!
> Crowd: C-I-W, why?
> Zack: Justice in the fields and the clowns get steppin'!
>
> (Selected verse and chorus)

Even a cursory interpretation of these lyrics reveals how movement consciousness can be expressed and developed through music performance: they identify the injustice of farmworker exploitation and slavery, the source of injustice as the company that profits from such exploitation, and articulated a strategy of global shaming. What is less apparent, however, is the reason these components of movement consciousness were articulated musically. Why are social movement gatherings in the farmworker movement so frequently organized around music practices? What is the significance of music performances in the internal dynamics of the social movement community and CIW's strategy of "international mockery?"

In order to better understand the relationship between social movements, music, and global engagement, this project brings together insights from the academic literatures of social movement theory, ethnomusicology, and global cultural theory. While each field raises specific theoretical concerns and questions relating to this research project, together they bring complementary perspectives that help inform the epistemological gaps that result from the limitations of singular disciplines.

Social Movement Theory: Culture and Social Movements

The investigation of this farmworker movements draws from the recent cultural turn in social movement theory. Collective identity theorists laid the foundations of the cultural study of social movements in the mid-1980s, when they began to develop new analytic frameworks, in what became known as "new social movement theory," in response to the strategic-instrumental bias of resource mobilization theory that was dominant at the time. Resource mobilization theory attributes the emergence and success of social movements to the mobilization of organizational resources, the presence of elite allies, and the opening of political opportunities (Gamson 1975; Oberschall 1973; Zald and Ash 1966; McCarthy and Zald 1977; McAdam 1982). Collective identity theorists assert that the structural emphasis of resource mobilization theory, with its focus on material resources and structural opportunities, takes the cohesiveness of a group as an assumed and fixed characteristic and is therefore unable to account for the collective identity, consciousness, and solidarity of collective actors (Cohen 1985). Collective identity theorists such as Cohen (1985), Melucci (1985, 1989), and Touraine (1985) emphasize that the formation of a collective group is an achievement in itself and must therefore be subject to analysis.

Specifically, collective identity theorists have sought to develop a new framework for understanding contemporary collective actors who show a heightened reflexivity in the "struggle over the power to socially construct new identities, to create democratic spaces for autonomous social action, and to reinterpret norms and reshape institutions" (Cohen 1985, 690). In one of collective identity theory's most significant contributions to the study of social movement culture, Melucci articulates how collective identity 'constructs' an action system, by defining it as "a process in which actors produce the common cognitive frameworks that enable them to assess their environment and to calculate the costs and benefits of their action" (Melucci 1989, 35). In other words, the emergence of collective action is a cultural construction, and not simply a function of structural vulnerability or the opening of political opportunities. Melucci elaborates on the specific construction process by outlining the three fundamental dimensions of collective identity: formulating cognitive frameworks concerning the goals, means and environment of action; activating relationships among actors, which allow them to negotiate and communicate; and making emotional investments, which enable actors to see themselves in each other (ibid.). Melucci forcefully argues that by observing the process of collective identity, cultural construction and the meanings people attach to collective action can be accounted for in the study of social movements.

In contrast to previous definitions of social movements, which require participants to sustain challenges against the state (Tilly 1978), collective identity theorists recognize and study collective efforts for social change that "occur in the realms of culture, identity, and everyday life, as well as in direct engagement with the state" (Taylor & Whittier 1992, 1995). Despite the wide variety of analytical approaches in the study of social

movement culture, such as the collective identity approach (Melucci 1985; Cohen 1985; Taylor and Whittier 1992), the discourse framework (Fine 1995; Taylor and Whittier 1995), and the dramaturgical approach (Goffman 1959, 1967; Benford and Hunt 1992; Snow et al., 1981; Mueller 1987), there remains a lack of research that seeks to explain how social movement cultures impact movement success, outcomes, and power relations within a wider political economy.

Recognizing the limitations of cultural approaches in the study of social movements, Johnston and Klandermans (1995) emphasize the need for analysts to move beyond description and ask how cultural processes and internal movement dynamics contribute to the core issues emphasized by resource mobilization theorists, such as "the rise and decline of movements, the waxing and waning of movement participation, and movement success or failure" (Johnston and Klandermans 1995, 21). Growing conversations between cultural perspectives and resource mobilization theory have led theorists in both arenas to incorporate theoretical developments such as framing processes advanced by Snow et al. (1986) and to develop new considerations, such the importance of repertoires of contention and the ability of movements to perceive and create political opportunities (Tarrow 1998; Gamson and Meyer 1996). In *Power in Movement* (1998), Tarrow argues that political challengers have the ability to influence political opportunities through the employment of cultural resources and known repertoires of contention. Tarrow asserts that these repertoires have the capacity to gain followers, attract attention from third parties, and challenge opponents. Specifically, building on Piven and Cloward's (1979) argument that movements exert their strength through the power of disruption, Tarrow argues that disruptive repertoires are effective

because they obstruct routine and startle bystanders, broaden the circle of conflict and draw authorities in, and reinforce group solidarity (Tarrow 1998, 104).

Despite the rigorous academic exchange in the study of social movements, several considerable gaps remain in the literature. While collective identity perspectives have been influential in analyzing movements that challenge domination on non-material, symbolic grounds, such as the politicization of identity and everyday life, the perspectives' focus on collective identity, consciousness, and solidarity is also relevant to movements that have specific material demands, such as demands by labor movements for wage increases and improved working conditions. For these movements, it is assumed that the development of "class consciousness" is the most crucial requirement for successful insurgency. The analysis of the formation of class-consciousness, however, becomes significantly more complex when racial and ethnic diversity is also a factor. When race is analyzed in terms of its relationship to class-based solidarity in the United States, however, it has overwhelmingly been limited to a black/white biracial dichotomy of race relations or has focused on racial divisions and conflicts. There exists only a small literature on interracial labor movements that addresses the process by which consciousness, as well as collective identity and solidarity, are successfully achieved in the context of racial diversity or multiple diasporas.

In *Reworking Race: The Making of Hawaii's Interracial Labor Movement*, Jung (2006) warns against assumptions of the receding significance of race in interracial labor movements and challenges suppositions that such movements are "deracialized," whereby class politics supercede racial politics (Jung 2006, 3-7). Jung suggests that instead of responding to calls to study the mutual constitution of race and class by solely

focusing on racial divisions, research must also be extended to interracialism. Interracialism, he asserts, should be conceptualized as an "affirmative transformation of race that, discursively and practically, deals with and rearticulates extant racial divisions" (Jung 2006, 190).

In consideration of diverse immigrant-based movements such as that led by the CIW, it is of utmost importance to distinguish between the terms interracial and interethnic groups. The term "interethnic," unlike "interracial," allows one to take into consideration the influence of geography and language, and the complexities of identity formation that is unique to each group, whereas "race" and "interracial" negate a "language of place" (Wade 1997, 18). Thus, while Jung's work is valuable in providing a conceptual framework for thinking about diverse movements, there remains an overall deficiency of research that investigates the processes through which interethnic coalitions – and those involving different immigrant groups in particular – negotiate the convergence of multiple diasporas in the formation of a collective identity, and how these diverse coalitions maintain themselves over time.

In the vast cultural analysis of social movements, in which movement language, publications, storytelling, poetry, fashion, theatre, film, murals, and new media are subject to deconstruction and analysis, movement culture is predominantly understood in terms of visual or verbal communication. The last major limitation I highlight within social movement literature involves the lack of consideration of the role of music in social movement mobilization. In the few studies where music is analyzed in relation to social movements, researchers often fall into the narrow trap of discourse analysis and become transfixed on music lyrics and text (Denisoff 1972; Roscigno and Danaher 2004).

Ironically, what makes music unique among other forms of culture, namely its sound and acoustic presence, is precisely what is ignored in the study of music and social movements. It is in the practice of musical performance within the context of social movement mobilization, with its related considerations of music traditions, lyrics, instrumentation, form, sound, transmission, and degree of audience participation, where I will engage the field of ethnomusicology.

Ethnomusicology: Music and Social Movements

Of the many cultural repertoires of social movements one could study, why choose music? A brief glance at several social movements which have arisen during the 20th century, such as the Labor Movements of the 1930s and the Black Freedom Movement of the 1960s in the United States, or the Popular Unity movement in Chile in the 1960s and the resistance to Apartheid in South Africa in the 1970s, reveals that music was deeply significant to the people who participated in them. Moreover, much of what remains of these movements in the collective memory is indeed musical.

One of the most influential works on this subject is Eyerman and Jamison's (1998) *Music and Social Movements*, which develops an important framework for examining the role of tradition both in music and social movements. The authors assert that music, perhaps more effectively than any other form of expression, "recalls a meaning that lies outside and beyond the self," and embodies and reconstructs tradition for the cognitive needs of mobilization (Eyerman and Jamison 1998, 24). The role of music in cognitive processes such as collective identity formation and the construction of ideas within movements is central to their approach (ibid., 21). The focus of their work, however, is on the process in which social movements influence broad cultural

transformations. In so doing, Eyerman and Jamison largely disregard the reverse – how culture influences social movement processes and outcomes.

Regardless, Eyerman and Jamison make many important contributions to the study of music and social movements. One of these is their use of Durkheim's analysis of rituals in understanding the role of ritualized music performances in building solidarity and constructing meaning within movements (Eyerman and Jamison 36). In *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life (Elementary Forms)*, Durkheim argues that rituals are central in the constitution and maintenance of social solidarity (Durkheim [1912] 2001). While *Elementary Forms* focuses on the rituals of religious ceremonies in an aboriginal community, Durkheim's insights on rituals have influenced multiple disciplines and continue to be "central for the understanding not only of religion, but of society" (Bellah 2005, 183). For the study of ritual in social movement contexts, the most relevant insights of *Elementary Forms* include the ability of rituals to create "collective mental states of extreme emotional intensity" which create bonds of solidarity between participants and the importance of totems in enacting and communicating collective representations of groups (Freeman 2000, 419).

In their discussion of music and ritual, Eyerman and Jamison highlight the work of Small (1987), who studied the use of song and dance among African slaves in the United States. In the words of Small, "it was musicking and dancing, those twin rituals of affirmation, of exploration and celebration of relationships, with their unique power to weld together into a higher unity the contradictory experiences of sorrow, pain, hope, and despair" (Small 1987, 87). By connecting the ritual of music performance to more

emotive aspects of social struggle, this example underscores the relevance of Durkheim's conception of ritual and emotions at play in music performances.

The emotional significance of ritual is also stressed by social movement theorists, such as Taylor and Whittier (1995), who propose that rituals in social movements are the cultural mechanisms through which people "express and transform emotions that arise from subordination, redefine dominant feeling and expression rules to reflect more desirable identities or self-conceptions, and express group solidarity" (Taylor and Whittier 1995, 177). The rituals of social movement groups, such as marches and rallies, are critical sites for the analysis of the emotional dimensions of social movements (ibid., 177). In the analysis of such rituals, a Durkheimian approach would not engage in a symbolic interpretation of events, but rather, it would interpret meaning from observable emblems, or totemic designs, from which meaning arises. As such, in a ritual such as a social movement demonstration, "the community is not depicting something but giving itself a sample of its idea of true community" (Douglas 1992, 249-51). Thus, as Eyerman and Jamison point out, the ideals of a movement are "objectified, embodied, and expressed in practices which can be seen, learned, and transmitted to others" (Eyerman and Jamison 1998, 37). Moreover, "in the age of global media this transmission can involve millions of people, and it can also take place extremely effectively through cultural expressions like music and song" (ibid., 37).

A seminal work on music in social movements, which focuses more directly on the idea of music transmission, is Roscigno and Danaher's (2004) *The Voice of Southern Labor*. The authors describe the utilization of music by Southern mill workers between 1929 and 1934 in their daily lives and during protests, and the ways in which specific

lyrics fostered the three dimensions of social movement culture, which develop a group's collective identity, alternative interpretational frameworks of cause and effect, and sense of political efficacy. Roscigno and Danaher's analysis of the music, however, is largely limited to lyrics and does not seriously consider the significance of musical sound, instrumentation, or performance contexts and their relationship to social movement mobilization processes. What is unique about this study is its consideration of perceptions of political opportunity through the transmission of music over the radio. In their findings, what proved meaningful in shaping workers' perceptions of opportunity heard over the radio were the lyrics that depicted workers' struggles and the words that accompanied the music- in this case, President Roosevelt's "fireside chats" about labor issues and workers' struggles.

While the works of both Eyerman and Jamison (1998) and Roscigno and Danaher (2004) lay solid foundations for the study of music and social movements, they lack consideration of what makes music unique in social movement cultural repertoire: its sound. Coding and analyzing lyrics reveal how music can provide cognitive frameworks of understanding injustice, and increase a sense of political efficacy and collective identity, but how is this different from analyzing the texts of poetry or speeches? Recognizing that the sound of music, even in the absence of lyrics, can trigger memories of individual or collective historical experiences, signify geographic and cultural origins, and disrupt the sonic environment of public protest, is of critical significance.

In contrast to musicology, which studies music in a cultural context, the field of ethnomusicology explicitly studies music as culture, or as a total social life of organized sound (Merriam 1977, 202; Feld 1984). In other words, rather than detailing who plays

what instrument in a musical performance or the characteristics of musical form, ethnomusicologists take a performance and listener-based approach to music and concern themselves with investigating the general nature of a cultural community and explaining how music performance accommodates, violates, or even directly challenges its structure (Nettl 1983, 132). While there has been a growing literature on music and politics within ethnomusicology in the last several decades, serious generalizations and simplifications of political acts pose a major problem in the literature. Few studies have considered how musical practices help fashion social movement communities and sustain political action.

However, I do align myself closely with ethnomusicologists who seek to move beyond common assertions in public discourse that music is some sort of magical, "universal language" that "brings people together." True, music may at times have very harmonious affects, but in many contexts, it can take on meanings that are highly contentious and politically divisive. Assertions about how music is political in and of itself can trigger endless debate, in part because determinations of what music "does" is highly troublesome and are unlikely to be answered in any simple cause and effect terms (Frith 1987, 149). Instead of engaging in this rhetorical clamor, I take the position that the political possibilities of music are most radical in the process of performance and in immediate social interactions. Specifically, music performance is politically significant when people utilize and modify music to signal identities and construct social boundaries (Stokes 1997, 5). I am particularly interested in expanding conceptions of music and politics by examining the ways music performance has the potential to serve as a movement resource in expanding the field of political contention by transforming and disrupting acoustic spaces, or soundscapes (Schafer 1977).

The ability of music to signal identities and delineate social boundaries is an area of research where ethnomusicology can inform the questions posed by the collective identity approach of social movement theory, especially when applied to cases of movements involving ethnic diversity and ally communities. The ability of music performance to attract bystanders and intimidate targets through the sonic disruption of public spaces can also inform issues of recruitment and the creation of political opportunities posed by the resource mobilization approach. In this way, I am bringing together ethnomusicology and social movement theory to investigate cultural and musical processes of social movement mobilization. Furthermore, music has the potential of being politically significant on a global scale in that it can signal transnational cultural trajectories and make abstract, globally-legitimated ideas, such as human rights and dignity, meaningful to participants in local movements through the act of performance. This is where both social movement theory and ethnomusicology intersect with global cultural theory.

Global Studies: Global Cultural Perspectives

The two primary global cultural perspectives that will provide the conceptual framework for this project are the world polity and macro-anthropological perspectives. While both perspectives share the idea that global processes and norms are culturally constructed, they hold conflicting views on the importance of global structure and local conditions in constituting actors in a globalizing world. This is due in part to the opposite foci of their analyses: where world polity theorists seek to explain similarities and isomorphism at the level of world society, macro-anthropologists aim to explain

differences and the hybridization of world culture at the local level (Meyer et al. 1997; Hannerz 1991).

What remains unaccounted for at the intersection of these two perspectives is an understanding of how world cultural principles operate or become institutionalized in local contexts. In bringing together these two approaches of global cultural analysis, I provide an ethnographic case study that directly addresses how world culture is locally enacted, reconstituted, and even contested, and how culture that is structured at the global level shapes the meanings, repertoires, tactics, and outcomes of social movements in local contexts.

World polity theorists view world culture as composed of universally applicable models and cognitive scripts that are "substantively organized on a worldwide basis," as opposed to a global amalgamation of local circumstances (Meyer et al. 1997, 147). These models exert tremendous pressure towards institutional isomorphism and generate significant structural similarities around the globe. These similarities arise through processes in which global actors enact principles that are defined, legitimated, and reinforced in a structured world cultural framework, rather than engaging in action to pursue rational interests reflective of local realities (ibid., 151). Thus, through *enactment*, individual, organizational, and state actors do not choose the rules they come to follow in the world polity (Lechner and Boli 2005, 44). By focusing on the structure in which the world has come to exhibit structural similarities and the processes of how globally legitimated norms are institutionalized and enacted, world polity theory is rightly criticized for not adequately dealing with occurrences of global contestation and instances when local practice differs from global norms.

World polity theorists would respond that world culture does not imply a harmonious world order or serve as a steamroller that eliminates cultural diversity. Rather, world culture is neither 'good' nor 'bad,' but is infinitely complex, containing cultural contradictions within its own globally enacted scripts and principles (Lechner and Boli 2005, 26).

For instance, the world cultural principle of individual freedom has served as the groundwork of the modern human rights regime and global moral order. Yet, the same principle of individual freedom is also the foundation of individualism, which in the context of global capitalism, has led to deplorable working and living conditions for vast segments of the global population, producing widespread inequalities that both undermine and require the implementation of human rights mechanisms. Thus, when contention arises in the world polity, such as actions to stop exploitation in maquiladoras or female circumcision, world polity theorists see these examples not as the destruction of a harmonious world culture, but as evidence of the strength of world culture, as practices that deviate from universal and legitimated global norms are able to generate significant conflict in world society (Berkovitch and Bradley 1999; Lechner and Boli 2005).

However, world polity literature contains very few detailed ethnographic case studies that examine the actual processes or mechanisms through which world cultural models and principles become institutionalized, interpreted, or transformed in local contexts. Scholars who employ a macro-anthropological analysis, meanwhile, provide many case studies of local contexts, yet they reject the world cultural script and enactment model espoused by world-polity theorists. In the macro-anthropological perspective, culture is recognized as a process, organized as "flows of meaning" between

people (Hannerz 1991, 112). As Hannerz (1991) asserts, world culture does not involve inevitable global homogenization and the saturation of peripheral cultures through global models and scripts (ibid., 122-25). World culture is instead subject to processes of maturation in which local entrepreneurs creatively modify cultural forms to align with their own circumstances, which leads to various levels of cultural hybridization depending on the relative centrality of the market, state, form of life, and movement frameworks in a local setting (ibid.).

While world polity and macro-anthropological perspectives differ significantly in their conception of world culture as a structure of global scripts versus local interpretation and hybridization, they are, in actuality, quite compatible. Specifically, the macro-anthropological perspective's focus on the interpretive frameworks of local contexts can provide valuable insight into the actual process of how movements make elements in world culture meaningful and legitimate to local communities and how deviations from world cultural scripts may occur, which are largely absent in world polity literature. Furthermore, ethnographic analysis that explores how contradictory world cultural principles are interpreted, and possibly resolved and acted upon collectively at the local level, can generate knowledge of the relationship between local movements and global contention and the possibilities of world cultural transformation.

In addition to world polity and macro-anthropological perspectives of global cultural analysis, the work of globalization theorists is also pertinent to this research project for its attention to the conditions that have led to the growth of global consciousness and the idea of global citizenship. Globalization theorists conceive of globalization as the "reconfiguration of social geography marked by the growth of

transplanetary and supraterritorial connections between people" (Scholte 2005, 8) and "the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole" (Robertson 1992, 8). Robertson's focus on global consciousness illustrates the change in ways people have come to define themselves as "citizens." In the modern era, individuals have conventionally been considered citizens of nation-states. However, this relationship has become subjected to what Robertson has termed *relativization*, the process in which individuals and national societies redefine themselves in respect to the global circumstance (Robertson 1992). As a result, citizenship has become "subject to general norms derived from human rights standards pertaining to humankind as a whole" (Lechner and Boli 2005, 49).

Human rights are the rights guaranteed to all people by virtue of their membership in the human family. Therefore, in principle, human rights are inalienable, and apply universally regardless of one's race, ethnicity, age, religion, nationality, geographic location, or any other distinction. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was designed by a human rights commission led by Eleanor Roosevelt in 1948, and is widely considered to be the founding document of the modern human rights regime (Donnelly 1982). The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) consists of a Preamble and 30 articles outlining an array of political, civil, economic, social, and cultural rights. The UDHR was signed by member states of the United Nations on December 10, 1948, and has since come to serve as the core set of ethical principles that guides and legitimates actors in world society. While the UDHR is a proclamation that lacks legal enforcement mechanisms, its component rights have been codified and expanded upon in enforceable international treaties. The first of these treaties were the two human rights covenants: the

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, which were adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1966.

This fateful division of human rights into two separate categories, civil and political rights (such as the right to peaceful assembly, the right to vote, and the right to a fair trial) and economic, social, and cultural rights (such as the right to join unions, the right to food, housing, and medical care, and the right to participate in the cultural life of the community), is a result of the political context of the Cold War in which ideological rivalries between Western capitalist and communist bloc countries prevented all the rights articulated in the UDHR from being codified into a single treaty (Donnelly 1982, 7). It can be argued that such a division was necessary to gather sufficient international support to create the first legally binding human rights treaties. But for local movements in the United States, for example, this division continues to shape national discourse of what constitutes legitimate rights claims and often determines a movement's opportunities for legal redress through international human rights monitoring and enforcement mechanisms.

In addition to legal methods involving a growing system of international courts, treaties, and regional human rights monitoring bodies, the human rights framework also legitimates, on a global scale, general values concerning the inherent dignity and equality of all people and a set of advocacy strategies involving human rights international non-governmental organizations (INGOs). Thus, when local social movements make claims to universal human rights, globalization theorists point to the increased relativization of global actors, which has allowed "humanity" to become an actor in the system and for

individuals to claim "global citizenship." However, not all local human rights movements use the global human rights framework or its transnational activist network, even though they may engage in some type of "rights" discourse. It is therefore of critical importance to conduct ethnographic research that analyzes the actual process by which local movements acquire and institutionalize a global consciousness and human rights language and the effects that such consciousness has on local movement strategies and dynamics.

The Coalition of Immokalee Workers is a particularly fascinating case study because between 2000 and 2001, after nearly seven years of mobilizing against growers and elected officials at the local and state levels, the movement began implementing a vastly different strategy. It began targeting multinational food corporations and articulating critiques of global capitalism as the force behind farmworkers' economic displacement from their homelands and their exploitation as workers in the United States. While macroanthropological perspectives and world polity and globalization theories lend great insight into the processes whereby local movements enact and adapt world culture, they lack a serious analysis of how culture operates in reproducing global inequalities in the modern capitalist world-system.

World-system theory, on the other hand, is well positioned to lend insight into CIW's strategy of targeting multinational corporations and its collaborations with antisystemic efforts, such as those in the emerging Global Justice Movement. In contrast to Scholte's (2005) conception of globalization as a "reconfiguration of social geography," world-system theorists view globalization as the expansion of global capitalism, where states and economic institutions continually seek to accumulate capital

through political bargaining and military force (Chase-Dunn 1991). To world-system theorists, culture is secondary, and serves to provide the ideological justifications for inequality in the world (Wallerstein 1990, 39). However, culture is also the "ideological battleground" where efforts to transform the system through antisystemic movements must be fought (ibid, 51).

The most prominent antisystemic movement in the current era is the growing network of movements that has developed into the modern Global Justice Movement, or what is sometimes called the "antiglobalization" movement. While it is overly simplistic to attribute the birth of the Global Justice Movement to any single "group" or "event," the armed Zapatista uprising in the state of Chiapas, Mexico on January 1, 1994 (the same date the North American Free-Trade Agreement went into effect) in attempt to claim land and autonomy for indigenous people in the region set forth a vision of grassroots resistance to neoliberal globalization. In the United States, the Zapatista uprising inspired many of the activists who participated in the "Battle of Seattle" against the World Trade Organization's Ministerial Meeting on November 30, 1999 (Solnit 2012). But the event that signified the first physical convergence of activists from the global North and South in this growing worldwide movement was the World Social Forum (WSF) held in Porto Alegre, Brazil in January 2001.

The timing of the WSF signified its symbolic opposition to the annual World Economic Forum that was held concurrently in Davos, Switzerland. While the WSF brought together a diverse group of more than 12,000 activists from all corners of the globe, the positions that that united them was their belief that "another world is possible"[8]

[8] This phrase is generally considered to be the motto of the World Social Forum.

and their rejection and resistance to the policies and ideology of "neoliberalism."[9] World-system theorists identify this opposition to the ideology of neoliberal globalization as the precise arena in which antisystemic movements must engage in order to transform the capitalist world-system. This perspective is particularly relevant to the study of the Coalition of Immokalee Workers, not only because representatives from the CIW participated in the WSF and collaborated with individuals and groups involved in the Battle of Seattle and the Zapatista uprising, but also because these interactions likely had an influence on CIW's transformation in strategy that led it to target multinational corporations with a critique of global capitalism during the Campaign for Fair Food.

However, world-system literature lacks research on how local movements come into contact with and participate locally in conjunction with global antisystemic movements. One concept that accurately captures the form and character of CIW's collaborations with groups and allies involved in global antisystemic engagement is what Dellacioppa (2009) has termed "transcultural advocacy networks" (TCANs). Although the concept is not theoretically grounded, it is an important variation of Keck and Sikkink's (1998) concept of transnational advocacy networks (TANs), in which INGOs are central in advocacy involving single-issue campaigns. The focus of TCANs, in contrast, is on the cultural aspects of collaborations between groups who share a "political culture" and a "new vision of living politics" (Dellacioppa 2009, 5). This concept sheds light on the ways the CIW participates locally in global networks and

[9] In the perspective of WSF participants, neoliberalism has several meanings (Lechner and Boli 2005). First, neoliberalism is "a set of policies and ideas" such as the privatization of government-controlled companies and deregulation; it is also "institutionalized" in global entities such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Trade Organization that act as "agents of neoliberalism"; and it is also a "dominant ideological project" that serves the interest of economic elites at the expense of the poor (See Lechner and Boli 2005, 157-59).

collaborates with individuals and groups who often share nothing more than a common vision for global justice.

Like world polity theory, world-system theory lacks case studies that illuminate how local movements come to exhibit behaviors or engage in processes they see as relevant to world culture. In the case of world-system theory, this pertains to how local movements – such as the farmworker movement in Immokalee – engage in the ideological battleground of world culture by challenging the dominant ideologies of global capitalism. This is precisely where a macroanthropological perspective and its ethnographic methods can fill the gap and capture the social processes through which local movements come to contest components of world culture.

Thus, world-polity, macro-anthropological, globalization, and world-system perspectives provide the theoretical and conceptual basis for understanding CIW's enactment of global cultural norms, the processes through which the local farmworker movement community negotiates and adapts flows of global cultural meanings through their distinct local frameworks, its development of global consciousness, and its engagement with transnational and transcultural advocacy networks that has influenced the movement to target multinational corporations with the human rights framework. Ultimately, these perspectives inform an analysis of how global engagement has influenced the local farmworker movement's strategies and outcomes.

Research Questions

These research questions were developed after several years of preliminary observations of the Coalition of Immokalee Workers community and are grounded in the fields of social movements, ethnomusicology, and global studies, respectively. This

project, however, is not simply an amalgamation of contributions from different fields of study. Rather, the three fields are put into constant dialogue, such that each research question is investigated and responded to through the methodologies and perspectives of the others.

In restating the research questions presented in the introduction, I briefly articulate the theoretical framework that informs each question from concepts introduced in the literature review, delineate the scope of the research in light of the field, and identify the interdisciplinary considerations that contribute to the investigation of each of the three research questions.

Social Movements

The research question informed by social movement theory within the discipline of sociology asks,

> 1) How are farmworkers in Immokalee, who face obstacles of ethnic and linguistic diversity, frequent migration, exclusion from federal legal protections, high illiteracy rates, and extreme poverty, able to organize and maintain a cohesive social movement with a collective identity, consciousness, and solidarity among its members? How is this cohesive movement developed among the movement's diverse allies?

This research question is largely influenced by new social movement theory and its focus on social movement culture. Specifically, new social movement theorists' attention to the processes of initial movement formation is valuable to this project given the problem of significant obstacles to mobilization that migrant farmworkers face and the lack of research on interethnic identity formation and diverse coalition building. Therefore, the social movement component of this research focuses on the social construction of protest and the perception and creation of political opportunities, rather than the conduciveness of macro-level political opportunity structures as examined in

resource mobilization theory. However, I depart from new social movement theory by also investigating social movement mobilization alongside the achievement material gains. In so doing, I develop new insights into how the cultural work of social movements and their creation of collective identities and "democratic spaces for autonomous social action" may also have an impact on the outcomes of class-based struggles.

The investigation into cultural repertoires of internal movement dynamics is invigorated with the perspectives of ethnomusicology. While I considered and observed a variety of cultural repertoires, I focused on the use of community-based radio and public music performances using an ethnomusicological approach in order to provide a deep cultural analysis that relates to key intergroup issues of interethnic collective identity formation, consciousness development, and solidarity building.

The global studies perspective informs this portion of the research by bringing attention to the farmworkers' experiences in their home countries and journey of transnational migration, and how these impact the process of political mobilization. Moreover, a global cultural analysis investigates the process in which the farmworkers have developed a global consciousness that allow them to interpret and make sense of universal human rights, the structure of the global economy, the obstacle of exclusion from federal legal protections, and the possibilities and challenges of global activism.

Ethnomusicology

The question based on the disciplinary foundations of ethnomusicology asks,

> 2) What is music's role in building and sustaining the farmworker movement? More specifically, what is the relationship between musical form and function in social movement mobilization?

The incorporation of ethnomusicology into this project is in part a result of my observations as a musician and an interdisciplinary scholar in sociological discussions of music. When music is discussed in the context of sociology, it is often reduced to an analysis of music as a commodity or as a form of cultural capital. In the few instances music has been studied in the context of social movements, it has often been limited to an analysis of lyrical texts, which effectively ignores the role of music in the daily life of a social movement community and the sound of such a community, which is precisely what distinguishes music from other forms of movement culture.

Ethnomusicology, on the other hand, is better equipped to accurately analyze the nuanced meanings and functions of music in social movement communities because of the insight provided by its ethnographic methods. Such methods require investigators to spend time with a music community, learn to play the musical instruments, and observe and document how people's musical interactions function in supporting, challenging, or transforming the community's social structure over time. By learning music traditions and examining musical phenomena through the perspective of active listeners and performers, rather than passive consumers of music, ethnomusicologists are better equipped to analyze components of music performance beyond lyrics and interpret the social meanings and functions of language choice, instrumentation, rhythm, and musical form, and examine complex processes of preservation and change in oral music traditions. In so doing, ethnomusicologists take on the scholarly task of uncovering the role of organized sound in a specific cultural community.

However, there are few ethnomusicological studies that question how music functions in social movement communities, despite the abundance of literature on music

in political contexts, and fewer still that actually engage with the theoretical insight provided by social movement theory.

While this research project utilizes ethnomusicological methods and insights in analyzing the role of music in this migrant farmworker community, the limitations of time and resources of this research project restricts me from conducting a comprehensive musical ethnography that spans the temporal and musical breadth of this unique community. However, in order to advance scholarship on the role of music in social movements, I have focused on particularly rich examples of the musical life of this movement. This includes an investigation into the music played over the airwaves of *Radio Conciencia*, music performed at CIW fiestas in Immokalee, and the music performed in public demonstrations.

Social movement theory, and new social movement theory in particular, contributes to the investigation of radio play and music in public performances, and their role in the building and sustaining of cohesive social movements with a collective identity, critical consciousness, and solidarity. Ethnomusicological considerations of the form and function of music in public performances explore the efficacy of certain musical instrumentations and forms in the social movement tactic of disruption – in this case, the sonic disruption of a public soundscape.

Global studies perspectives such as macro-anthropology also contribute important insights in analyzing music's role in the shaping of an interethnic collective identity and a local movement culture in Immokalee, whose current ethnic diversity results from recent waves of transnational labor migration from multiple origins. Specifically, macro-anthropological perspectives that trace cultural practices through passageways along the

global economy inform ethnomusicological considerations of how music practices function along the migratory journey and how music is used among farmworkers in the signaling of geographic and social boundaries in the interethnic context of Immokalee. The macro-anthropological perspective highlights the transnational cultural processes of place-making through music and the social construction of unique local movement frameworks, which ultimately have implications for a movement's choice of strategy and forms of global engagement.

Global Studies

The final research question investigates the global cultural processes at play in this farmworker community's social movement mobilization. It asks,

> 3) How is world culture enacted, adapted, and contested in the local movement context of Immokalee? Have resulting forms of global engagement had an impact on movement success? If so, why?

The first part of this question brings together world polity, globalization, and world-system theories, as well as macro-anthropological perspectives. World polity and globalization theories inform this project by focusing research on the ways the farmworkers of the CIW develop a consciousness of the world as a whole, and come to enact world culture, such as framing the movement in terms of globally-legitimated moral concepts such as universal human rights. World polity theorists ultimately see the world as the enactment of cultural scripts by individuals, interest groups, nation-states, and international organizations. Furthermore, it regards international non-governmental organizations (INGOs) as the primary carriers of global principles and sees the United Nations as a particularly influential world culture construction site. This research therefore examines the processes in which world cultural scripts become introduced and

institutionalized at the level of local groups by investigating CIW's interactions with non-governmental organizations and United Nations bodies. In particular, I consider the impact these interactions may have had on CIW's movement strategies and tactics, claims to global citizenship and universal human rights, and individual members' consciousness of the world as a whole, which are of primary concern to globalization theory as well. While an investigation that examines whether these interactions have influenced the activities and discourse of INGOs or the UN is necessary, and could lead to new considerations of how world cultural scripts are modified or transformed, such research is not within the scope of this particular project – although it does serve as a promising avenue for future research.

World polity theory, while well armed with models to explain isomorphism and similarities at the global level, is less able to explain how world cultural scripts are institutionalized, adapted, or contested at the local level. The prominent script for local movements to follow while utilizing the human rights framework is to connect with the transnational advocacy network (TAN) of human rights INGOs that work to pressure these legitimacy-seeking nation-states into implementing domestic human rights standards at the benefit of local populations or movements (Keck and Sikkink 1998). The actions taken by the CIW, as discussed previously, differ from this world cultural script in several significant ways. First, the CIW participates less in TANs, and instead interacts more frequently with a grassroots activist network that Dellacioppa terms a transcultural advocacy network (TCAN) (Dellacioppa 2009). Second, in the Campaign for Fair Food (2001-present), the CIW departed from dominant human rights advocacy scripts by targeting multinational corporations for human rights concessions rather than the nation-

state. While world polity theorists expect variation resulting from the inherent contradictions in world culture and institutionalization under different local conditions, there is a lack of detailed research on the subject.

Therefore, investigation into the processes by which the CIW has come to enact and depart from world cultural scripts will be informed by the macro-anthropological perspective and its commitment to understanding global/local interactions through ethnographic research at the local level. In seeing global cultural processes as subject to the creative processes of 'cultural entrepreneurs,' who assemble world culture in new ways or combine them with local cultural forms, macro-anthropologist Hannerz suggests studying such processes through the investigation of the cultural frameworks at play in a locality, such as the "movement" framework that is prominent in Immokalee (Hannerz 1991).

This is precisely where studies of social movement culture, and ethnomusicological considerations of musical life in social movement communities, lend insight into issues raised by global studies. In particular, the observation and analysis of cultural repertoires such as radio programming, music performance in demonstrations, popular education techniques, and street theater – in addition to contributing to social movement concerns about the formation of a cohesive movement – shed light on the processes through which global consciousness and human rights discourse are institutionalized and made meaningful in local movement cultures. Furthermore, analysis of these cultural repertoires also highlights the process through which world culture is interpreted in local communities and expressed in the context of public protest. It is in the study of elements of world culture that are thriving in movement communities, and the

investigation of how they are embraced, reconstituted, or rejected by their members, that we can also make sense out of a local movement's choice of strategies and forms of global engagement.

The study of the efficacy of these forms of global engagement is the subject of the second sub-question in the global studies research question. CIW's changing forms of global engagement – from its interactions with INGOs, movements in transcultural networks, and the United Nations, to its utilization of human rights discourse and targeting of multinational corporations – are assessed in relation to the timing and degree of material improvements in order to determine if certain strategies of global engagement have an impact on movement success. The results inform theoretical discussions on the interrelationship between globalization processes and local social movement outcomes.

Indicators of Success

This project moves beyond merely a description of social movement culture by explaining how it contributes to movement outcomes, which of course, include successes as well as failures. While possibilities of what constitutes a movement success are infinitely complex, potentially spanning individual to global levels of transformation, there are responsible ways of defining observable and measurable successes.

The indicators of success in this study are based on insights from new social movement theory, resource mobilization theory, and what participants state as their goals of collective action. New social movement theorists recognize the formation and mobilization of a collective group to be a success in itself, as the empirical unity of a social movement is often times wrongly assumed to be the appropriate starting point of analysis. Furthermore, in accordance with what new social movement theorists assert,

and from what I have gathered in my preliminary observations in Immokalee, social movements also include other non-material goals, such as creating "democratic spaces for autonomous social action" where participants are able to construct new identities and social realities (Cohen 1985). However, as resource mobilization theorists highlight, social movements also struggle to achieve specific material goals and economic gains. Based on interviews and an analysis of CIW's publicly stated goals, these movement-defined goals include higher wages (a penny more per pound of tomatoes, to be exact), the elimination of violence in the fields, the eradication of wage theft by crewleaders, farmworker participation in decision making procedures and negotiations affecting their workplace environment, the abolition of involuntary servitude, and more systemic change relating to the development of a socially responsible food industry that respects the human rights of farmworkers.

Thus, the indicators of success by which this migrant farmworker movement are assessed include:

1) The formation of a cohesive farmworker and ally movement with a collective identity, consciousness, and solidarity

2) The attainment of material improvements, including higher wages, safer working conditions, and increased bargaining power

3) The creation of a social movement community that transforms farmworker silence, isolation, and fear and opens up new spaces of participation where people are able to experience and construct desired social realities

4) The establishment of stronger laws and enforcement mechanisms against violators of workers' rights

5) The abolition of involuntary servitude in the fields

6) The development of a socially responsible food industry that is held accountable to human rights standards throughout its supply chain

Seeking explanations to these indicators of success, however, are accompanied by careful consideration of instances when the movement did not achieve its goals, or when obstacles such as ethnic diversity or exclusion from federal protections did in fact impede or prevent the attainment of movement goals. This balanced approach provides greater insight into the social construction of protest and the dynamism with which social movements may adapt and change over time.

CHAPTER TWO

Methodology and Analysis

I began this research with the goal of understanding if and how the Coalition of Immokalee Workers' cultural repertoires and forms of global engagement may contribute to the achievement of social movement success. These indicators of success include the formation and maintenance of a cohesive movement despite significant obstacles to mobilization, the attainment of material gains, and the creation of a desired social movement community, among others. In my investigation into the research questions guiding this project, I used several methodological approaches.

1) Oral histories that allowed farmworkers, organizers, allies, and musicians to share an experiential version of CIW history;

2) Semi-structured interviews that addressed participants' recruitment and first interactions with the CIW, perceptions of interethnic coalition building, radio and/or music listening habits and performances, participation in public demonstrations, and their perspectives of human rights and global citizenship;

3) Participant observation of CIW meetings, popular education sessions, radio broadcasts, block parties, fiestas, marimba rehearsals, and public demonstrations;

4) Photography and audio recordings that captured the visual and audio components of the participants' cultural repertoires in Immokalee and in public demonstrations, and;

5) Archival research of organizational materials and recordings that provided documentation of movement past events, advocacy materials, music performances, visual/theatrical components of public demonstrations, utilization of human rights and global discourse, and insight into substantive movement changes over time.

Table 2.1 in the appendix outlines these methodologies alongside the data each method produced and the measures applied to the data. These methods helped me assess if and how the CIW was able to achieve movement success, which is defined by six primary indicators.

Indicators of Success

1) Formation of a cohesive movement
   - **a.** Collective identity
   - **b.** Critical consciousness
   - **c.** Solidarity

2) Attainment of material improvements
   - **a.** Increase in pay (such as penny more per pound of tomatoes picked)
   - **b.** Human rights monitoring mechanism in the fields
   - **c.** Farmworker participation in all levels of negotiation/implementation

3) Creation of alternative social movement community
4) Establishment of stronger laws against violators of workers' rights
5) Abolition of involuntary servitude
6) Development of a socially responsible food industry that is held accountable to human rights standards throughout its supply chain

The two primary sites for this research were the community center of the Coalition of Immokalee Workers in Immokalee, Florida and *El Centro Cultural de México* [the Mexican Cultural Center] in Santa Ana, California. Having received written consent from both organizations to conduct research at their respective locations, I spent two weeks in California in June 2010 and June 2011 conducting interviews with *Son del Centro* musicians who have performed in CIW demonstrations, and twelve consecutive weeks in Florida in the fall of 2010 and four additional weeks in the spring of 2011 conducting interviews and participant observation among farmworkers and staff and gathering relevant information in the CIW archives. The time and location of each oral history/interview session was agreed upon with each individual participant, and took place either at his/her place of residence or in a private room at one of the respective

community centers. Throughout the research period, I conducted phone interviews with musicians and ally participants who were not available at either of the research locations, and attended CIW's major demonstrations against corporate targets as part of the Campaign for Fair Food.

Oral History

Interview participants were given the opportunity to provide an oral history (and possible follow up interview) or participate in a semi-structured interview. The oral history methods I employed are informed by Foucault's concept of genealogy as history, in which participants are able to communicate local knowledge based on their experiences of struggle, without reference to a linear "metahistory" or other grand narratives (Foucault [1971] 1984). Those who volunteered to provide oral histories were encouraged to tell their personal stories related to the farmworker movement in whatever way they felt comfortable (such as starting point, amount of detail, etc.) and their resulting narratives were recorded, transcribed, and translated as needed. Through this oral history method, farmworkers were able to share insight into their life experiences in their homeland, their story of immigration to Immokalee, Florida, and how they came to participate in the CIW, all in as much or as little detail as they chose. This ultimately revealed first-hand insight into the influence of past movements on the farmworker movement in Immokalee and informed further analysis of how these influences were transferred, modified, or expressed in CIW's cultural repertoires and movement tactics.

The oral history interviews also allowed artist allies[10] and current and former staff members to share how they came to participate in the CIW and how they perceive their role in the movement in relation to farmworkers. For the ally musicians, in particular, their oral histories of music participation revealed the historical, cultural, or biographical significance of specific music traditions, as well as their perspectives on how and why those music traditions were performed within CIW public demonstrations and became a part of the farmworker movement more generally.

Oral history interviews allowed participants to give non-scripted narratives of their personal histories and experiences related to the current farmworker movement in Immokalee. In particular, I took note of how farmworkers discussed their participation in the movement in relation to challenges posed by ethnic diversity and migration, which provided insight into an assessment of how a cohesive movement was formed and maintained despite obstacles to mobilization (success indicator #1).

These narratives provided in-depth details and perspectives that may have otherwise been overlooked in responses to pre-formulated interview questions. At the same time, their stories often did not directly address topics central to the research project. Many of the participants, for instance, have given either oral histories or interviews before, and were used to covering topics that were of interest to other researchers. Therefore, asking questions directly following the oral history in a brief follow-up interview often resulted in very lively responses about topics many had not directly reflected on before, such as their experiences and perspectives of ethnic difference in the community, *Radio Conciencia*, music and theater in public

[10] I use the term "ally" as it is used in the context of the movement. An ally is an individual who is not a farmworker, but who participates in the movement in solidarity with farmworkers.

demonstrations, and how the movement has been involved in the growing Global Justice Movement.

These participants were to participate in a follow-up, semi-structured interview in a format similar to the interviews of those who preferred to participate only in the semi-structured interview.

Interviews

The bulk of the findings reported here come from a sample of semi-structured, face-to-face interviews.[11] The interviews consisted of general questions to participants that allowed for qualitative comparisons and analyses of specific topics including recruitment into the movement, ethnic and gender diversity, radio listening habits (of farmworkers only), popular education, music performances, public demonstrations, and perspectives of human rights and global engagement. Throughout the interviews, participants were able to clarify dates and details of the movement's history, highlight nuanced meanings, and elaborate on their experiences and interpretations of movement culture and specific events.

In all, I conducted 16 one to two-hour, in-person interviews with farmworkers through snowball sampling and volunteer recruitment at the CIW community center. These farmworker interview participants included both CIW farmworker staff, who previously worked in the tomato fields and are now full-time staff,[12] as well as current farmworkers. I recruited interview participants by first observing worker meetings on

[11] When necessary, a select number of interviews were conducted via phone or by an Internet video conference.

[12] In an effort to minimize a hierarchical leadership structure, the wages of farmworker staff members in the CIW are pegged to the average farmworker salary and staff members join portions of the East Coast migrant trail (including harvests in Georgia and Delaware) during the summer months to remain connected to daily experience of farm labor.

Wednesdays and Sundays, where a discussion leader introduced me to those in attendance. After workers had the opportunity to see me at these meetings for a couple of weeks, I made brief announcements at the end of meetings during the third and fourth weeks of my fieldwork. I briefly described the structure and purpose of the interviews and stated that I was able to meet participants at a place and time that was most convenient for them. While most volunteers preferred to meet at the CIW community center, where we completed the interviews in a private office, several workers invited me to their homes. However, because most workers live with many other workers or share a home with other families, these interviews took place outside, where we sat under trees and were often joined by the occasional chicken or stray dog.

The resulting farmworker interviews allowed for a variety of perspectives from workers originally from Mexico, Guatemala, and Haiti. Semi-structured interviews with farmworkers included five thematic sections that queried participants' experiences or perspectives relating to:

> (1) Coming to Immokalee, their labor as farmworkers, and their initial involvement with the CIW;
>
> (2) Diversity within the farmworker community, interethnic coalition-building, and the challenges of race or ethnicity that have arisen, persist, or have been resolved in the contexts of the fields and/or movement mobilization;
>
> (3) Radio-listening, how they were introduced to *Radio Conciencia*, what programs they listen to, the songs they request and why;
>
> (4) Popular education, music performances, and other cultural repertoires such theater and protest art-making, both in Immokalee and in public demonstrations;
>
> (5) The farmworker movement in relation to the wider world, including between the CIW and other movements, as well as their perspectives of human rights and global citizenship.

In addition to farmworkers, I conducted one-hour interviews with five non-farmworker staff members, six radio programmers (included among the 16 deejays),

three artist/activists, and 12 musicians who had performed with the CIW in public demonstrations. Current and former staff members include those non-farmworker, paid staff members employed by the CIW, the Student Farmworker Alliance, or Interfaith Action. The three organizations are all 501(c) 3 non-profit organizations that share office space at the CIW community center. These staff members were first asked to describe their introduction to and involvement with the CIW. As with the farmworkers, they were asked to address theme (2) above about inter-ethnic coalition building, and I asked about their intentions in founding the radio station and their role, if any, in designing the content of the educational and cultural programming of the station. Staff members were also asked to address the process of recruiting musicians to perform at CIW-sponsored concerts and demonstrations. With regard to theme (5), I asked staff members to describe their organizational relationships and forms of cooperation with INGOs.

During in-person interviews with radio programmers, five similar sets of questions were posed, but for theme (3), the programmers were asked to elaborate on their choice of music selections, educational programming, the use of languages, and what they perceive to be the purpose, function, or inspiration for their work.

In the interviews with artist allies, such as puppeteer David Solnit and photographer J.J. Tiziou, I also posed similar questions, but in regard to theme (3), I asked them instead to elaborate on the concept of maintaining ally relationships with farmworkers, and on theme (4), I asked them to reflect on their own artistic contributions and experiences with the CIW.

The last group I interviewed featured *Son del Centro* musicians affiliated with El Centro Cultural de México (the Centro), as well as musicians unaffiliated with the

Centro, who had performed with the CIW in public demonstrations. I conducted these interviews in person in Santa Ana, California and over the phone. In these interviews, I asked the musicians to describe and elaborate on (1) their introduction and involvement with the CIW, and to list the performances, as well as the context and content of each, in which they had participated with the CIW; (2) whom they were addressing or singing for (ex. farmworkers, students, bystanders, campaign targets, etc.) and if and how the context of the performance may have had an impact on the content of their songs; (3) their experiences, thoughts, and concerns about interethnic movements and if/how issues of ethnic difference and identity influence their music and activism; (4) their musical training and influences, and how previous and contemporary movements may have shaped their work; (5) their conception of how their music/activism relates to their perspectives of global justice.

In all of these interviews, I used written interview guides based on the five themes explained above, informed participants of their rights in participating in this study, and gained their oral consent to participate. Emory University's Institutional Review Board approved the necessary portions of this study that involved interaction with research participants.

Participant Observation

In addition to oral history and semi-structured interviews, which highlighted participant narratives, subjective meanings, as well as the circumstances under which they participated in the movement, I also engaged in participant observation of the farmworker community in Immokalee and CIW public demonstrations.

In the three years prior to my field research in Immokalee during the fall of 2010, I conducted participant observation in public contexts with farmworkers, staff, allies, and musicians and developed meaningful and trusting relationships with them by regularly attending public demonstrations and performing *son jarocho* alongside other musicians. In these contexts, I observed the behavior, interaction, and discourse of participants, especially those associated with music performance, visual art, street theater, and puppetry. Furthermore, in the summer and winter of 2008 for a total of nine weeks, I studied the *son jarocho* music tradition in Veracruz, Mexico, learning the instrumental, vocal, and dance components of the tradition so I could perform with *son jarocho* musicians during the marches and better understand the technical aspects and cultural meanings behind the music performances.

Gaining the confidence and trust of farmworkers and musicians in these contexts was crucial to my ethnographic fieldwork in Immokalee, Florida. During the 16 total weeks I spent in Immokalee, I observed the daily lives of farmworkers (CIW members and non-members) and staff members, paying special attention to radio programming and listening behavior, and other cultural repertoires, such as theater and popular education programs, and music performances in Immokalee. In addition, I attended and observed every major CIW public demonstration[13] between November 2007 and March 2011.

Participant observations in Immokalee and in public demonstrations focused on two types of interactions, respectively: 1) the interactions among farmworkers, and 2) the

[13] By "major public demonstration," I am referring to the annual actions in which the CIW reaches out to its national network (and to a certain extent, global network) of allies to attend an action, which usually features a march, picket, and concert/presentation. In particular, these events included the March on Burger King in Miami, FL (November 2007), the Governor Action in Tallahassee, FL (March 2009), the March on Publix in Lakeland, FL (December 2009), the Farmworker Freedom March in Lakeland, FL (April 2010), and the Do the Right Thing Tour from Atlanta, GA to Tampa, FL (March 2011). I also attended the Fast for Fair Food in Lakeland, FL (March 2012).

interactions between farmworkers and ally participants. In Immokalee, I observed interactions among farmworkers in order to assess the formation and maintenance of a cohesive movement with a collective identity, consciousness, and solidarity, especially in relation to obstacles the community faces – particularly ethnic and gender diversity, and frequent migration, and illiteracy, among others. These observations were undertaken as a part of a larger ethnography of daily farmworker life in Immokalee and CIW's everyday interaction with the farmworker community through programs and activities.

As such, I lived with a farmworker family, attended morning worker recruitments on a weekly basis, went to the tomato fields on three separate occasions, and volunteered at the CIW community center, where I was able to observe and interact with CIW members daily. I participated in every CIW activity or event that was available to farmworkers, including shopping at the worker cooperative, attending weekly meetings, the women's group meetings, *Radio Conciencia's* block parties and celebrations, and of course, listening to *Radio Conciencia* broadcasts several hours every day. In these observations and interactions with farmworkers, I paid close attention to processes of collective identity formation: the ways in which relationships were activated and emotional investments were made among farmworkers in CIW spaces (*Radio Conciencia*, the community center, etc.), as well as how boundaries of ethnicity – understood as a discourse of geographic place or origins – were articulated and negotiated in the context of diversity. I also took note of discourses of injustice, rights, and/or political efficacy in these spaces, as well as if these discourses were connected to ideas of the world as a whole ("global justice," "humanity," and "human rights" for

example), to measure if and how consciousness, and global consciousness in particular, was developed among farmworkers.

Also, in order to respond to the second research question about the role of music in social movements, I engaged in an ethnographic method whereby I directly participated in the musical life of the community. Like many new migrant farmworkers, I arrived in Immokalee in early September. I began listening to *Radio Conciencia* on a daily basis – in the mornings beginning at 5:00am, during mid-day lunch breaks when I was near a radio, and most evenings when I returned home from volunteering at the community center. I listened on Saturday afternoons with the woman I lived with while we cleaned the house and looked over her kids, and found myself anticipating the Sunday morning broadcast of *Las Voces* (the radio program for women) before attending the weekly women's group meeting. During my first week in Immokalee, I attended the *Fiestas Patrias* at the CIW community center to celebrate the Independence Days of Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador. For most farmworkers in attendance, the *Fiestas Patrias* was the first social event they attended in Immokalee (or the United States), which gave them a chance to meet one another and become familiar with the new faces around them – including my own. I attended the opening block parties of the season held by *Radio Conciencia* deejays in trailer parks and empty lots throughout Immokalee, and by mid-October, I was being coaxed from the sidelines to participate in laughter-filled dance-offs and rounds of musical chairs.

In addition to participation, a central component of my ethnomusicological approach was a dedication to critical listening of musical soundscapes and accompanying discourses at all times and contexts of my fieldwork. This enabled me to recognize daily

music patterns and changes over the course of the harvest season and better understand how musical practice in the cultural community of Immokalee negotiates or "even directly challenges its structure," particularly in regards to the factors of diversity and displacement that constitute farmworkers' daily lives (Nettl 1983, 132).

The insight gained from this listener-based ethnographic approach – such as music's role in practices of place-making and organizing time or generating emotional investments across farmworkers' ethnic and gender differences – is significant not only for responding to the second research question concerning music in social movements more generally, but also for assessing the achievement of collective identity and the formation of an alternative social movement community in Immokalee, or "democratic spaces for autonomous social action," where participants are able to construct new identities and social realities (Cohen 1985).

In the context of public demonstrations outside Immokalee, I similarly engaged in participant observation and a listener-based ethnography, but instead of focusing on the interactions between farmworkers, I directed my observations to the interactions between farmworkers and ally participants, as well as observable reactions of bystanders and targets in response to the demonstrations. In addition to observing the means through which boundaries were asserted and negotiated, and a consciousness and/or global consciousness was developed among diverse allies (success indicators 1a and 1b, respectively), I also observed public demonstrations as ritual performances capable of generating bonds of solidarity through heightened states of emotion, or what Durkheim called "effervescence" (Durkheim [1912] 2001). Specifically, in understanding public demonstrations as rituals, I listened and observed the ways in which musical

performances – and components of its musical form – coordinated group participation and heightened feelings of commitment to the collective whole. Furthermore, I observed the use of totems, emblems, and symbols – such as the CIW flag, red tomato buckets, puppets, and picket signs – as part of these solidarity rituals and used them, along with music lyrics and discourse in these demonstrations, in an analysis of solidarity-building and public shaming of campaign targets.

Photography

As part of the movement ethnography, I took photographs of the farmworker community in Immokalee to provide visual documentation of farmworker living conditions, daily worker recruitments at dawn, the tomato harvest, and workers themselves. I also photographed the activities of the CIW, including deejays broadcasting *Radio Conciencia*, theater performances, marimba rehearsals, various celebrations, and everyday dynamics at the community center. In addition, I photographed the various posters, artwork, murals, and photos that adorn and decorate the entirety of the CIW community center. Lastly, I photographed farmworker, staff, ally, and musician participation in public demonstrations, as well as the various signs, totems, and street theater props.

I also collected photographs on a volunteer basis from interview participants, and from the portfolio of Jacques-Jean (J.J.) Tiziou, an independent photographer from Philadelphia. J.J.'s photographs are publicly available online[14] and document all major CIW public demonstrations since 2003, including the construction of *Radio Conciencia*

[14] http://www.jjtiziou.net/archive/CIW/

in December 2003. J.J. has granted me permission to include selected photographs in the photo appendix.

I utilize a sample of these photographs, which are featured in the visual appendix, to enrich readers' understanding of particular discussions, such as the use of totems, emblems, and puppets in farmworkers' communication in the public sphere and their shaming of corporate adversaries. These photographs, which are featured in the visual appendix, also provide documentation of farmworkers' labor in the fields – including the implementation of new rights agreements under the Fair Food Program. It is my intention that these photographs will one day be made accessible to the farmworkers in a more long-lasting form of publication that would be available at the CIW community center. Moreover, these photos serve an important historical purpose by documenting the experiences of migrant farmworkers in the South at the turn of the 21st century that will inform future studies of agricultural labor and human rights movements in the United States.

Radio Programming and Audio Recording

In an effort to feasibly generate data on the music broadcast and the dedications made by callers on *Radio Conciencia*, I first consulted with several deejays on constructing a method of documenting songs and dedications that would ensure accuracy while not being obtrusive or distracting to the deejays. This was a concern because many call-in requests and dedications do not happen on the air, either because a caller does not want to speak live over the radio or because he/she calls in during the middle of a song and makes a request off the air. In these discussions, I did not specify what I was looking

for in the radio data. Rather, I expressed interest in knowing more about how *Radio Conciencia* operates and the music and dedications that are broadcast.

With input from the farmworker deejays, who mentioned that they take informal notes in a scrap notebook to keep track of requested songs and dedications, we agreed to a system in which deejays completed daily radio logs of their programs. These logs included columns under the headings 1) song title, 2) singer/band, 3) genre, 4) dedication message. For two 7-day periods in the fall of 2010, and two 7-day periods in the spring of 2011, deejays completed daily radio logs of their programs (2-3 hours each). Each week, there were approximately 33 radio programs scheduled (five per weekday, four per weekend day). To minimize the effects of having a sample that disproportionately represented certain farmworkers who regularly completed logs (there were several who occasionally forgot), I selected ten logs from each week using a random number generator with each number corresponding to one of the 33 programming slots, for a total of 40 logs over four weeks. Using this method, I was able to document the songs that were requested and played and the dedications that were made over approximately 100 hours of radio broadcast throughout the harvest season in Immokalee.

I also spent many hours in the radio station studio to increase my understanding of the social dynamics behind the control board. These interactions in the control room were very casual, and I was able to ask questions about the music and commentary choices each deejay made, the changes and continuities they see throughout the week, and how they interact with callers. Through these conversations, I was informed of the process of logistical decision-making in the programming, and was able to document the automatic settings for educational and event announcements. These informal sessions were

important in that they established trust between myself and the deejays, and led to more informed questions for the interviews I later conducted with them.

In addition to radio logs, I listened to *Radio Conciencia* on a daily basis and recorded approximately four hours of broadcasts each week, from which I transcribed deejay and caller discourse, and prerecorded announcements. I also made audio recordings of my participation in block parties and fiestas throughout the harvest season, which captured both the music played and farmworker discourse in these settings. Through these audio recordings, I was able to accurately review farmworker discourse and musical sounds to assess the development of collective identity, consciousness, and the signaling of homelands or globally legitimated ideas such as "humanity" or "human rights" through music practices in Immokalee.

Outside the context of Immokalee, I also made audio recordings along the paths of major CIW demonstrations to document the live music performed by farmworkers and their allies, recorded music amplified on mobile sound systems leading the marches, and recorded the overall transformative soundscapes of such public demonstrations. These recordings were made during two major demonstrations the CIW organized in its campaign against Publix supermarkets: 1) the April 2010 25-mile Farmworker Freedom March from Tampa to Lakeland, Florida, and 2) the March 2011 Do the Right Thing March and theater performance in Tampa. Along with these recordings, I witnessed the sonic impact such transformations had on bystanders by observing and documenting their body language and verbal responses. Together, the documentation of music performances and amplification of recorded music in public demonstrations, as well as their impact on

bystanders, allowed for an assessment of the role of music in attracting and communicating with bystanders.

Furthermore, within these public demonstrations, *son jarocho* music performances were recorded to serve as a detailed ethnomusicological case study. As a participant musician, I was able to observe how improvisation and other musical decisions were made, and detect otherwise subtle or seemingly unimportant changes in musical form between the contexts of marches and stage performances. In conjunction with interview responses, these recordings contributed to an analysis of how musical form and performance may contribute to various social movement indicators of success.

Together, these photographs and recordings document music and cultural repertoires in both Immokalee and public contexts of social movement mobilization. Selections of these materials are included in the appendices as visual and audio references.

Archival Research

Lastly, to supplement the oral histories and semi-structured interviews, participant observations, photography, and live recordings, I conducted archival research using three types of organizational archives provided by the CIW.

The first type of archive is CIW's comprehensive newspaper archive that includes every newspaper clipping mentioning the CIW between 1994 and 2001. I used this archive as a historical reference of CIW's early history, paying special attention to articles documenting CIW's cultural history through photos and story coverage (photos taken inside the first community center, coverage of public actions, theater performances, etc.), as well as how the CIW publicly defined its goals.

The second type of archive is the extensive CIW online news archive, which has been meticulously updated and preserved by staff members since the website launched in 2001. As a supplement to worker and participant interviews, this archival resource provides written documentation of speeches, CIW photos, advocacy materials, links to press coverage, short video and audio clips, and a detailed timeline of the movement since 2001. This archive also includes documentation of the CIW's collaboration with INGOs and movement organizations and its use of human rights discourses, making it possible to analyze how these tactics and forms of global engagement change over time, and most importantly, how these changes correlate to movement goals and outcomes.

In addition to textual documentation, the third type of archive I utilized is CIW's video collection of public actions between 1994 and 2001. These videos were primarily shot by CIW farmworkers and staff with an inexpensive handheld video camera, providing rare audio and visual documentation of some of the early key actions, such as the first CIW worker strike in 1995, the outdoor theater performance in 1997, and the 243-mile march to Orlando in 2000.

Using a combination of the three archives, and input from relevant interview participants, I constructed a timeline of CIW's major public demonstrations and compared changes in movement targets (e.g. grower, nation-state, or food corporation), the stated demands or goals, the use of emblems and totems, and the presence of music over time. This allowed me assess if public demonstrations – or the threat of them – helped the movement achieve its goals and identify opportunities to secure concessions from targets and achieve material improvements for farmworkers.

A Scholar in Immokalee

Before proceeding to the analysis section, it is important to explain my general position and activities in the Immokalee community during field research, as well as my role as a scholar in relation to the Coalition of Immokalee Workers. In a town comprised primarily of low-income Latin American and Caribbean immigrant workers, a large majority of whom are men, it was quite evident to me that my social position as a young, middle-class woman of Asian descent would pose some challenges. Many of the longtime members of the CIW easily recognized me from previous events, where I marched, ate, sang, painted, slept on hard floors, or shared in long bus rides with them many times before. These shared experiences created a mutual sense of trust and allowed me to be perceived as a credible observer. This trust was crucial in recruiting workers to participate in the interviews. Finding volunteers to participate in the interviews was rarely an issue among the workers who recognized me. Gaining the confidence of farmworkers who were more reserved, those who were not involved with the CIW, or those who had just arrived in the United States, however, proved to be more challenging.

While I spent several hours at the CIW community center every day and observed the Wednesday evening general meetings and the Sunday afternoon women's meetings, I was not entirely satisfied with my limited interaction with the farmworker community. However, based on suggestions from the friends I made in the women's group, I began frequenting the produce market on Charlotte Street, buying my basic groceries at the CIW co-op and La Fiesta #3, and doing my laundry at the Laundromats frequented by workers on Saturday nights and Sunday mornings. After a couple weeks of this schedule,

I was able to chat with people and share a little bit about myself. Gradually, I became one a familiar face in people's daily and weekly routines.

These relationships, however few and trivial they seemed at first, proved to be crucial when I began attending the early morning worker recruitments at 4:30am. While southern Florida is dreadfully hot in the daytime, when workers arrive at the parking lot between 2nd and 3rd Streets in hopes of finding a job, it is pitch black and shockingly cold. I attended these morning labor recruitments no more than once a week, staying in the shadows and talking to a few workers waiting for work. On most occasions, a worker I had previously met at the laundromat or a CIW meeting would spot me and introduce a friend or two. Dressed in jeans and a hooded sweatshirt like everyone else, I was able to talk to workers and observe the morning recruitment without alarming the crew leaders.[15] My attendance at these early morning worker recruitments allowed me to interact with workers who were not active members of the CIW, however limited these interactions may have been. Although this project focuses on the history and dynamics of the Coalition of Immokalee Workers, it was of critical importance to also interact with workers who were not members of the CIW or who were unaware of the organization. Getting perspectives and insights from these farmworkers[16] was essential in reducing bias that could otherwise result from solely observing and recruiting workers at the CIW community center.

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[15] Although I never once feared for my safety in this environment, I took necessary precautions and always had my cell phone in my pocket and stayed within the line of sight of a deejay at *Radio Conciencia* across the street.

[16] While these workers declined my invitations for formal interviews, they were willing to talk to me and answer basic questions about themselves, their perspective of the CIW (if any), and daily life and work in Immokalee.

I first began conversations with CIW staff about the possibility of conducting my field research in Immokalee in the spring of 2009. Staff members told me that while the Coalition was willing to participate in student projects and had done so numerous times in the past, they were concerned that asking members to constantly assist a researcher was not a productive use of their time. One farmworker also told me that it could be very disheartening for members to participate in interviews and share so much of themselves with students, who all too often come to Immokalee to get what they need for a research paper and leave. For these reasons, the CIW is understandably cautious about committing to a student's research project without a strong commitment on the student's part to maintain relationships and find a meaningful way to contribute to the community.

With these important considerations in mind, I communicated with CIW staff for more than a year about my research plans and how my fieldwork could benefit not only my research but the daily work of the CIW as well. When I arrived in Immokalee in September 2010, I was graciously offered a room at the guest house, where a farmworker staff member and his family live. The guest-house functions as a temporary place for visitors to stay, and it also provides safe housing for victims of human trafficking if and when a slavery case is uncovered by the CIW.

Although I lived with a farmworker family and spent several hours a day at the CIW community center, I abstained from participating in activities in which I could directly influence the outcome of specific campaigns (contributing to meetings where tactical choices were made, sitting in on negotiations with growers or other company representatives, etc.). However, I gladly contributed to CIW activities and the farmworker community more generally when my help or assistance was requested.

This meant that when CIW members learned that I grew up driving a 1949 manual-transmission Studebaker truck, I was eagerly recruited to drive the Florida Modern-Day Slavery Museum to several museum stops, including Fort Lauderdale, Sarasota, and Miami in Florida, as well as Atlanta and Athens, Georgia. I alternated my Sunday afternoons between attending the women's group meeting and providing childcare for the women on weeks where more volunteers were needed. Also, if one of the volunteer English instructors were for some reason unable to teach at the women's meeting, I would step in and teach a lesson. There were also several occasions when a deejay would ask me if he or she could use an audio clip from a recording I had made. For instance, the day after I recorded the press conference announcing Pacific Tomato Growers' cooperation with the CIW, a farmworker who was present at the press conference asked me if he could use the clip of Lucas Benitez's statement on behalf of the CIW for a broadcast on *Radio Conciencia*. In cases such as these, where recordings were made in public settings, I willingly shared my collected data upon the request of CIW members.

During the four to six hours I spent at the CIW community center each day, I worked on several projects that both assisted the Coalition in the preservation of its own history and deepened my understanding of the movement. These projects included 1) the creation of a 154-page photographic and written documentation of the inventory of the Florida Modern-Day Slavery Museum, which was created by the CIW as an educational tool to highlight the history of slavery in Florida and the six cases of modern slavery which the CIW helped investigate, 2) the organization of the 1994-2005 newspaper archive, which included copying and filing the newspaper articles and arranging them in

chronological order, and 3) the transfer of approximately fifteen hours of the Coalition's most critical VHS footage to digital DVD formats. Thus, while I used these archives to inform my research, I also organized the materials to provide the farmworker community with a more accessible archive system. This was one small way for me to show my gratitude to the members of the CIW for providing me privileged access to their movement history.

Analysis

The data resulting from these various methods cover a broad range of complex issues and take many forms. Therefore, it is crucial that I clearly articulate the frameworks through which I organized and interpreted the large amount of data in relation to the three research questions and how I assessed outcomes of the movement along the six indicators of movement success.

Research Question #1:

> How are farmworkers in Immokalee, who face obstacles of ethnic and linguistic diversity, frequent migration, exclusion from federal legal protections, high illiteracy rates, and extreme poverty, able to organize and maintain a cohesive social movement with a collective identity, consciousness, and solidarity among its members? How is this cohesive movement developed among the movement's diverse allies?

Indicator of Success #1

> The formation of a cohesive farmworker and ally movement with a collective identity, consciousness, and solidarity

In addressing the first research question and assessing the achievement of the first indicator of success, the formation of a cohesive social movement, I systematized three measures that have been identified in various strands of social movement theory as

crucial in the formation of a movement and the social construction of protest: collective identity, consciousness, and solidarity.

Collective Identity

Combining analytical approaches developed by Melucci (1989) and Taylor and Whittier (1992), I analyzed the formation of collective identity by observing the processes by which 1) relationships are activated among participants allowing them to negotiate and communicate, 2) actors make emotional investments that enable them to see themselves in each other, and 3) group boundaries are defined to establish differences between a challenging group and dominant groups (Melucci 1989, 35; ibid.; Taylor and Whittier 1992, 111). The process of collective identity formation is particularly crucial in understanding how farmworkers in Immokalee have overcome the obstacle of ethnic diversity, as well as how they and their allies have come to recognize themselves as unified whole in opposition with a campaign target. Assessment of these processes was in part informed by interview participants' responses to theme (2) on inter-ethnic coalition building among farmworkers and with allies, and theme (3), in which many participants discussed their experiences of building personal relationships with others and the emotional aspects of interactions on *Radio Conciencia*, in Immokalee, and in public demonstrations.

To supplement these verbal accounts of relationship-building and moments of emotional intensity, during my observations I gave particular attention to participant interactions where relationships were activated, emotions were heightened, and boundaries were socially defined to separate the challenging group from a targeted, dominant group. These observations focused on interactions among farmworkers in CIW

programs or events, such as weekly popular education sessions and community-wide events, such as annual celebrations or *controles remotos*, where deejays of *Radio Conciencia* set up music parties for farmworkers around Immokalee. The observations also included interactions between farmworkers and allies in public demonstrations.

The process of collective identity formation was also assessed in analyses of the radio logs, recordings of radio programming, and my observational notes taken at *Radio Conciencia*. The analysis of radio song lyrics and their role in building "a collective sense of experience" is modeled after Roscigno and Danaher's analytic strategy regarding radio and southern textile insurgency between 1929 and 1934 (Roscigno and Danaher 2001). The authors developed a coding scheme for analyzing music lyrics in response to Hodgson's (1999) recommendation for "systematically analyzing qualitative content data and converting it into quantitative and descriptive summary statistics" (Roscigno and Danaher 2001, 28). Using a data set of 35 songs they collected from historical songbooks that documented songs that were recorded, sung, played, or transcribed prior to 1935, Roscigno and Danaher separated the songs into those focusing on discontent and collective experience (n=21) and songs of protest (n=14), based on Denisoff's (1972) protest music dichotomy (Roscigno and Danaher 2001, 28). One table the authors exhibit shows the degree to which the songs employed a collective sense of experience and shaped collective identity processes by categorizing concerns into family well-being (family subsistence, children working, future and children) and worker well-being (low wages, physical well-being, mental well-being) and illustrating the frequency distribution of these concerns within the coded song lyrics (Roscigno and Danaher 2001).

However, Roscigno and Danaher were restricted by the historical nature of their study, and the 21 songs they analyzed were chosen from compilation songbooks such as *American Folksongs of Protest* (Greenway 1953) or *American Industrial Ballads* (Seeger 1992). Because of this method and the historical nature of the study, the authors are unable to verify if these songs were broadcast over the radio, how frequently they were played, if mill workers listened to these songs, or what percentage of the music selections broadcast were indeed "protest songs" or even had lyrics.

In this project, however, I utilized a data set of 21 of the most frequently played songs (recorded on the *Radio Conciencia* computer) and 21 of the most frequently requested songs, as documented by 40 radio logs of *Radio Conciencia* broadcasts during the 2010 –2011 harvest season. In comparison to Roscigno and Danaher's convenient set of mill worker protest songs, this set of songs reflects not only what farmworkers actually heard over the airwaves of *Radio Conciencia*, but also what songs the farmworkers wanted to hear through call-in requests. Moreover, in reflecting upon the reality that many farmworkers in Immokalee share a migratory experience, I added the category "migration" to Roscigno and Danaher's dimensions of workers' topics of concern that help create a collective sense of experience. The subcategories include themes of 1) separation from loved ones/awaiting reunion, 2) loneliness/alcohol, and 3) remembering/forgetting love. A combination of quantitative analysis of these 21 most commonly played songs on *Radio Conciencia* with a qualitative interpretation of the meaning of such songs in the context of an immigrant social movement community revealed the degree to which music played over the radio allowed farmworkers to

recognize a shared experience and see themselves in each other, which is a necessary step in collective identity formation and maintenance.

To determine if and to what extent *Radio Conciencia* enables relationships to be activated among farmworkers in Immokalee, I paid specific attention to call-in requests and dedications as a participant listener of *Radio Conciencia* to observe general trends throughout the course of daily and weekly programming, and to note the messages that people commonly send to one another. Additionally, the radio logs also documented which songs were chosen by deejays and which listeners requested. For requested songs, the radio logs also indicated to whom each song was dedicated, often in great detail. To achieve a more in-depth analysis of these dedications, I coded all the songs that were indicated as call-in requests along two dimensions: 1) if the song was dedicated to an individual or a group, and 2) in the case of a group dedication, whether the dedication was based on region, gender, work sector, and other characteristics. Interpretation of these findings was informed by observations of the radio broadcasts in the control room, informal conversations with deejays and farmworkers who call in to the radio station, and follow-up conversations with volunteer interview participants.

In addition to analysis of social interactions and music played over the radio, the process of collective identity formation was also analyzed in farmworker engagement in other cultural repertoires, such as popular theater and visual art. The farmworkers, in both decorative functions at the CIW community center and in public demonstrations, create their own visual culture that serves to define the boundaries of the farmworker social movement community, as well as those of the larger ally community. Boundary markers, as argued by Taylor and Whittier, are “central to the formation of collective identity

because they promote a heightened awareness of a group's commonalities and frame interaction between members of the in-group and the out-group" (Taylor and Whittier 1992, 111). Analysis of how boundaries are defined and negotiated in this movement is critical to understanding collective identity formation in the context of diversity, be it ethnic diversity among farmworkers or diversity in ethnicity, class, and privilege among farmworkers and ally participants.

In assessing if and how social boundaries and conceptions of "we" have been developed through visual and theatrical cultural repertoires, I took photographs of murals, artwork, posters, and popular theater props inside the community center as well as in public demonstrations, organizing them alongside photographs of similar subjects taken between 1992 and 2007 I was able to gather from the CIW organizational archive, newspaper archives, and J.J. Tiziou's online photo archive. I compared the visual representations produced by and intended for the farmworker community in Immokalee with those that were used in public demonstrations with the CIW's ally communities to determine how group boundaries and trajectories are defined through visual representations, and how diversity is visually negotiated and represented in the farmworker and ally contexts. Moreover, I analyzed changes and continuities of visual representations over time to assess if and how CIW's self-conceptions and definitions of "we" have changed particularly with respect to the development of new movement strategies and tactics.

Consciousness

In analyzing the movement's ability to raise consciousness among its participants, I consolidated several, often overlapping definitions of consciousness from new social

movement theory and resource mobilization theory into one analytical framework. Melucci asserts that one of the components of the process of collective identity formation "involves cognitive definitions concerning the ends, means, and field of action" (Melucci 1995, 44). Similarly, Taylor and Whittier conceptualize consciousness, or the "interpretive frameworks that emerge out of a challenging group's struggle to define and realize its interests" as another component of collective identity formation (Taylor and Whittier 1992, 173). However, by separating and reorganizing multiple definitions of consciousness out of the collective identity framework, it becomes clear that they are very much in line with McAdam's (1982) previous conception of "cognitive liberation" and Piven and Cloward's (1979) "necessary cognitions" within the resource mobilization tradition. What both of these definitions have in common is their recognition that for collective action to begin, "people must collectively define their situations as unjust and subject to change through group action" (McAdam 1982, 51). Piven and Cloward (1979) identify the transformation of consciousness into three distinct components, or what they call "necessary cognitions."

> First, "the system"- or those aspects of the system that people experience and perceive- loses legitimacy. Large numbers of men and women who ordinarily accept the authority of their rulers and the legitimacy of institutional arrangements come to believe in some measure that these rulers and these arrangements are unjust and wrong.
>
> Second, people who are ordinarily fatalistic, who believe that existing arrangements are inevitable, begin to assert "rights" that imply demands for change.
>
> Third, there is a new sense of efficacy; people who ordinarily consider themselves helpless come to believe that they have some capacity to alter their lot.
>
> (Piven and Cloward 1979, 3-4; spacing my own)

My analysis of how farmworkers in Immokalee developed these necessary cognitions in the first phases of mobilization in the early 1990s is based on oral histories and interview responses of members of the Coalition who were involved in those early years. These accounts were limited to three key individuals because the majority of farmworkers who were present at the first strikes and mobilizations have left Immokalee, and the United States, for a variety of reasons. Building on insights from these interviews and accounts of crucial events that triggered individual or collective changes in consciousness, I located within the CIW organizational archives specific popular education tools, such as illustrated fliers, from the early period of CIW's history (1993-2000) that identify sources of injustice and provide cognitive frames for interpreting farmworker poverty.

In addition to consciousness formation, the maintenance of consciousness among workers is especially important given the migratory nature of farm work and the waves of new workers that arrive in Immokalee every season. I analyzed discourse associated with *Radio Conciencia*, recorded either over the air or at *Radio Conciencia* community outreach events and celebrations to determine the role of the radio in CIW's communication with newly arrived workers and maintenance of consciousness within the general farmworker community. In analyzing if and how the development of consciousness helps overcome obstacles of diversity, migration, and extreme poverty, I paid close attention to the ways in which these obstacles – although not necessarily defined by farmworkers as such – were cognitively addressed and transformed into powerful justifications for mobilization.

My analysis of consciousness in this social movement community also included an assessment of how consciousness among participants changed or expanded over time, especially in relation to global ideas and perspectives. Rather than attempting the impossible task of tracing changes in consciousness within individual minds, I assessed changes in the identification of the sources of injustice, the assertion of rights, and the promotion of group action in observable collective expressions of the movement. Specifically, I examined press releases made during the Campaign for Fair Food (2001-2011) for the presence of "rights" discourse (rights, labor rights, human rights, etc.) and "global" discourse (global, world, international, etc.) in the texts, and assessed changes over time.

Another major aspect of my analysis considered if and how consciousness-raising occurs through song lyrics and discourse on *Radio Conciencia*. Modeling Roscigno and Danaher's (2001) analysis of whether mill worker song lyrics addressed their concerns about the "work process" or identified blame on powerful "actors," I coded the two sets of 21 most-played and most-requested songs broadcast on *Radio Conciencia* for lyrics pertaining to the farm laborers' work process concerns (work conditions, length of work day, piece rate system) and actors wielding power of farmworkers (crew leaders, growers, corporate buyers). I also coded the two sets of songs along Piven and Cloward's (1979) "necessary cognitions" categories to assess if they identified injustice, asserted rights, or expressed political efficacy. Based on these counts, I assessed whether lyrics on songs frequently played and requested on *Radio Conciencia* helped raise consciousness among farmworkers in Immokalee. Through participant listening of the broadcasts over the course of a harvest season, I also assessed whether spoken discourse on *Radio*

Conciencia, apart from music lyrics, raised consciousness through participant listening of the broadcasts, paying special attention to if and to what extent deejay discourse, jingles, announcements, and news broadcasts identified injustice, asserted rights, or expressed efficacy in collective action.

I also analyzed if and how the CIW raises consciousness among farmworkers, allies, and bystanders in the context of public demonstrations. Specifically, I considered musical, visual, and theatrical components of CIW's public demonstrations, and the ways they may work together to communicate Piven and Cloward's (1979) necessary cognitions in the public sphere, thereby raising consciousness among both participants and bystanders of the demonstrations.

In order to compare lyrics broadcast on *Radio Conciencia* with those performed in public demonstrations, I compiled the lyrics of songs performed by *Son del Centro* (and later *Son Solidario*), and other select ensembles, at specific demonstrations using a combination of interview responses, audio recordings as a participant observer, and available video archives. Specifically, I considered music performances at the 2007 Concert for Fair Food, the 2008 March on Burger King, the 2010 Farmworker Freedom March, and the 2011 Do the Right Thing Theater Pageant, and analyzed the prevalence and degree to which the lyrics contributed to the development of the three "necessary cognitions" or a global consciousness. Analyzing these, as well as texts of the semi-musical shouts and chants using archived participant chant sheets and live recordings, I also assessed continuities and transformations of content over time.

Using a combination of video and photo archives from 1992-2007 and my own photo documentation and observations from 2007-2011, I identified and interpreted

protest signs, logos, flags, and puppets that have been used throughout the movement's history, paying particular attention to visual and textual references to global concepts or entities (such as human rights, global corporations, or global movements). This analysis interpreted musical and visual means of identifying injustices, asserting rights, and advocating collective action as public expressions of participant consciousness. As such, a comparison of their substantive continuities and changes over time informs my conclusions about the maintenance and transformation of consciousness and global consciousness.

In addition to public demonstrations, I also briefly analyzed additional media forms through which the CIW has attempted to project its popular education techniques outside Immokalee and raise critical consciousness among the general public. While not a primary focus of my dissertation, these interview responses and primary source materials enabled me to analyze CIW's use of the internet and construction of the mobile Florida Modern-Day Slavery Museum as consciousness-raising tools that also created political opportunities by reframing farmworker issues and attracting elite support.

Solidarity

To assess how solidarity was achieved and maintained in both private and public contexts, I analyzed cultural repertoires that promoted commitment and bonds of mutual responsibility among farmworkers and with ally activists and musicians. Drawing on the Durkheimian view of rituals as generators of social solidarity through the evocation of heightened emotion, or collective effervescence, I used the ethnographic data gathered during my fieldwork in Immokalee – particularly at annual celebrations – and during CIW public demonstrations to analyze the evocation of elevated emotional responses and

intense feelings of commitment or commonality among participants (Durkheim [1912] 2001). This analysis of solidarity is particularly important given the diversity among both farmworkers and the movement's ally communities.

My interpretation of solidarity building based on observation and ethnographic methods was in part informed by, and further supplemented with oral history narratives and interview responses to theme (1) concerning recruitment and commitment to the movement and theme (4) regarding individual perspectives of cultural repertoires and participation in movement events. These narratives and responses provided insight into the impact of participation in movement rituals on individuals' commitment to the movement and their memories of movement history.

As I articulated in Chapter One, social movement rituals, such as public demonstrations, are critical sites for the analysis of emotions in social movements, as they are the cultural mechanisms through which people 'transform the emotions that arise from subordination… reflect more desirable identities or self-conceptions, and express group solidarity" (Taylor and Whittier 1995, 177). Drawing from dramaturgical approaches to the study of social movement culture, I analyzed public demonstrations as ritualized performances, and considered how the use of emblems, totems, chants, and music contributed to processes of solidarity building through the heightening and transformation of emotions, but also to a communication of solidarity and legitimacy to an audience. Moreover, I was interested in capturing the prevalence of satire and humor in the emblems, puppets, and music lyrics represented by movement participants in public demonstrations. As Karp argues, "Humor and irony are subtle and powerful means

of expression to people whose communicative options are otherwise constrained by the social conditions in which they act" (Karp 1988, 36).

By conducting interviews with individuals and attending celebrations and public demonstrations as a participant observer, I assessed how solidarity among diverse movement participants has been achieved and continuously maintained throughout this social movement.

Research Question #2:

> What is music's role in building and sustaining the farmworker movement? More specifically, what is the relationship between musical form and function in social movement mobilization?

In responding to this research question, I analyzed audio recordings and observed social interactions with music broadcast over *Radio Conciencia*, music performed or played by deejays at CIW celebrations in Immokalee, and music performances in public demonstrations or concerts.

As described in detail in the previous section, much of the analysis of these musical broadcast and performance contexts investigates the role of music in developing and maintaining collective identity, consciousness, and solidarity. I also investigated the extent to which music is involved in recruiting social movement participants, attracting bystanders in public demonstrations, and intimidating or communicating with movement targets. Moreover, I analyzed *son jarocho* performances by *Son del Centro* (and other variations of this ensemble) throughout the Campaign for Fair Food as a case study to enrich an understanding of the relationship between musical form and function in social movement mobilization and the significance of music in social movements more generally.

Radio Conciencia

The analysis of the music broadcast over the airwaves of *Radio Conciencia* primarily seeks to uncover if and how music practices contribute to building a collective identity, or collective sense of experience, among farmworkers in Immokalee. I was especially interested in understanding how this process may occur in the context of ethnic diversity.

I assessed whether the songs played on *Radio Conciencia* contributed to a sense of shared experience and collective identity by analyzing the lyrics of the 21 most frequently played and 21 of the most requested songs during the 2010-2011 harvest season. Using Roscigno and Danaher's (2001) categories of worker concerns among mill workers- family well being (family subsistence, children working, future and children) and worker well being (low wages, physical well being, mental well being) - and my own aspects of worker concerns related to migration (leaving one's home/country, separation from loved ones, alienation/loneliness in a new place), I analyzed the music lyrics to produce descriptive statistics. The resulting data show the extent to which the lyrics of songs broadcast on *Radio Conciencia* allowed workers to see themselves in each other in the recognition of a common experience, and thus, shape the collective identity of the farmworkers.

Another crucial aspect of collective identity formation is the activation and maintenance of relationships, which allow actors to negotiate and communicate (Melucci 1989, 35). In assessing the nature and extent to which relationships among farmworkers were activated and maintained, I observed both the communication between farmworker deejays and listeners via discourse and music programming and among individuals in the

listening audience via song requests and dedications. These dedications were an important form of communication among workers that reveal how collective identity formation occurs in diverse social movement communities. More specifically, analysis of the dedications allowed me to respond to a variant of the question posed by Jung (2006) in his study of the labor movement in Hawaii in the mid-20th century: Are ethnic differences set aside in interethnic labor movements in the interest of class politics, or are they rearticulated and negotiated to form a working-class unity based on the recognition, or even celebration, of difference?

In analyzing the song dedication data collected from the 40 radio logs, I coded each dedication based on the recipient – an individual or a group – and, if a group, based on the type of group specified: work/occupation, ethnic/regional, or gender. Quantitative analysis of the data was supplemented by qualitative analysis of the seven hours of recorded radio play as well as interviews with deejays about trends they have noticed in dedication requests. From these analyses, I was able to discern if discourse of ethnic difference was more or less prevalent than discourse emphasizing shared occupation or class, and if ethnic discourse was used to emphasize unity among the workers.

While the percentage of women farmworkers is still very small (less than 10%), the growing population of women and children has brought to light issues of sexual harassment and forms of discrimination rarely experienced by men, and has challenged the CIW to adapt to changing gender demographics while maintaining an inclusive and cohesive farmworker movement in Immokalee. Using interview responses by both female and male farmworkers, and listening to women's music and discourse of gender in the announcements, commentary, and dedications in the women's radio program *Las*

voces [The voices, feminine form] and other *Radio Conciencia* programs, I analyzed how the CIW has attempted to negotiate gender differences by creating inclusive spaces and addressing oppressive workplace and domestic conditions that women often face.

In addition to focusing on lyrics and discourse on *Radio Conciencia*, I also analyzed how musical sound over the radio impacted the daily lives of farmworkers in Immokalee and contributes to other components of collective identity formation, such as the making of emotional investments that allowed workers to see themselves in each other and recognize a collective experience of migration and displacement. Using insight gained through multiple hours of radio listening, as well as follow-up interviews with farmworker deejays and listeners, I assessed if the broadcasting of music reminiscent of soundscapes in workers' different homelands transformed emotions in farmworkers' daily lives (such as loneliness and nostalgia) into a perception of a collective experience, and contributed to constructing new social boundaries and senses of place in Immokalee.

In addition to the process of collective identity formation, I also assessed if the music lyrics on *Radio Conciencia* were influential in developing a critical consciousness among workers. In Roscigno and Danaher's analysis of 21 mill workers' songs, they found that more than three-quarters of the songs specified a cause of injustice (Roscigno and Danaher 2001, 37). Influenced by their model, I analyzed the lyrics of the 21 most frequently requested and frequently aired songs on *Radio Conciencia* along the three necessary factors for the development of consciousness, as developed by McAdam (1982) and Piven and Cloward (1979). Namely, I coded the lyrics based on the 1) identification of a source or cause of injustice, 2) assertion of rights, and 3) generation of a belief things can change through collective action. This analysis of lyrics was also

supplemented by an analysis of deejay discourse and announcements to determine if and to what degree a consciousness, or a global consciousness, was raised on *Radio Conciencia*.

Community Events and Celebrations in Immokalee

During the first few weeks of fieldwork in Immokalee, I observed that, in addition to *Radio Conciencia's* music broadcasts and music performances in public demonstrations, music performances were prominent in CIW's community-wide celebrations. These celebrations include the *Fiestas Patrias* [Independence Day Party] in mid-September that celebrates the Independence Days of Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, and several other Central American countries, and signals the unofficial commencement of the harvest season and the arrival of workers into Immokalee; several *Controles Remotos* [Remote Controls] throughout the year in which *Radio Conciencia* deejays set up portable speakers and play music in neighborhood block parties; and the annual *Fiesta del Año del Trabajador* [Year of the Worker Party] – a celebration jokingly started by the CIW – in late February which features several Latin American music ensembles that bring thousands of workers out to the parking lot of the community center.

My analysis of music in these contexts was based on a qualitative interpretation of participant observations, which included interactions and discourse among CIW staff, musicians, and audience members, the emotional responses of event participants, the content and diversity of music performances, and the presence of totemic objects and symbolic emblems such as musical instruments and flags. These observations were supplemented by casual conversations during the events and follow-up questions with interview participants.

In the analysis of the "role of music" in these and other contexts, I did not view music solely in terms of its strategic movement value, but rather, my goal was to generate an understanding of how music is experienced in the social life of this diverse, migratory social movement community. At the same time, in both my observations and analysis, I was also careful not to assume that music necessarily had a positive effect on the social movement, or that it automatically "united" or effectively represented farmworkers of diverse origins. Therefore, my qualitative analysis of music in these celebrations in Immokalee was informed by observations that were made with keen awareness of the problem of observer bias. I did my best to keep myself open to the interpretation of observed social responses to music that may or may not have been intended, or that may not have had any foreseeable strategic value to social movement mobilization.

Public Demonstrations and Concerts

CIW's public demonstrations and concerts are held in vastly different contexts than Immokalee. Not only do the demonstrations include such a diversity of participants that at any given time, a farmworker may be marching in tandem with students, anarchists, or archbishops,[17] but the surroundings are often radically different from the poor, black and brown, multi-lingual neighborhoods of Immokalee. The audiences in these contexts include police, targeted public officials or executives of multi-billion dollar food industry corporations, and a general public that is largely unaware or indifferent to farmworker grievances.

In analyzing these public demonstrations, I utilized participant observation and available archive footage to explore the ways in which music, theater, and totemic

[17] The saying "from anarchists to archbishops" is a common phrase in the movement to refer to the diversity of allies who stand in solidarity with the CIW. See Sellers 2009.

symbols in ritualized performances contribute to the generation of collective identity, consciousness, and solidarity among farmworkers and their allies. Through observation of the audience of these demonstrations, I also explored how music and transformations of public soundscapes may broaden the field of contention by attracting bystanders and shaming targets in the public sphere.

The analysis relied on my observational notes on interactions among musicians and movement participants at major CIW public demonstrations and concerts, the live recordings I made during my fieldwork, and participant interviews and oral histories. Participant observation of musical interactions among participants allowed me to assess the quality and degree to which participation in music making contributed to the formation of a collective identity by activating relationships and emotional investments among farmworkers and allies. I also assessed if music performances provided a means for movement participants to establish group boundaries vis-à-vis the dominant or targeted group. Categorizing group boundaries of such diverse participants, without essentializing or trivializing difference, was a complex and difficult task, but I attempted to interpret group boundary-making by taking several factors into account: music performances' signaling of distinct geographical places through musical sound, lyrics, or accompanying discourse, the languages in which music lyrics were performed, the racial and ethnic identities of performers, and music lyrics that referred specifically to the movement and provided an interpretation of "who we are" (us) or "who they are" (them).

In interpreting the presence of different music traditions/genres in the negotiation of diversity in the movement, it was more important to capture how musicians historicized their music traditions for the present context of mobilization than to provide

a thorough history of how these music traditions have actually been performed outside the context of the farmworker movement. Thus, instead of merely noting what music traditions or genres were performed, I considered how performers described their music's origins and meaning and connected their performances to the farmworker movement through spoken introductions, and if and how a discourse of racial or ethnic identity was heightened in that process. Using these qualitative analytic methods, I assessed how music performances may have contributed to the formation and maintenance of a collective identity amidst diversity, both among farmworkers and their allies.

To assess if music performances in public demonstrations contributed to consciousness raising among participants, I again turned to McAdam's (1982) concept of "cognitive liberation" and Piven and Cloward's (1979) "necessary cognitions" to assess if the lyrics in public performances 1) identified the cause or source of injustice, thus delegitimizing a system or ruling interest, 2) asserted rights, and 3) provided a sense of political efficacy, or a belief that conditions could change through collective action. Moreover, I assessed whether music contributed to the development of a global consciousness by noting when music lyrics made reference to the "world," the "globe," the "international," "human rights" or "humanity," or movements beyond the United States. By comparing these music lyrics performed in public demonstrations to those broadcast over *Radio Conciencia*, I was able to make more in-depth and comprehensive conclusions regarding the sounds and functions of music in different contexts of social movement mobilization, from the trailer parks of Immokalee to the streets of Los Angeles, Chicago, Miami, and Tampa.

In assessing music in public demonstrations and concerts, I also considered how music might contribute to solidarity building by evoking collective emotional responses among participants. For this analysis I paid attention to dynamics, rhythm, lyrics, and musical form alongside observations of participant's responses to determine if and how music performances triggered highly emotional shared experiences, what Durkheim called "collective effervescence," among participants at various moments of public demonstrations. Moreover, I listened to and observed transformations in musical sound and performance techniques throughout the course of a demonstration to assess how musicians strategically may adapt to particular public spaces, either to negotiate intergroup dynamics or influence interactions with a public audience.

Analysis of the ability of music performances to attract bystanders and effectively shame movement targets through the transformation of public soundscapes was assessed in two ways. The first was through observations of bystanders and noting instances when they were drawn to the demonstration by sound alone. For example, when teenagers ran out of windowless schools or people climbed the tall fences surrounding a trailer park to witness the march, I concluded that it was a change or disruptions in routine soundscapes that attracted bystanders. The second was qualitative observation of people's physical responses to the march, such as bystanders dancing along to the rhythm of the music, or employees approaching and retreating from windows at the targeted corporation's headquarters in response to musical stimuli, which informed my discussions on the role of festive atmospheres in influencing public support and communicating boundaries between farmworkers and their adversaries.

Musical Form and Functions: A *Son Jarocho* Case Study

To provide a deeper understanding of the relationship between musical form and social movement functions, I focused on the performance of the *son jarocho* tradition within the history of the CIW. After studying the tradition in Veracruz, Mexico in the summer and winter of 2008 with Gilberto Gutierrez of *Mono Blanco* and Ignacio Hernandez at *El Cason* music school, and observing the performances of *Son del Centro* in my preliminary observations for more than two years, I was able to immerse myself in the growing *son jarocho* community that has performed with the CIW at every major demonstration since 2003.

Following the ethnomusicological method of learning to play the instruments of a music tradition to increase understanding of the structure and nuances of music making, I played the *jarana* (an eight-string folk guitar that provides repetitive chord progressions) alongside other musicians and performed with the ensembles at the student-farmworker *encuentros* in Immokalee in 2008 and 2009, and in public demonstrations in my field research in 2010 and 2011. While my musical training in Mexico included lessons on the *requinto* (a four-string melodic folk guitar), vocal practice in singing the *versos* of the *sones* through the oral tradition from teacher to student, and *zapateado* dance experience, I abstained from participating as a "soloist" in these more improvisatory aspects of the music tradition so as not to influence the processes of musical decision making in performances.

My familiarity with the musical structure and tradition of *son jarocho*, along with the relationships I developed with movement musicians, afforded me the opportunity to observe and accurately interpret intricate details of musical performances, such as

decision making in rehearsals, moments of improvisation in performances, and even instances of spontaneous music-making in informal settings, such as bus rides or water breaks along the path of a march. Using these observations, as well as recordings from the field, I analyzed the extent to which the musical form of *son jarocho* – including its instrumentation, rhythm, and lyric and harmonic structure – was used to serve specific social movement functions in various mobilization contexts, such as changing to call-and-response and rhythmic forms that encouraged solidarity-building through the ritual act of singing and marching collectively.

In addition to these more structural aspects of musical form, I also analyzed the communication of meaning through musical genres and the signaling of geographical origins and trajectories. Through an assessment of interview responses regarding individual perspectives on *son jarocho* in CIW demonstrations as well as observations of how *son jarocho* musicians introduced themselves or described the genre in performances, I was able to draw qualitative conclusions about how *son jarocho* performances historicized the farmworker movement in relation to past movements, negotiated ethnic differences, and signaled connections to transnational communities and global movements.

Research Question #3

> How is world culture enacted, adapted, and contested in the local movement context of Immokalee? Have resulting forms of global engagement had an impact on movement success? If so, why?

In responding to this research question, I analyzed a variety of data produced by oral history and interview responses, participant observations, photography, audio recordings of radio programs, music events in Immokalee and performances in public

demonstrations, and archival research. My first goal in analyzing this expansive data collection was to construct a "global" history of the CIW to inform and provide context for my participant observations.

One part of this global history is how the CIW has framed its grievances and goals to public audiences over the course of the movement. In what ways does the CIW currently frame the farmworker movement in relation to the larger world context? Has the CIW always used a global or human rights discourse in explaining its purposes to the public, or have these qualities developed and transformed over time? To answer these questions, I organized chronologically major CIW press releases and speeches from its online archive, coding them for global discourse indicators such as "human rights," "humanity," "international," "world," etc. From these data, I was able to assess continuities and changes in how the CIW has conceived of itself in relation to the global circumstance, as well as pinpoint the timing of qualitative changes.

Another important part of constructing this global history was documenting CIW's introduction to and interaction with international non-governmental organizations (INGOs). Using publicly available documents such as press releases and reports from INGOs such as the Carter Center, Oxfam America, and the Robert F. Kennedy Center for Justice and Human Rights, that have collaborated with or awarded the CIW, as well as interviews with CIW staff members who have worked with these INGOs, I assessed the nature of CIW's relationships with INGOs. Specifically, I compared the timing of these relationships to possible changes in CIW's global discourse and the timing of concessions made by tomato growers, state officials, and

food corporations to assess if CIW's collaborations with INGOs contributed to the attainment of material gains (success indicator #2).

Another component of CIW's global history is its participation in or collaboration with movements and organizations in transcultural advocacy networks. Using CIW organizational documents and interview responses from key farmworkers and CIW staff, I constructed a timeline of CIW's involvement with transnational movement organizations such as the World Social Forum, School of Americas Watch, and others, and assessed the extent to which involvement with or participation at these forums shaped the philosophy or strategies of the CIW. I also documented CIW's global history of transnational labor migration through individual oral histories and interview responses. From these narratives, I assessed how farmworkers' experiences in their home countries have shaped CIW's forms of global engagement.

The insight gained from these archival methods and interviews were critical in both developing a deeper understanding and creating a timeline of CIW's global history. But to understand how world cultural principles, such as human rights and global citizenship, and related global scripts of legitimate behavior are enacted, interpreted, or contested in the local movement context of Immokalee, I depended largely on qualitative analyses of participant observations and audio/visual documentation. These observations were supplemented by interviews and compared with archival research results to shed light on how these processes of global enactment and contention have developed or changed over time.

In determining how human rights and ideas of global citizenship have been introduced, made meaningful, or enacted by movement participants, especially in

consideration of the high illiteracy rates and recent arrival of many migrant farmworkers to Immokalee, I listened to and observed radio broadcasts, weekly meetings, and public demonstrations and noted all observable references to human rights or "the world" in discourse and visual representations. I also accompanied the CIW to the School of Americas Watch in 2010 and 2011, where I conducted participant observation of farmworkers' presentations in conference workshops and their participation in the ritualized funeral procession. Moreover, I assessed the extent to which global consciousness and references to human rights and ideas of global citizenship appeared in cultural repertoires, such as radio broadcasts, music performances, visual art, and theatrical performances either in Immokalee or in public demonstrations.

While these observational analyses informed my conclusions about how world culture is enacted in the local movement context of Immokalee, in an effort to assess how world culture is renegotiated and contested to produce deviations from globally legitimated scripts of behavior within the international human rights framework, I relied on interviews with movement participants who participated in discussions during key periods when strategies shifted from targeting growers and state officials to global corporations.

With a comprehensive timeline and narrative of CIW's global history, I was able to assess the extent to which CIW's forms of global engagement influenced movement outcomes, particularly with respect to securing material improvements such as increased wages, safer working conditions, more respect in the fields, and increased bargaining power (success indicator #2). In maintaining a balanced approach, I also

considered ways in which CIW's global perspectives and engagement strategies may have had limitations, in areas such shifting its target to also include companies at the local level.

Thus, by uncovering CIW's global history, conducting ethnographic research in Immokalee, and comparing these findings to the timing and factors which contributed to the successful achievement of material goals, I was able to understand the social processes through which farmworker movement community in Immokalee has come to enact, adapt, or contest global norms, develop a global consciousness, utilize the human rights framework and participate in forums in transcultural advocacy networks, and how these forms of global engagement have influenced CIW's social movement dynamics and outcomes.

I close this chapter with a brief overview of the remaining indicators of success and how these movement outcomes were assessed.

Indicators of Success

Indicator of Success #2

> The attainment of material improvements, including higher wages, safer working conditions, more respect at the workplace, and increased bargaining power

In assessing the extent to which the farmworker mobilization led by the Coalition of Immokalee Workers succeeded in securing material improvements in wages, I compared available data indicating trends in farmworker wages in fields near Immokalee in the decades prior to mobilization in 1993, the years of early mobilization from 1993-2001, and the years following the implementation of the Campaign for Fair Food and Fair Food Agreements in 2011, investigating the sources and conditions under which substantial increases in wages occurred. This allowed me

to make inferences as to whether wage increases were the result of concessions by growers, food corporations, or state officials to farmworker mobilization.

Assessment of safer working conditions in the tomato fields included growers' implementation of health related protocols, such as shade and access to drinking water. Moreover, safety considerations also included the elimination of violence in the fields, such as physical abuse of farmworkers by crewleaders and sexual abuse and harassment against female farmworkers. Investigation into the role of farmworker mobilization and the work of the CIW on these safety improvements included interviews with members of the CIW and statements issued by grower company representatives.

The attainment of increased respect for farmworkers in the fields by their crewleaders and employers was assessed through interview responses from workers who had spent at least several years in the tomato fields as well as through an analysis of the implications of the Fall 2010 agreements between growers of the Florida Tomato Growers' Exchange (FTGE) and the CIW, including measures such as worker-to-worker education and third-party complaint mechanisms for the resolution of cases involving accusations of farmworker abuse of any kind.

The realization of increased bargaining power on behalf of farmworkers at their place of employment was assessed by a comparison of relationships between growers and farmworkers in Immokalee in the years before and immediately following the first mobilizations by the CIW with the current state of these same relationships. This assessment took into consideration the ability of the CIW to

influence and negotiate new rights and protections for farmworkers in the field with tomato growers in Immokalee.

Indicator of Success #3

> The creation of an alternative social movement community that transforms farmworker silence, isolation, and fear and opens up new spaces of participation where people are able to experience and construct desired social realities

This indicator of success involved qualitative assessments spanning the entirety of my fieldwork and observations of farmworker participation in the social movement. My evaluations of the extent to which this social movement community has been able to transform individual struggles of isolation and powerlessness into personal and collective states of self-determination were informed primarily by the content of farmworker oral histories and responses to semi-structured interview questions. I paid particular attention to narratives in which farmworkers described personal transformations from silence to finding one's voice, from isolation to being a part of a community, and from fearfulness to empowerment.

Moreover, I assessed the extent to which the farmworker social movement community was able to create new spaces where participants could experiment in living alternative social realities that subvert dominant and intersecting forms of oppression, such as racism, xenophobia, classism, sexism, and privatized media. I paid particular attention to how the CIW movement community has responded to gender issues and the discrimination experienced by the small but growing number of women farmworkers in Immokalee. I also analyzed the extent to which cultural repertoires such as radio broadcasting and popular theater helped provide a context in which transformations and performances of social alternatives could take place.

Indicator of Success #4

> The establishment of stronger enforcement mechanisms against violators of workers' rights

This indicator of success was assessed by comparing laws and enforcement mechanisms for the rights of farmworkers in the tomato fields in Immokalee prior to and during the early years of CIW mobilization with those that were in place at the conclusion of my research in 2011. I specifically analyzed the laws and enforcement mechanisms in place pertaining to cases of violence or threats of violence in the fields, sexual harassment, the stealing of wages, and forced labor in these two different time periods, and to what degree CIW's mobilization played a part in the establishment of new standards. Last, I investigated whether any enforcement mechanisms were weakened during this time, as well what human rights and legal protections have yet to be realized for farmworkers in Florida.

Indicator of Success #5

> The abolition of involuntary servitude in the fields

I assessed the achievement of the movement's goal of abolishing forced labor in Florida's agricultural industry not only by the presence or frequency of federally prosecuted slavery cases throughout the span of CIW mobilization, but also by the CIW's increased ability to uncover and communicate with victims, raise awareness among the general public, and develop systems of greater accountability and negative consequences for those who would otherwise profit from farmworker slavery.

Indicator of Success #6

> The development of a socially responsible food industry that is held accountable to human rights standards throughout its supply chain

While this is indeed a long-term vision of the CIW, the farmworkers in Immokalee do not anticipate that they alone will transform the vast, multi-billion dollar food industry that has historically and continually relied upon the exploitation and denial of human rights of those who harvest food in the United States. Even the most cursory glance at the food industry reveals that this goal is far from being achieved, both in the United States and around the world.

While keeping these realities in mind, it was still possible to assess this indicator of success based on what the CIW has been able to achieve in the tomato industry in the local context of the southeastern United States, and Florida in particular, and what these achievements signify for future mobilizations in other food industries, for models of social responsibility, and for local human rights movements in general.

CHAPTER THREE

Racial Formation in U.S. Agriculture: The Making of Farmworker Powerlessness

The irony doesn't hit you at first. The rows of black vultures that line the roads leading to Immokalee are usually what catch your attention. But if you look to your right on County Road 846 as you approach this small agricultural town in Southwest Florida, you quickly pass by a yellow-plaster sign that reads "Welcome to Immokalee- My Home."

Locals say the name "Immokalee" has its roots in the Seminole language, the language of the indigenous peoples in the region who have largely been decimated through centuries of colonialism and U.S. territorial expansion. Yet today, standing on any chosen corner of Main Street, one would be hard-pressed to find people speaking English, much less Seminole. Instead, one hears a curious euphony of Spanish, Haitian Kreyòl, or a variety of indigenous Mayan languages such as M'am, Q'anjob'al, Kaqchikel, or Popti' spoken by the thousands of migrant farmworkers who have left their homes and families in Mexico, Guatemala, Haiti, and other Central American countries to find work in the United States (Asbed 2008). Between September and April, these workers toil in the tomato and citrus fields surrounding Immokalee and sleep in hot, cramped trailers with up to ten other workers. During the summer, Immokalee is rendered almost a ghost town, a mere shell of its winter population, as farmworkers pack up and journey north to follow the fruit and vegetable harvests along the East Coast Migrant

Stream through Georgia, North Carolina, and New Jersey. Very few people, it seems, are able to call Immokalee "my home."

Immokalee, as a space with few homes, devoid of elected officials, and filled with thousands of single men (and a small number of women) of color without roots or a sense of belonging, is much more than an anecdotal backdrop to more serious research concerns. Rather, the existence of such a space is the result of two powerful forces that situate the lives of today's migrant farmworkers: one, the deep historical precedence of an agricultural industry that has been able to secure a continual oversupply of cheap, easily exploitable labor, with the complicity of the nation-state and the consent of the general public; and two, the structure of modern global capitalism, and neoliberal economic policies in Latin America in particular, that have created the desperate conditions under which people leave their families, homes, and cultures to work alone in an unknown place in order to ensure their family's survival. These are the undercurrents that have shaped the immense obstacles to mobilization that constrain farmworker movements in the United States, and Florida, specifically.

In this chapter, I examine the historical transformation of agricultural labor in the United States and the making of modern farmworker powerlessness. I argue that race and the workings of hegemony – with its constituting forces of coercion and consent – have played central roles in the continual structuring and normalizing of farmworker exploitation. I also argue that because differences of race and ethnicity have historically divided farmworkers and weakened attempts at collective action, the formation and maintenance of interracialism (and interethnic cohesion within races) cannot be assumed as a given and must be subject to investigation. Furthermore, the achievement of

interracialism in farmworker movements should be regarded as a success in itself, as it signifies farmworkers' retraction of consent to hegemonic rule and serves as a necessary foundation upon which struggles for other movement goals – such as economic justice – can be waged.

Modern Agricultural Labor and Race in the United States

The rise of monopoly capitalism in the mid-19th and early 20th centuries, accompanied by rapid urbanization and advances in agricultural machinery, transportation, and refrigeration (which allowed agricultural products to be shipped long distances to populous cities), led to the development of the modern food-for-profit agricultural system. In contrast to a system of commodity-producing small farms, capitalist agriculture paved the way for a growing number of large-scale farms dedicated to harvesting labor-intensive crops with relatively short seasons, which corresponded to a drastic increase in the need for seasonal labor. Capitalist agriculture developed in variant forms and at different rates in the United States, a process which eventually led to the formation of three distinct migrant streams in the West Coast, East Coast, and the Midwest, which continue to carve out the paths of farmworkers' annual journeys today.[18]

In examining the history of farmworkers in the United States, one cannot ignore that racial minorities and newly arrived immigrants have constituted the vast majority of the farm labor force within the expansion and consolidation of the modern capitalist agricultural system. With the exception of European immigrants (primarily from Italy) in the Northeast in the late 19th century and Dust Bowl migrants who traveled south and

[18] In consideration of length constraints, I will compare the West and East Coast migrant streams. This brief history is not meant to be a comprehensive survey of the diverse experiences of migrant farmworkers, but to highlight common themes and patterns over agricultural labor history that shed light on the power relationships among the state, growers, and farmworkers, and examine how race has played a part in this history.

west to find work in the fields during the Great Depression, the overwhelming majority of farmworkers throughout U.S. history have been people of color (Hahamovitch 1997). Yet, in what are regarded as the seminal social movement studies on farmworker mobilizations, race is either completely disregarded or conveniently sidelined in favor of analyses that measure macro-level political opportunities or regard farmworker insurgency as class-based struggles (Jenkins and Perrow 1977; Jenkins 1985; Majka and Majka 1982). In contrast, I contend that race has been a central component in the political economy of agricultural labor in the United States, and to disregard the significance of race in the history and politics of farmworker movements is intellectual negligence at best and willful revisionism at worst. My argument, of course, is not simply that the large majority of farmworkers have been people of color, but rather, that race functions squarely in the hegemonic mechanisms that have worked to secure farmworker powerlessness throughout the history of modern capitalist agriculture in the United States.

By invoking a relationship between race and hegemony, I am indebted to Omi and Winant's (1994) groundbreaking work, *Racial Formation in the United States*. Central to Omi and Winant's theory of *racial formation*, which they define as "the sociohistorical process by which racial categories are created, inhabited, transformed, and destroyed," is their theoretical link between race, which they consider to be both an element of social structure and cultural representation, and Gramsci's idea of hegemony (Omi and Winant 1994: 55-56). By applying the concept of hegemony, or the "conditions necessary… for the achievement and consolidation of rule," to an understanding of race in the United States, Omi and Winant develop a theoretical approach that seeks to explain how racial

exploitation and domination by the ruling elite is achieved through a combination of both coercion and consent (ibid., 67-68). In examining the historical development of farm labor, the racial formation approach proves insightful in explaining how, through the double functions of racial hegemony – namely, the structuring of racial inequity and the representation of dominant meanings of race – ruling state and economic elites have for more than a century secured and maintained a powerless, impoverished, and divided farm labor workforce overwhelmingly composed of persons of color.

Omi and Winant understand race to be one "region" of hegemony alongside class, gender, and sexuality, yet they also contend that "racial dynamics must be understood as determinants of class relationships and indeed class identities, not as mere consequences of these relationships" (ibid., 34, 68). I demonstrate the validity of this claim in this chapter's historical examination of U.S. agricultural labor, where race has continuously shaped discriminatory state policies that structure farmworker powerlessness as well as dominant representations that justify farmworker poverty. What is central in my examination of racial formation in U.S. agriculture, however, is a consideration of how operations of racial hegemony have transformed over time, thereby shifting the terrain of political conflict and shaping farmworkers' ability to mobilize for economic justice. After all, hegemony "does not just passively exist as a form of dominance. It has continually to be renewed, recreated, defended, and modified. It is also continually resisted, limited, altered, challenged by pressures not at all its own" (Williams 1977, 112).

Thus, while racial hegemony's operations of coercion and consent that structure and justify farmworker powerlessness shape the trajectory of farmworker social movements, hegemony is also shaped by these oppositional movements and must be

modified and renewed to maintain elite rule and constrict future challenges. Successful farmworker social movements must therefore not only retract their consent to coercive strategies of control in a particular historical moment (such as interracial divisions, or interethnic divisions via foreign labor importation), they must also confront the root causes of their structural inequality and create new collective identities that present alternative meanings to dominant hegemonic representations of farmworkers.

This chapter proceeds with an examination of racial formation in U.S. agriculture and the interplay between racial hegemony and farmworker movements that have created the immense obstacles that constrain the mobilization of migrant farmworkers today.

Racial Formation in U.S. Agriculture: 1865-1965

Although the trajectories of race and agricultural labor in the West and East Coasts have significant variations given the different historical contexts in which they developed, the hegemonic functions of coercion and consent that have continually normalized farmworker oppression can be understood as undergoing three major eras of transformation:

> 1) Reconstruction – Great Depression Era: Between 1865 and 1934, coercion via racialized immigration policies, Black Codes, and overt violence effectively kept workers of color in the fields, fearful, and unorganized. Consent was achieved through racial essentialism and eugenic explanations of inferior races, which made subjugation "common sense" or "natural," and interracial associations "unnatural"
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> 2) New Deal Era: Between 1935 and 1942, farmworker powerlessness was secured by means of coercion, in the form of exclusion from New Deal labor protections. Public consent to targeted exclusion of farmworkers and domestics was secured via political defeat to Jim Crow Era racial discrimination. Farmworker consent to dependency rather than political empowerment was partially secured in their participation in federally administered migrant housing camps, although many workers used the safety provided by the camps to mobilize against growers.

> 3) WWII and Labor Importation Era: Between 1942 and 1965, coercion took the form of the federal Labor Importation Program, which flooded the farmworker labor market with an oversupply of cheap, exploitable foreign workers, who were overwhelmingly people of color from impoverished regions in Latin America and the Caribbean. Consent by the general public was secured through growers' warnings of labor shortages (however unsubstantiated they may have been) and racialized notions of what farmworkers should look like. Farmworker unions consented to this form of control by dividing themselves along lines of ethnic identity and national citizenship within racial groups.

In each era, coercion has also entailed grower actions that pit workers against each other along lines of race, ethnicity, and citizenship. Therefore, consent to elite control was also given by farmworkers themselves in their failure to work across these differences. For farmworker movements, overcoming racial and ethnic divisions is not only necessary in confronting the coercive actions of growers and policies of the state; rather, it is the fundamental retraction of farmworkers' own consent to hegemonic rule and the foundation on which a struggle based on shared class interests case be waged.

Reconstruction – Great Depression Era: 1865-1934

West Coast

The first paid farmworkers in the newly burgeoning grain industry on the West Coast during the 1860s were Native Americans, who were simultaneously being forced from their lands by European immigrants throughout the continent. When Native Americans proved unruly, growers began searching for a new labor supply. Chinese immigrants, who had originally worked in the construction of railroads in the United States and Canada, were soon recruited in large numbers to California's growing fruit and vegetable industries. By 1880, more than 75 percent of California's farmworkers were Chinese (Rothenberg 1998, 31). However, before Chinese contract workers could begin efforts to improve wages and working conditions, President Arthur signed the Chinese

Exclusion Act of 1882 in response to growing anti-Chinese sentiments. The Act included a provision that deemed Chinese persons "ineligible to citizenship" and effectively banned Chinese immigration until 1943.[19]

The vacuum left by the elimination of Chinese workers led growers to recruit Japanese immigrants to work in California's fields. By the turn of the century, Japanese workers made up the majority of farmworkers in California's fruit and vegetable industry. In addition to working as farmworkers, however, a number of Japanese immigrants in California "bought land, formed partnerships to purchase acreage, and entered share- and cash-lease agreements with Anglo-American landowners," and by 1913, Japanese agricultural landholdings grew to more than a quarter-million acres (Ngai 2004, 39). Many white landowners in California, feeling threatened by what they perceived to be a foreign takeover of California, were able to generate sufficient pressure to help pass California's 1913 Alien Land Law, thereby barring Japanese from land ownership. In following an emerging pattern of replacing one immigrant group in the fields with a more easily exploitable immigrant group, growers began recruiting Mexican immigrants to work in the fields, and by the mid-1910s, they constituted the large majority of the West Coast labor force.

While immigration policies of exclusion and selective immigrant recruitment had played a key role in the early development of West Coast agriculture, it was the Immigration Act of 1924 (also known as the Johnson-Reed Act) that greatly shaped the

[19] The Chinese Exclusion Act was intended to ban Chinese immigration for ten years, but was extended for decades until its repeal in 1943. In U.S. immigration history, this Act serves as the major exception to the rule of unrestricted, open immigration policy until World War I.

racial formation of the United States as a whole, and that of agriculture in particular.[20] The Act set strict quotas on the number of immigrants from specific countries that were allowed entry into the United States based on formulations designed to replicate the existing composition of the "national origins" of "American people" at that time.

The Johnson-Reed Act and the restrictive quota immigration system it enacted can be understood in terms of what Omi and Winant define as a "historically situated racial project," as it simultaneously shaped immigration demographics along racial lines (and constructed physical structures of patrolled borders) and developed new racialized meanings and representations of human bodies as part of a larger process of racial formation (Omi and Winant 1994, 56). The Act's shaping of immigration demographics involved an attempt to "preserve" the relative constitution of "national origins" of the population by enforcing a quota system that permitted strict numbers of immigrants from certain countries to enter the United States each year. The quota for each country was calculated in an elaborate scheme of percentages based on inhabitants already living in the United States.[21] However, some notable exclusions applied. Those persons not considered "inhabitants of the continental United States in 1920," and therefore not subject to percentage quotas, were "(1) immigrants from the [Western Hemisphere] or their descendants, (2) aliens ineligible for citizenship or their descendants, (3) the descendants of slave immigrants, or (4) the descendants of the American aborigines"

[20] The Act "restricted immigration to 155,000 per year, established temporary quotas based on 2 percent of the foreign-born population in 1890, and mandated the secretaries of labor, state, and commerce to determine quotas on the basis of national origins by 1927." See Ngai 2004, 23.

[21] Quotas were calculated based on 2 percent of the number of foreign-born nationals of a given country who were living in the U.S. according to the 1890 Census, but was later changed to 150,000 persons in 1929. Nationality was based on the political geography of 1920 due to border changes following WWI.

(Ngai 2004, 26).[22] In effect, the Johnson-Reed act barred immigrants from China, Japan, India, [23] and other Asian countries because they had been made "ineligible for citizenship" earlier in the decade,[24] and capped the entry of immigrants from African countries (because they had supplied "slave immigrants") to 100 persons annually. Ngai (2004) concludes that the Johnson-Reed Act, which was billed as a measure to preserve the makeup of nationalities in the United States, was in practice a policy that legitimated the physical exclusion of certain "undesirable" immigrants based on race.

Although exemptions for those deemed racially "ineligible for citizenship" from the quota system translated into exclusion of Asian immigrants, the exemption of immigrants from the Western Hemisphere signified that there were to be no numerical restrictions of Mexican immigration into the United States. This exemption was made "in deference to the need for labor in southwestern agriculture and American diplomatic and trade interests with Canada and Mexico" (Ngai 2004, 23). Thus, the Johnson-Reed Act ensured that Mexican immigrants would supply cheap labor to the West Coast agricultural industry while it simultaneously barred Japanese immigrants – who had previously provided cheap labor but had made significant economic gains relative to white growers – from citizenship and entry into the United States.

In addition to reconstituting the racial composition in the social structure, the racial project of the immigrant quota and restriction system embodied in the Johnson-Reed Act also created new meanings and representations of race in the national

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[22] See Section 11(d).
[23] Immigrants of Japanese descent from Japan were barred, but non-Japanese immigrants from Japan were capped off at 100 persons annually because unlike Japanese immigrants, they were racially eligible for citizenship in the U.S. This same rule applied to immigrants from other Asian countries (with the exception of U.S. colonies such as the Philippines.)
[24] See *Ozawa v. United States*, 260 U.S. 178 (1922)

consciousness. By excluding U.S. inhabitants originally from Asia or Africa from calculations of the "national origins" quota system, the immigration restriction measure was effectively a race-based quota system. Ngai (2004) argues that this system not only created a global "hierarchy of desirability" based on race and nationality, whereby all Europeans were considered to be members of a "white race" and allowed to enter the United States in large (albeit restricted) numbers, it also signaled the historical moment when European-Americans' ethnic and racial identities became "uncoupled" (Ngai 2004, 7).

In other words, differential meanings of ethnicity developed according to racial categories: European-Americans, because of their membership in the white race, were imagined to be assimilable, and their racial identities became disassociated from their ethnicity, or national origin (and thus the perceived oddity of the term European-American); Asian-Americans, on the other hand, because of their membership in the "Asiatic race" were perceived to be unassimilable, and their racial identities remained tied to their ethnic identities. Ngai (2004) asserts that the racialization of ethnic groups' national origin led to deeply held assumptions that viewed members of non-white ethnic groups, regardless of one's place of birth or citizenship, as "permanently foreign" (ibid., 8).

The legal implications and enforcement of the 1924 Johnson-Reed Act, as well as the complex meanings of race, ethnicity, and citizenship it produced and normalized, had an immense impact on farmworkers of Japanese, Mexican, and Filipino descent in the West, and later, Afro-West Indian and Latino farmworkers on the East Coast.

West coast growers' continued access to low-cost Mexican workers following the passage of the Johnson-Reed Act was seen as a competitive threat to Southern growers, who pressured their elected representatives in Washington to introduce bills that would place Mexican immigration under the quota system (Mooney and Majka 1995). Although the bills did not pass into law, West coast growers began recruiting Filipino immigrants as a backup labor supply should an immigration quota for Mexico be established. Filipino workers were an ideal secondary labor source because, like the Mexican immigrants, poverty at home made them willing to work for lower wages. Furthermore, unlike Mexican workers, Filipino migration could not be restricted, as the U.S. maintained sovereignty over the Philippines at the time. In their historical work *Farmers' and Farm Workers' Movements*, Mooney and Majka (1995) argue that this biracial labor force served two beneficial functions for growers:

> First, it created an even greater oversupply of farm labor, contributing a slack agricultural labor market that helped ensure continued low labor costs for the growers. Also, competition and animosity between Mexican and Filipino immigrants quickly developed, setting both groups against each other for agricultural jobs. Together, these features helped divide the farm labor force and inhibited their organization. (Mooney and Majka 1995,126)

It was therefore economic interests – the desire for low labor costs and an unorganized labor force – that drove growers to recruit Mexican and Filipino workers. However, racial explanations among the general public provided the primary justification for farmworker exploitation. Although the racial explanations as to why Mexicans and Filipinos were better "fit" for farm work had qualitative differences across groups, they shared a reliance on racial essentialism and eugenic explanations of inferior races, which

made their subjugation and low wages common sense.[25] An example of such explanations is epitomized in a comment made by George P. Clements, an official in the Agricultural Department of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, who noted that farm labor was a type of job "to which the oriental and Mexican due to their crouching and bending habits are fully adapted, while the white is physically unable to adapt himself" (Hoffman 1974, 10).

By the beginning of the 1930s, these types of attitudes shifted as predominantly white Dust Bowl migrants arrived in the West as a result of the Depression. The increase in the already saturated farm labor supply led many whites to scapegoat and develop hostility towards people of Mexican descent. Amidst growing pressure, the federal government responded by taking the reigns of managing the political economy and racial composition of the agricultural labor force: it embarked on the forced deportation and repatriation of ethnic minorities in the fields, regardless of their citizenship status, in order to make room for unemployed white migrants. Between 1930 and 1933, the federal government began a series of violent raids and repatriated approximately 400,000 people to Mexico (Rothenberg 1998, 34; Cruz 2009, 52-53). Ngai estimates that as many as 60 percent of those forcibly removed "were children or American citizens by native birth," proof that non-white ethnic groups were indeed seen as "permanently foreign," and therefore disposable at the whim of political convenience (Ngai 2004, 72).[26]

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[25] For an excellent discussion on the role of notions of "common sense" in racial projects, see Omi and Winant 1994, pg. 59-61.

[26] The Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934 and the Filipino Repatriation Act of 1935 effectively reclassified Filipinos as aliens, promoted their repatriation to the Philippines, and subject Filipinos to a strict immigration quota limited at 50 immigrants per year. Unlike the repatriation of Mexicans, Filipinos were not subject to forced removal. See Ngai 2004, 96-126.

Of the farmworkers who were not subject to repatriation, growing numbers of them refused to consent to the coercive "divide and conquer" strategies of growers and attempted to mobilize across racial lines. Growers and law enforcement saw these farmworker mobilizations as extremely dangerous not only because they threatened the unchecked power of the agricultural elite, but because they also challenged the construct of racial hierarchy and white supremacy.

Between 1930 and 1934, California experienced an unprecedented wave of mass farmworker strikes, many of them involving over a thousand workers. In 1933 alone, roughly 48,000 farmworkers participated in 31 strikes (U.S. Department of Labor 1945, 17).[27] The union that led the majority of successful strikes was the Cannery and Agricultural Workers Industrial Union (CAWIU). In response to these strikes, Mooney and Majka describe how "growers retaliated by evicting strikers from company-owned housing, and local police and the highway patrol conducted mass arrests of strikers" (Mooney and Majka 1995, 129). Although the union was able to withstand overt acts of violence, the union's eventual demise was due, in large part, to coercive state policies that targeted union activity, as well as prosecutions by the state.

In the summer of 1934, sixteen CAWIU leaders and members were arrested and tried under California's State Syndicalism Law, which criminalized anyone who subscribed to any doctrine that advocated for or employed actions that could lead to "a change in industrial ownership or control, effecting any political change" (Solow 1935, 14). Although the law was purposefully vague to allow for the prosecution of "anyone

[27] 24 of these 37 strikes were led by the CAWIU. See Mooney and Majka 1995, Chapter 5.

advocating worker protests of any kind," the trial of the CAWIU was much more than a coordinated attack on unions (Mooney and Majka 1995, 132).

At that time, white workers were kept separate from workers of color in the field, and primarily worked in the packinghouses and sheds (Ngai 2002). As such, the bringing together of cannery and agricultural workers necessitated interracial organizing. Unlike the vast majority of labor unions at the time, the CAWIU had a member policy of nondiscrimination in attempt to unite Japanese, Mexican, and Filipino, and even Anglo workers, thereby challenging the dominant ideology of white supremacy. During the closing arguments of the trial of CAWIU members, the perceived threat to white supremacy represented by the union was made clear when a Sacramento district attorney informed the jury, "The defendants do not believe in religion or the superiority of the white to the negro and yellow races" (Solow 1935, 20). Cruz contends that the guilty verdict that sent eight of the CAWIU defendants to prison was a direct, "state-sanctioned renouncement of interracial unionism" (Cruz 2009, 40). By the spring of 1935, CAWIU had disbanded, and union activities were limited to intermittent campaigns led by small local unions organized along lines of singular ethnic identities (Mooney and Majka 1995, 132).

Thus, between 1865 and 1935, agricultural labor in the West consisted of a coercive system of selective recruitment, replacement, and the pitting of one ethnic group against another. Together with immigration and anti-union laws passed in their favor, growers' labor costs were kept to a minimum. Those workers who attempted to organize in resistance to these forms of hegemonic control were met with violent intimidation and prosecution by the state.

South/East Coast

Like the history of farmworkers in the West, the development of agricultural labor on the East Coast, and in the South in particular, cannot be understood without an examination of race and the normalization of farmworker powerlessness. Unlike the history of farm labor in the West, however, the antecedent to modern capitalist agriculture in the South was the pre-Civil War plantation agricultural system that relied on slave labor.

Although the adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution on December 6, 1865 abolished state sanctioned slavery, it proved incapable of dismantling "deeply-rooted attitudes and near-sacred customs" based on a genuine belief in the biological inferiority of blacks, which had for centuries maintained and justified slavery just as effectively as any legal mechanism could (Wilson 1965, 140). For this reason, the Thirteenth Amendment did little to change the conviction held by many white southerners that blacks would not work unless they were physically compelled. By 1866, many former Confederate states had enacted a series of Black Codes (modeled after earlier slave codes) in their state constitutions to control black laborers and limit their movement – which kept blacks in the fields as cheap labor for white growers.

Mississippi, which was the first state to complete its Black Code in 1865, served as a model for other Southern states. The code included laws requiring blacks to possess written labor contracts, anti-enticement laws that forbade anyone from enticing blacks away from their contracted employer by "knowingly [giving] them employment, food, or clothing," and vagrancy laws which criminalized blacks who were "idle or disorderly" or unemployed (Wilson 1965, 66-68). In Florida, vagrancy laws applied to all persons, but

they were limited in application to those working in industries populated primarily by blacks (such as agriculture, lumbering, etc.). In practice, therefore, blacks could be convicted on charges of vagrancy for "willful disobedience of orders, wanton impudence, or disrespect to his employer… failure to perform the work assigned to him, idleness, or abandonment of the premises" (ibid., 99). The Black Codes were discriminatory and stripped blacks of many of the liberties they hoped to freely exercise upon emancipation. However, it was in combination with a uniquely Southern form of punishment - convict leasing - that the Black Codes effectively maintained "the elaborate social system of racial subordination which had previously been assured by the practice of slavery" (Mancini 1978, 339).

The institution of convict leasing began in Georgia in 1868 and was soon emulated throughout the South. This "slavery by another name" – the title of Blackmon's (2008) book on the subject – was, ironically, legitimated by the same constitutional amendment that had abolished slavery in the first place. The 13th Amendment had made one notable exception: slavery and involuntary servitude were rendered illegal except as punishment for a crime. The rounding up of black men on unsubstantiated vagrancy charges, and the subsequent leasing of their labor to local farmers (as well as owners of railroads, mines, and mills), generated unprecedented revenue for Southern states and provided white capitalists with a cheap, expendable, and highly profitable labor force (Mancini 1978, 1996; Blackmon 2008).[28]

Convict leasing as a state policy was thus a fundamental means by which racial subordination became structured and normalized in the South. In the decades following

[28] Studies estimate that during the era of convict leasing, over 90 percent of convicts in the South were black (Mancini 1978, 343).

official emancipation, a number of conspicuous patterns emerged within the institution of Southern prisons. Mancini finds that during the era of convict leasing, the "composition of the convict population was altered radically as sentences grew longer, the population became younger and almost entirely black, and the number of people sentenced soared" (Mancini 1978, 343). In other words, those who fulfilled the physical and racialized expectations of the best-suited convicts for long-term manual labor – namely young men of color – were systematically funneled into incarceration. After examining hundreds of county jail records of convict-leasing states, Blackmon asserts, "the timing and scale of surges in arrests appeared more attuned to rises and dips in the need for cheap labor than any demonstrable acts of crime" (Blackmon 2008, 7). It is perhaps unsurprising that between 1881 and 1904, a period spanning the populist crisis and the dramatic decline in cotton prices, Florida's convict population increased by 857 percent (Mancini 1978).

While racial oppression in the South following the Civil War was achieved through coercive state policies of Black Codes and convict leasing, it was also maintained via public consent and notions of "common sense." Convict leasing reigned in the South sixty years after the abolition of slavery in part because "sympathy for the victims, however brutally they had been abused," argues Blackmon, was minimal because the public, in assuming the authority and justness of the law, believed that, "after all, they were criminals" (Blackmon 2008, 5). It was in the conjoining of deeply-held beliefs among whites in the South – one, that blacks wouldn't work without physical compulsion[29], two, that criminals should be punished, and three, that blacks are by nature

[29] Wilson writes that Carl Schurz heard "hundreds of times" in the Senate the phrase "You cannot make the negro work without physical compulsion" (Wilson 1965, 44). Wilson cites *Sen. Exec. Docs., No. 2, 39th Con., 1st sess., pg. 16.*

criminal, that "a world in which the seizure and sale of a black man – even a black child – was viewed as neither criminal nor extraordinary had reemerged" (ibid., 9). By the 1920s, convict leasing had largely been abolished in the South, with the exception of Florida (abolished in 1923) and Alabama (abolished in 1928).

Nevertheless, convict leasing had not only taken its toll on those in the prison system, it had also severely depressed the wages of those in the free labor market, both black and white, who were forced to compete with convict labor. To describe the non-convict farm labor market as "free" during this time would be a great obfuscation of reality. The large majority of blacks working on Southern farms[30] were sharecroppers or tenant farmers working on land they did not own and were subject to debts that were wholly determined by landlords. A piece of sharecropper folk humor at the time illustrates this point:

> Teacher: "If the landlord lends you twenty dollars, and you pay him back five dollars a month, how much will you owe him after three months?"
> Student: "Twenty dollars."
> Teacher: "You don't understand arithmetic."
> Student: "You don't understand our landlord!"
> (Grubbs 1971, 10)

Attempts to leave such arrangements in search of better work opportunities were prohibited either by legal restrictions (e.g. anti-enticement laws) or by threat of the lynch mob. McAdam (1982), for example, in analyzing the number of lynchings per year between 1882 and 1954, concludes that the "level of supremacist violence was related to the control requirements of southern agriculture" (McAdam 1982, 88-89). Thus, through legal means and threats of violence, "free" black farm laborers toiled in the fields in de

[30] In 1910, more than two thirds of black farmers did not own the land on which they worked. Two thirds of white farmers did. Nearly 60 percent of adult black men, and 50 percent of adult black women worked in farming. Bureau of the Census, Bulletin 129, *Negroes in the United States* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1915), pp. 7, 36-29, as cited in Blackmon 2008, 358.

facto servitude or conditions of debt-peonage. They were effectively tied to the land to provide cheap labor to white landowners as their ancestors had done for centuries.

However, the onset of World War I and the burgeoning war industries in the North posed a great threat to the South's iron grip on cheap, black labor. In the inter-war years alone, approximately 500,000 African Americans left the South, which totaled more than the previous forty years combined (Hahamovitch 1997, 85). As a result,

> Alarm spread throughout the white South as farm laborers and city menial and domestic help drifted off in twos, twenties, and two hundreds. State laws and city ordinances were passed to oust or curb the agents who were taking most of the workers… Labor agents were arrested. Trains carrying migrants were stopped, the blacks forced to return and the agents beaten. Blacks might be terrorized or lynched on suspicion of trying to leave the state. (Henri 1975, 62)

Instead of raising wages or improving conditions to attract labor, white growers resorted to tried and true ways of securing "their" black workers: the use of violent intimidation and the passing of laws designed to restrict the mobility of the black population. Agricultural labor historian Hahamovitch (1997) attributes growers' refusal to raise wages not to any rules of economics, but to a "planter's theory of value," or the belief on the part of white planters that "black people worked less the more they were paid" (Hahamovitch 1997, 82). She argues,

> The buying and selling of labor was thus intimately bound up with notions of race… [This] was all the more powerful (and long lived) because it combined their belief in the "natural" inferiority of African Americans with the "natural" laws of economics. Any increase in wages seemed unnatural – proof of a world turned upside down. What mattered in this climate, then, was not some actual measure of labor supply, but growers' perceptions of labor supply, what might be called the ideology of labor scarcity. (Hahamovitch 1997, 82)

Some African-American sharecroppers and farm laborers who stayed in the South during this era utilized the increased bargaining power that accompanied the decrease in

the oversupply of labor during WWI to engage in strikes, and other forms of collective action, for better wages. To white planters, this was viewed as proof that blacks worked less the more they were paid, and their response to black agricultural mobilization often turned violent. In 1919, near Elaine, Arkansas, black sharecroppers had gathered inside a local church to attend a meeting held by the Progressive Farmers and Household Union of America. Shots erupted outside and white supremacist mobs began "hunting negroes"[31] in the surrounding area (Stockley 2001). In the end, more than 200 blacks had been killed and 79 blacks were indicted on charges of murder and insurrection (Stockley 2001; Seligmann 1969). While violence of this magnitude was the extreme, it underscores how race-based violence in the South often had economic underpinnings, and was an integral part of a social system that relied on the exploitation and control of black farm laborers.

The mass out-migration of blacks during WWI and the increased leverage gained by the remaining workers caused such serious concern among Southern growers that they began petitioning the federal government for an alternative low-cost labor source. In response, the federal Immigration Service eased entry restrictions to accommodate the agricultural industry, such as the waiving of restrictions prohibiting the admission of illiterate aliens, as long as they worked exclusively in agriculture (Hahamovitch 1997, 96). As a result, the borders between the U.S. and Mexico, Puerto Rico, the West Indies, and Canada were essentially opened for immigrant farmworkers. In the South, the easing of restrictions made immigration so easy for the Bahamas that between 1900 and 1920,

nearly 20 percent of Bahamanians had once worked as farm laborers in South Florida (ibid., 123).

The long agricultural depression that followed World War I, however, drastically reshaped farm labor in the South. In the pivotal historical work on the subject, *The Fruits of Their Labor*, Hahamovitch argues that the depression led to three major changes in farm labor on the East Coast:

> First, it forced black southerners, particularly Georgians, to join the ranks of mobile harvest workers. By the 1920s African Americans outnumbered all other ethnic groups in the East's migrant population, and they retained their majority for the following fifty years…
>
> The second change was the rise of commercial agriculture on a grand scale in South Florida. The draining of the Everglades in the 1920s exposed hundreds of thousands of acres of land that could be planted in a wide range of crops- beans, tomatoes, potatoes, and sugarcane, to name just a few – while northern fields were still under snow. By the early 1920s, South Florida agriculture was big business, and the winter harvest in the Sunshine State drew even greater numbers of migrant farmworkers southward…
>
> The third change was… the rise of the "permanent transient"… who had no home to speak of. Most alternated winter work in Florida with summer work in New Jersey. The considerable distance involved in this circuit led to increased dependence on crew leaders, who became more exploitive as they became more necessary… (Hahamovitch 1997, 114-115; spacing my own)

Hahamovitch explains that the combination of the first two changes - the push of black sharecroppers, tenant farmers, and laborers off the land due to falling agricultural prices, and the pull of large factory farms in South Florida - created the conditions for the third: the birth of permanent migratory farm labor and the modern East Coast migrant stream (Hahamovitch 1997, 114). The rise of transient labor, however, proved to be beneficial for growers and devastating for workers.

For growers, ambitions to plant more acres – and reap greater profits – made possible by the mechanization of planting and cultivating were always stifled by the need for a large number of workers – whose hands were necessary to pick delicate fruits and vegetables – for a very brief period of harvest. Migrant labor now made this possible. For farmworkers, migrant labor meant the loss of a sense of home (and often, the separation from family) and dependence on crew leaders, who supplied transportation to farms ready for harvest and arranged housing in company-controlled migrant camps. Seasonal contracts became obsolete, and growers began hiring workers on a day-to-day basis, which helped suppress wages and discourage dissent: if workers demanded a better wage or spoke out against abuse, they would not be hired the following morning. By the early 1930s, the East Coast migrant stream had consolidated into the form that continues today. Together, the conditions of migratory farm labor – with the continuous relocations, the dependence on crewleaders, the daily contracts, and the controlled living arrangements – made collective action on the part of farmworkers both necessary and all the more difficult.

In the six decades following the Civil War, the making of farm labor powerlessness in the South was achieved through state legislation – black codes, convict leasing, anti-enticement laws – and overt violence aimed at keeping blacks immobile and unorganized. Coercive labor and farmworker poverty were justified through racialized notions of "common sense"; during Reconstruction, it was widely believed that blacks would not work unless they were physically coerced, and in the early 20th century, this belief gradually shifted to a conviction that "blacks worked less the more they were paid" (Wilson 1965; Hahamovitch 1997, 82). In the West, farmworker powerlessness was

secured through the strategic recruitment and barring of consecutive waves of immigrant workers, and popular beliefs that deemed Asians and Latinos as somehow more "physically adapted" to farm labor than whites. State legislation such as Alien Land Laws and Syndicalism Laws stifled the economic advancement and organization of farmworkers.

Yet, these mechanisms of hegemony began to lose their grip as profitable farm labor in the East required migratory workers to cross state lines, and in the West, white dust bowl migrants arrived on the farms and workers began organizing across ethnic divisions. In order to maintain control over a cheap and exploitable labor force under these changing circumstances, the shape and character of hegemony would have to be modified and renewed. In the New Deal Era, this would take the form of federal legislation that legally disempowered farm laborers and simultaneously made them dependent on state welfare that could be taken away as quickly as it was given.

New Deal Era: 1933 - 1942

The early 1930s was a period marked by a deepening economic depression and a wave of hundreds of militant strikes and protests in a wide range of labor sectors. In March 1933, President Franklin D. Roosevelt took office with a mandate to lead an economic recovery, provide relief to the millions of poor and unemployed, and respond to workers' concerns. While the Roosevelt Administration's First New Deal (1933-1934) and Second New Deal (1935-1936) laid the foundations of poverty alleviation and workers' rights protections amidst the fallout of the Depression, farmworkers found themselves systematically excluded from these provisions. In the end, farmworkers' rights (as well as those of tenant farmers and sharecroppers) were sacrificed for the

political support of southern senators and congressmen who opposed measures that would empower black workers and potentially disturb the racial order upon which the Southern economy was built.

Upon assuming office, President Roosevelt embarked on an ambitious "First 100 Days" strategy in which he would institute policies geared toward providing immediate economic "relief, recovery, and reform." These policies became known as the First New Deal, which created, among other initiatives, the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA), the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), and the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA). However, if farmworkers and tenant farmers hoped these programs to alleviate their plight or recognize their rights as workers, they would found themselves severely disappointed.

The National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA), which passed on June 16, 1933, established a public works program and enabled the President to permit monopolies and regulate industries to promote economic recovery. Section 7(a) of the bill guaranteed workers' rights to collective bargaining, but farmworkers were excluded three weeks later by presidential decree. The Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) established a Federal Transient Program to provide aid to "needy persons" who lacked legal settlements in any one state. Again, migrant farmworkers were excluded from the bill. Hahamovitch correctly observes, "When it came to federal relief efforts and labor legislation, migrant farmworkers were defined neither as workers nor as migrants, which left them with no identity to speak of" (Hahamovitch 1997, 139).

Another major cornerstone of the First New Deal was the creation of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA), which aimed to provide relief to the

agricultural industry. The program sought to boost agricultural prices by paying farmers to plow under a portion of their crop (particularly cotton in the South), which would reduce agricultural output and raise crop values. The program was carried out by the Department of Agriculture, which permitted local governments to disperse checks payable to landowners, not the tenants who physically worked the land. This payment system had considerable social consequences in the South. First, the reduction in agricultural production put thousands of tenant farmers and sharecroppers out of work. Second, although it was legally prohibited, landowners rarely passed on the tenants' share of the relief check and, supplied with federal cash, the landowners "evicted their sharecroppers and replaced them with day laborers whom they could pay in cash" (Kester 1997, 31). That notions of race influenced the farm owner payment system is made clear in the following anecdote:

> When [Agricultural Adjustment Administration] lawyer Alger Hiss suggested making out benefit checks jointly to landowners and their tenants, an outraged South Carolina Democratic senator "Cotton Ed" Smith charged into his office exclaiming in disbelief "you're going to send money to my niggers instead of to me?" (Irons 1993, 160)

Although the practice of elite rule in Southern agriculture was characterized by efforts to maintain complete control over black labor, the South's "economic dependence on cheap, degraded labor and the political system designed to preserve it made [poor whites] its victims too" (Lichtenstein 1997, 34). When poor white sharecroppers attempted to organize, planters would evict them and hire black tenants as replacements; when poor black sharecroppers attempted to organize, they were met with violence or the lynch mob, often at the hands of their fellow white sharecroppers. Race had effectively served to divide and disempower Southern sharecroppers. However, it was the severity of

the outcomes of the AAA policies – the robbing of sharecroppers' relief payments and the mass evictions – that galvanized the first interracial farm labor organization in the South, the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union (STFU).

With humble beginnings in a schoolhouse in Poinsett County, Arkansas in July 1934, the STFU grew as an influential movement among sharecroppers, tenants, and day laborers in the South (Kester [1936] 1997, 55). In large part due to the STFU's characteristic non-violence and interracialism, STFU mobilizations were able to successfully introduce modern slavery[32] and farm tenancy into the national consciousness (Kester [1936] 1997, 38; Grubbs 1971, 117).

Amidst a context of widespread labor insurgency, including farmworker mobilizations in the Southeast and Southwest, and growing national support for federal labor rights legislation, Congress passed the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA), or what is commonly known as the Wagner Act. Signed by President Roosevelt on July 5, 1935, the NLRA guarantees the right of workers to join unions and their freedom to "organize, strike, and engage in collective bargaining," as well as their protection from interference and reprisals by employers (Rothenberg 1998, 248). Although farmworkers were included in the original form of the bill, they, along with domestics, were eventually removed from the protections of the NLRA when it came out of committee in its final version. Rothenberg (1998) claims that the congressional record fails to reveal a clear explanation for farmworkers' fateful exclusion from the bill, but most scholars agree that farmworkers' exclusion was a concession to powerful agricultural interests and southern

[32] STFU strikers were often arrested and shipped to private prison farms. Paul D. Preacher, the Deputy Sheriff of Crittenden County in Arkansas, was indicted by a Federal Grand Jury for "aiding and abetting in holding in slavery." The case brought national support of the STFU and "discredited the practice of peonage" on private prison farms in the South (Grubbs 1971, 109-135).

representatives to ensure passage of the entire bill (Mooney and Majka 1995, 139; Ngai 2004, 136).

What is often not explicitly stated, however, is that the NLRA simultaneously excluded workers of color, as 65 percent of African American workers were field workers and domestics at that time (Linder 1987). Moreover, the inclusion of packing and cannery workers – most of whom were white – under the protections of the NLRA, underscores how race was a primary factor in farmworkers' targeted exclusion from federal labor law (Hahamovitch 1997, 147; Ngai 2002). In other words, it was farmworkers' race that squarely situated their class relationships in the United States.

The exclusion of farmworkers from federal labor protections did not deter all attempts to organize, however. Hoping to use the resources and membership of packing and cannery workers covered by the NLRA to assist in the unionization of farmworkers, the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing, and Allied Workers of America (UCAPAWA) formed in 1937 and attempted to bring packing and cannery workers together with farmworkers under one national union. UCAPAWA affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) and opened its membership to men and women and workers of all races. Mexican, Filipino, and Japanese unions in the West eagerly joined, as did STFU's black and white tenant farmers in the South (Jamieson 1945; Grubbs 1971). White Dust Bowl migrants in the West joined the ranks of UCAPAWA as well, and in its heyday, UCAPAWA had a membership of over 40,000 members in a wide array of work, from citrus pickers in Florida to fish canneries in the Pacific Northwest (Mooney and Majka 1995, 139-40).

The time appeared ripe for national support for farm labor reform. In 1939, amidst a rising national controversy resulting from McWilliams's (1939) *Factories in the Fields* and Steinbeck's (1939) *Grapes of Wrath*, as well as First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt's subsequent tour of a California migrant labor camp, the La Follette Committee, which was established in 1936 to investigate violations of the NLRA, expanded its investigations to include farm labor, even though it was still excluded from NLRA protections. The La Follette Committee eventually recommended that the NLRA be expanded to cover farmworkers, but its final report was issued in 1942 during the Second World War, and no federal action was taken in response (Rothenberg 1998, 249).

Although farmworkers in the New Deal Era were excluded from federal legislative reforms designed to protect and empower workers relative to their employers, they were, however, the recipients of federal aid programs intended to alleviate their poverty. The Farm Security Administration,[33] a small program under the AAA, set out to ease farmworker hardship by constructing migrant camps on both coasts. By 1940, there were 56 FSA migrant labor camps in operation. In California, 18 camps provided housing, sanitation, cooking, and recreation facilities for up to 30,000 migrant farmworkers (Mooney and Majka 1995, 137). However, Mexicans and Filipinos were largely excluded from the migrant camp program, and the camps became populated primarily by white Dust Bowl migrants. Ngai maintains that the "FSA chose white migrants for its social experiments in part because they presented a conservative, docile image to the public… FSA's preferred message [was] that migratory workers were white, pathetically poor, singular, and passive" (Ngai 2004, 136).

[33] The Farm Security Administration succeeded what was previously the Resettlement Administration.

In the East, the first migrant camps opened in Belle Glade, Florida – with First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt in attendance – in the spring of 1940 with segregated facilities for blacks and whites (Hahamovitch 1997, 156). For the first time, farmworkers were able to enjoy migrant housing free from grower control and intimidation, and the camps provided an ideal space for organizing activities. In fact, in the West, many of the FSA camps were "the sites of union meetings and sometimes even strike headquarters" (Mooney and Majka 1995, 138), and in the South, farmworkers in the migrant camps were becoming "increasingly militant" (Hahamovitch 1997, 170).

Yet, despite these favorable conditions, UCAPAWA was still unable to successfully organize and sustain a farmworker movement or influence federal policy. While scholars point to multiple reasons for UCAPAWA's decline, internal racial tensions undoubtedly played a role in its demise.[34] UCAPAWA's policy of racial and ethnic inclusion, while it theoretically welcomed a diverse membership, also repelled many of the white migrants in the West who held strong anti-Mexican sentiments and were "especially offended that some of these 'foreigners' were in leadership positions" (Mooney and Majka 1995, 147). In 1939, the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union voted to secede from UCAPAWA, and in 1940, the influential Filipino Agricultural Labor Association (FALA) chose to affiliate with the American Federation of Labor (AFL). Without the active and widespread participation of the white Dust Bowl migrants, the support of the black and white members of the STFU, or the strong Filipino membership of FALA, hopes for a necessary interracial solidarity within UCAPAWA, as well as a

[34] These factors include UCAPAWA's internal organizational challenges, the immense power of agribusiness over local and state level policy, continued violence directed towards organizing farmworkers, and the impact of the early "Red Scare." For a thorough discussion of these factors, see Mooney and Majka 1995, pg. 143-149.

cohesive national farmworker movement, were lost. By the early 1940s, UCAPAWA's membership had dwindled and it decided to retract efforts at organizing farmworkers and focus instead on industrial workers covered by the NLRA.

This failure to build a mass interracial mobilization of farmworkers and influence federal agricultural labor policy during relatively favorable political conditions would prove even more frustrating as the window of political opportunity for farmworker mobilization closed for more than twenty years, beginning with the onset of the Second World War.

WWII and Labor Importation Era: 1942 - 1964

The entry of the United States into World War II marked a period in which the nation-state would come to play the central hegemonic role in securing an exploitable labor force for the agricultural industry. This would take the form of "imported colonialism,"[35] in which the federal government would actively import people of color from impoverished regions in Latin America and the Caribbean to provide cheap labor for farms – which were becoming increasingly consolidated and corporatized – across the United States. Moreover, the coercive forms of hegemony at play in U.S. agriculture would also entail the removal of Japanese-Americans from the West Coast by means of internment.

These racialized means of domination and control were primarily justified through public consent to "special wartime measures." The labor importation program, however, was driven by profit motives rather than economic necessity during times of

[35] This term was used by Andrew Biemiller of the AFL-CIO in a Statement before the House Subcommittee on Equipment, Supplies, and Manpower to describe the Bracero Program. March 24, 1960 (Ngai 2004, 166).

war. This is made clear by the lack of evidence of real labor shortages at the commencement of the Bracero Program in the West and the Labor Importation Program in the East, and the continuation of the Bracero Program until December 31, 1964, nearly twenty years after the war's end.

While hegemonic forms of racial domination in the agricultural industry had been sustained in previous eras through the pitting of distinct racial groups against one another, the hegemonic functions that maintained farmworker oppression during the WWII and Labor Importation Program era modified into a new form, whereby workers with similar racial ancestry were propelled into competition against each other based on differences of citizenship status or ethnicity. In the East, growers fueled (and financially benefited from) animosity between African-American and imported Jamaican farmworkers. In the West, growers illegally used *braceros* (imported seasonal workers from Mexico) and undocumented workers from Mexico to drive down wages and break strikes among Mexican-American farmworkers. Consent to this form of racial and economic domination was given by domestic farmworkers themselves, as well as leaders in civil rights and labor organizations, who, in buying into the division of workers based on citizenship, directed their collective efforts – and physical violence – towards the removal of imported, foreign laborers and the deportation of undocumented farmworkers.

In the years immediately preceding U.S. entry into WWII, farmworkers across the country had become increasingly militant and were using the safety provided by the FSA migrant camps to their advantage. With the onset of the war, the oversupply of agricultural workers began to diminish as laborers left the fields to enlist or to find higher paying industrial wartime industries. Farmworkers on both coasts were using their

increased bargaining power, which resulted from a decrease in the usual oversupply of farm labor, to strike for improved wages and working conditions.

Just as they had done in WWI, growers began complaining of labor shortages. In a December 1941 report by the Interbureau Coordinating Committee on Farm Labor, committee members found that farmers had "come to consider any reduction in the surplus supply as a shortage" because they were accustomed to an immense over-supply of workers. Moreover, farmers exhibited "confusion in the use of the term 'shortage'" and a tendency "to identify increases in wages, irrespective of the number of workers available, as a shortage" (Hahamovitch 1997, 165).

Despite the absence of any substantive labor shortage, growers were able to persuade the government and the general public to make alternative labor sources available based on a perceived, or even imagined, shortage. The federal government responded with the creation of the Labor Importation Program in 1942. In the West, this became known as the Bracero Program, which imported workers from Mexico to work in the fields.[36] Although the Bracero Program was intended to serve as a temporary wartime measure, the program was extended through 1964, providing approximately 4.5 million contracts to Mexican nationals to work in the United States (Rothenberg 1998, 36). In the East, the U.S. supplemented the Bracero Program with the British West Indies (BWI) Temporary Alien Labor Program in 1943, which imported workers from the Bahamas and Jamaica to work on farms along the East Coast, from apple orchards in Northeast to sugar cane fields in South Florida (Griffith 1986). Growers effectively used *braceros* and

[36] The first *braceros* arrived in the United States in September 1942. The large majority of *bracero* workers labored in agriculture, and a small percentage worked in railroad construction and maintenance (Ngai 2004, 138-139).

imported workers as strikebreakers against domestic farmworkers, even though such actions were legally prohibited within the terms of the program (Galarza 1970). Although foreign workers did make strike attempts, growers were able to repress such efforts with ease, as the imported strikers, after all, could be "promptly and unceremoniously deported and replaced" (Hahamovitch 1997, 178).

South/East Coast

By the early 1940s, farms in the South had been radically consolidated both in size and power. In Florida, the number of farms over 1,000 acres had nearly doubled in twenty years, and more than one hundred farms were larger than 10,000 acres, which meant that a small number of farms were hiring and controlling a large percentage of the state's 50,000 farmworkers (Rothenberg 1998, 34; Hahamovitch 1997, 121). The FSA migrant housing camps, for a brief period at least, were to provide migrant farmworkers with safety and relative independence from grower control. However, in the spring of 1942, Congress removed the migrant camp program from the authority of the FSA and criminalized farmworkers who migrated without the consent of county authorities. By 1943, the War Food Administration was filling East Coast migrant camps with imported farmworkers from Jamaica, the Bahamas, Mexico, Puerto Rico (who were U.S. citizens), and even prisoners of war (Hahamovitch 1997, 174).[37]

Thus, during WWII, Congress had enabled Southern growers to combine what once were two distinct, regional strategies of farmworker control: the South's longtime strategy of immobilizing African-American workers, and the West's strategy of

[37] The use of prisoners of war as farm laborers was largely limited to the South for national security reasons. By 1945, the War Food Administration was employing more than 120,000 prisoners of war as farmworkers (Hahamovitch 1997, 174)

recruiting waves of immigrant workers who could easily be pitted against each other. However, this hybrid form of hegemonic control was more subtle and complex than previous forms of racial division (e.g., African American vs. Anglo American, Japanese American vs. Mexican American), as it sought to divide workers of the same transnational racial diaspora along lines of national citizenship.

In Florida, and up along the East Coast, African-American workers found themselves competing with Jamaican and Bahamian workers for both jobs and spaces in migrant housing camps. Hahamovitch found that in Fort Pierce, Florida, growers preferred Bahamians and hired African Americans "only as a last resort" (ibid., 175). Based on an interview with STFU- affiliated Reverend David Burgess, Hahamovitch describes how Afro-West Indian and African American farmworkers were housed in two separate migrant camps in Belle Glade, Florida, located 50 miles northeast of Immokalee (Hahamovitch 1997, 176). Burgess recounted that "because the camps were no more than a mile apart, growers could drive from one to the other, forcing wages down by telling each group that the other had underbid it" and insisted that there was no shortage of labor, but rather, "the importation program was simply a means to break strikes and depress wages" (ibid.). Consent to hegemonic control based on intra-racial division along lines of nationality was given by African American and Afro-West Indian farmworkers themselves who, in directing their individual hostilities towards one another rather than the growers who profited from such divisions, suffered collectively from inter-group violence and even lower wages.

Several months after the end of WWII, Congress renewed the Labor Importation Program, despite its original justification as a special wartime measure. In 1947, the U.S.

Department of Agriculture began authorizing the sale of migrant labor camps to farmer associations rather than to farmworkers. In 1952, the federal government instituted the H-2 Program,[38] which annually imported approximately 20,000 Afro-West Indian workers for short-term agricultural employment along the East Coast annually. Unlike the Bracero Program in the West, which was terminated in 1964 amidst significant public pressure, the H-2 importation program was able to avoid public scrutiny during the social reform movements of the 1960s and continues to this day as the H-2A guest worker program.[39]

World War II ushered in an era in which the state would solidify its role as the primary supplier and guarantor of cheap, exploitable labor. By importing foreign workers, the state secured a steady oversupply of workers that freed growers from having to raise wages to attract workers in a free labor market. The importation of foreign workers also ensured a type of "captive labor force," whereby imported workers were certified to work for a single employer and denied the freedom to seek alternative jobs with better pay or working conditions (Griffith 1986, 881). These rules continue to apply to farmworkers with H-2A visas today. Moreover, the use and abundance of temporary foreign labor significantly raised the risks of farmworker strikes, as domestic workers could be replaced by more imported workers, and imported workers could be deported and denied re-entry to the U.S. The active state importation of foreign workers undercut the effectiveness of strikes – one of the few tactics of collective action available to farmworkers – especially if workers were divided amongst themselves.

[38] The H-2 Program refers to the H-2 visa required for worker entry into the United States.
[39] The H-2 Program was revised in 1986 and was separated into the H-2A and H-2B (non-agricultural) visa programs.

To ensure that farmworkers would remain a divided workforce, the state segregated federal migrant housing facilities and enabled growers to pit African American workers against Afro-West Indian workers. Whether or not the generation of intra-racial hostility based on differences in citizenship was the state's initial intention, the consequence of forcing domestic workers to compete for employment with imported workers who were members of the same transnational racial diaspora overwhelmingly benefited growers (Hahamovitch 1997, 176). At the same time, the state could be fairly certain that the poverty and exploitation of black Jamaicans and Bahamians, like the African Americans they were joining, would generate very little public outrage in the South. The state importation of foreign workers of color into regions where domestic farmworkers of similar racial ancestry labored, and the subsequent division among workers along lines of ethnicity and citizenship, signified a marked transformation of hegemonic control within the racial formation of U.S. agriculture that continues today.

West Coast

In the West, the "special wartime measure" that served to justify the importation of Mexican nationals to work as farm laborers was preceded by an exceptional measure that transformed the racial dynamics of the agricultural industry. While it is overly simplistic to describe the nation-state as aggressively acting in concert with capitalist interests during this period, it is undeniable that the state's internment of persons of Japanese descent in the interest of "national security" and the creation of the Labor Importation Program were both overwhelmingly beneficial to white growers.

In February 1942, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066 mandating Japanese internment, which led to the removal of thousands of Japanese tenant

farmers and agricultural laborers from the fields. While the measure was enacted primarily to contain and control "enemy aliens" based solely on their ethnicity, competing white growers eagerly welcomed – and advocated – the mass evacuation of people of Japanese ancestry. Mr. Austin E. Anson, managing secretary of the Salinas Vegetable Grower-Shipper Association, made this position clear in a frank admission to the *Saturday Evening Post*:

> We're charged with wanting to get rid of the Japs for selfish reasons…We do. It's a question of whether the white man lives on the Pacific Coast or the brown men… If all the Japs were removed tomorrow, we'd never miss them in two weeks, because the white farmers can take over and produce everything the Jap grows. And we don't want them back when the war ends, either. (Taylor 1942)

In April 1942, in response to growers' concerns about the labor shortage created by the removal of more than 20,000 adults[40] of Japanese descent from the agricultural industry via internment, the repatriation of nearly a half a million ethnically Mexican workers in the 1930s, and the loss of many of white Dust Bowl migrants to the armed forces or the war economy, the federal government created the Labor Importation Program – the precursor to the Bracero Program[41] – that imported Mexican nationals to work as temporary agricultural workers in the United States. Although the Bracero Program was enacted as a special wartime measure, it was greatly expanded in the post-war years. The 4.5 million contracts that were signed with Mexican nationals over the 22-year life of the program were catastrophic for domestic farmworker labor organizing, as

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[40] See Cruz 2009, 66. Using data from the U.S. Department of the Interior's War Relocation Authority, Cruz calculates that 20.4% of the 111,170 internees worked in agriculture.

[41] *Bracero* is a Spanish term meaning "strong-arm." Between 1951-1964, the program was continued as Public Law 78, which was renewed every two years. During war years, 1942-1945, the annual number of *braceros* was under 65,000. However, at its peak in 1956, nearly a half a million workers were contracted under the Bracero Program. Under the provisions of the law, employment of *braceros* was prohibited in fields where domestic workers were striking. Furthermore, *braceros* were to be employed only in cases of domestic labor shortages (Jenkins and Perrow 1977). While the program technically applied to the entire United States, the large majority of workers were sent to California, Arizona, and Texas (Mize 2006).

growers commonly used *braceros* to break strikes and lower wage rates for all workers (Mize 2006; Galarza 1970). As a result, farm labor unions such as the National Agricultural Workers Union (NAWU)[42] and the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC) dedicated the full weight of their efforts and resources to the termination of the Bracero Program.

The efforts of domestic farmworker labor unions during the time of the Bracero Program were complex and often contradictory, but their overall strategy can be described as one focused on distinctions between U.S. citizens versus *braceros* and undocumented workers. NAWU, whose membership drew primarily from Mexican American and transient white communities, took a particularly aggressive stance against undocumented farmworkers, including participation in "citizen's arrests" of suspected "wetbacks," who were then handed over to immigration authorities, and "anti-wetback" pickets along the U.S.-Mexican border (Ngai 2004, 161). At its outset, AWOC, which was created by the AFL-CIO in 1959 and headed by former United Auto Workers leader Norman Smith, had a militant strategy for the defeat of the Bracero Program. However, within a couple years, its strategy of defeating the program had become blurred with defeating the *braceros* themselves. In a 1961 lettuce strike, AWOC actions turned violent, and members began assaulting *braceros* and setting fire to their barracks, which led to hospitalizations, arrests, and the loss of significant financial support for the union (Jenkins 1985, 126; Jenkins and Perrow 1977, 261).

[42] The National Agricultural Workers Union (NAWU) was also formerly known as the National Farm Labor Union (NFLU), which was partially formed out of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union (STFU) and the leadership of its former head H.L. Mitchell.

The Bracero Program was terminated and officially expired on December 31, 1964. While scholars such as Rothenberg (1998) assert that the termination was primarily a result of "vigorous opposition" from unions and liberal advocacy groups, evidence provided by Jenkins and Perrow (1977) suggests that the timing of the program's end was also indicative of a drastic shift in the external political environment – stimulated in part by the Civil Rights Movement – which included divisions among political elites and the reduced power of conservative rural interests in Congress (Jenkins and Perrow 1977, 260). However, even with the abolition of the Bracero Program, Cruz (2009) contends that farm labor unions had been so intensely focused on the termination of the program that a deep seeded anti-immigrant discourse became entrenched in the U.S. farmworker movement (Cruz 2009, 84).

The transformation of hegemony in the racial formation of agriculture into one characterized by the state's active importation of foreign workers of color was thus able to successfully squash farmworker mobilization and divide workers along lines of citizenship within racial groups. While the termination of the Bracero Program in the West opened up political opportunities for the successful mobilization of the United Farm Workers (UFW) in the late 1960s, farmworker diversity in race, ethnicity, and citizenship – fueled by the continuation of transnational labor importation in the East and the unofficial recruitment of undocumented workers throughout the U.S. – would continue to shape the trajectories and limitations of farmworker movements to the present day.

Conclusion

For more than 150 years, farmworker exploitation has been maintained by ruling elites through a complex process of racial structuring and signification. Farmworkers'

class relationships in the U.S. have been determined through a combination of state policies that structure race, such as targeted exclusion of blacks from New Deal labor policies or federal labor importation of immigrants of color, as well as "common sense" explanations of race, such as "blacks work harder the less they're paid" or "Mexicans are physically adapted for stoop labor." Moreover, elite strategies to maintain cheap labor – in addition to physical violence and intimidation – have often included maintaining a diverse labor pool to enable the pitting of one racial or ethnic group against another. This was the case among Japanese and Mexican workers at the dawn of the 20th century in California, African American and Jamaican workers in Florida in the 1940s, Mexican American and Mexican nationals in the 1950s and early 1960s, Mexican American and Filipino workers in California in the 1960s and 1970s, and Mexican, Guatemalan, and Haitian workers in Florida in the present day.

By tracing racial formation in U.S. agriculture, I also demonstrate how race has been central in the historical processes that have created the current obstacles to mobilization that confront the Coalition of Immokalee Workers. These include a racially and ethnically diverse farm labor workforce, annual migration along the East Coast Migrant Stream, legal vulnerability caused by exclusion from federal labor protections and provisions of formal and informal labor importation, and persistent and widespread poverty. Moreover, I demonstrate that farmworkers' present "poverty and powerlessness"[43] is not merely a result of a current "immigration problem" where, according to popular simplifications of the issue, farmworkers are underpaid and

[43] The use of the terms "poverty and powerlessness" together is in reference to the expression commonly employed by members of the Coalition of Immokalee Workers to explain cases of modern-day slavery. See also Sellers 2009.

mistreated solely because they are immigrants. Rather, farmworker poverty and exclusion have been central to the historical development of the U.S. agricultural industry – an industry that has continually relied on the most exploitable group of people at any given historical moment as its primary source of labor in order to maximize profit and avoid public scrutiny. It is consistently been farmworkers' race, combined with some historically situated inferior citizenship status – whether it be non-citizen slave, separate but equal citizen, racially-ineligible citizen, prisoner of war, rented *bracero*, visa holder, or undocumented worker – that has determined and ensured their continued exploitation in the United States for more than three hundred years.

Throughout this same history, however, farm laborers have attempted to mobilize in collective efforts to secure better wages, working conditions, and respect for their hard labor. The most effective of these mobilizations were those that successfully forged an solidarity across racial and ethnic diversity: black and white sharecroppers of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union in the 1930s, Filipino, Portuguese, and Japanese agricultural and dock worker of the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union in the 1940s, and Mexican American and Filipino farmworkers of the United Farm Workers of the 1960s. In studying these farmworker movements, however, social movement scholars have either ignored race or assumed interracial solidarity as a given in favor of class-based, macro-level analyses of farmworker movement success and failure. However, in understanding racial formation in U.S. agriculture and the centrality of race in structuring and signifying farmworker powerlessness, it becomes clear that interracial and interethnic solidarity among farmworkers is a success in itself and cannot simply be assumed.

Recent scholarly work by Jung (2006) has provided considerable theoretical insight into working-class interracialism and challenged future scholars to investigate the "how" of interracial formation and the role of race within that social process. Curiously, in the few instances when farmworker movement scholars mention the practice of interracialism, they locate it within movements' cultural repertoires: in multi-lingual communication, or lack thereof (Cruz 2009), the songs farmworkers sing (Jenkins 1985), or the multiple cultural traditions such as religious pilgrimages invoked in public demonstrations (Mooney and Majka 1995). While these studies seem to point to movement culture as a place where interracial formation takes place, so far, no study has seriously examined the role of culture in the formation, maintenance, or decline of interracial farmworker movements.

In recent decades, racial hegemony in U.S. agriculture has transformed into one that is less overtly violent in its mechanisms of coercion compared to previous eras, but no less devastating for farmworkers. Coercion now entails the formal and informal importation of impoverished people of color from Latin America and the Caribbean who have been displaced by the effects of exploitative neoliberal economic policies in the modern world-system. Farmworkers belonging to the same transnational racial diaspora are often put into competition with each other, and thus, farmworkers' consent to their own oppression is in part achieved through intra-racial or interethnic divisions based on differences in language and country of origin.

This was the situation among Mexican, Guatemalan, and Haitian farmworkers in South Florida in the early 1990s. Many of these workers departed their home countries because the poor economic condition of their communities left them with few

alternatives. Others came to the United States to escape political violence or brutal military regimes. But what nearly all workers shared in common was a story: a story of leaving behind loved ones, friends, homes, and entire communities, all for a chance to find work and help ensure their families' survival. When workers first arrived in Immokalee, they were prepared to work hard for a fair wage. What they weren't prepared for was the reality that confronted them in the fields. Crew leader violence, humiliation, and stolen checks were the norm. Water, shade, and breaks were the subjects of daydreams. Workers wanted to be paid fairly for their work, to be treated as human beings and not as disposable farm animals, and to be able to participate in decisions that affected their lives. These desires were self-evident, but if and how they could ever be realized were uncertain.

Today, on the brightly painted walls of the Coalition of Immokalee Workers' Community Center, hang awards from international human rights organizations, and prominent journalists, authors, and government officials frequently make trips to Immokalee to learn about the movement's Campaign for Fair Food. With the support of ally organizations such as the Student Farmworker Alliance, Interfaith Action, and the Alliance for Fair Food, the CIW has signed legally binding human rights agreements with eleven major food corporations. Furthermore, the CIW has transformed power relations between buyers, growers, crew leaders, and farmworkers in Florida's agricultural industry, and shaped federal laws and discourse surrounding modern-day slavery in the United States. Not only were these achievements far from inevitable, they were and continue to remain dependent upon the formation and maintenance of a mobilized farmworker community.

The following chapter continues with an investigation of how this community initially formed and sustained a cohesive farmworker movement with a collective identity, consciousness, and group solidarity in the face of immense obstacles to mobilization.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Coalition of Immokalee Workers: Migration, Popular Education, and Interethnic Mobilization 1992-2000

Los patrones espantados	The bosses, scared to death
Preguntándose que pasa	Wondering what's going on
Porque vieron que las razas	Because they saw that the people
Unidas estaban ya	Were united together
Defendiendo sus derechos	Defending their rights
Y haciendolos valer	And making them real
Estos verso que he cantado	These verses that I've sung
Son los versos de mi gente	Are my people's verses
Tomateros y chileros	Tomato and pepper pickers
Naranjeros y demás	Orange pickers and others
Mexicanos y Haitianos	Mexicans and Haitians
Entre otras razas más	Other peoples too
No hubo nada que temer	There was nothing to fear
Siendo el 12 de noviembre	It was the 12th of November
En el mero amanecer	At the very break of dawn

Selected verses of "*Los decididos*" [The Determined People], a corrido written by Lucas Benitez in 1996, in commemoration of the 1995 General Strike.

It was four o'clock on a crisp fall morning in Immokalee, and farmworkers gathered in the "Pantry Shelf" parking lot as they had done hundreds of times before. But this particular morning, they were not going to stand around and hope to find work. They were not going to board the old school buses and pick tomatoes in the hot afternoon sun. This day was different. Instead of carrying their usual lunchboxes, the workers arrived with large cardboard signs and drums. Messages of "*No Más*!" [No More!] and "*Koalysion Travayè-Ini*" [Coalition of United Workers] were carefully inscribed on cardboard and a painted image of workers holding hands graced the front of a six-foot banner. Haitian, Mexican, and Guatemalan workers had joined together to demand higher

wages and respect in the fields. Chanting to the rhythm of Haitian *kompa* played on hand drums, shouts of "five twenty-five," "*cinco veinticinco*" and "*senk vennsenk*" reverberated throughout the streets of Immokalee. The sounds marked the beginning of what would be the first farmworker strike in Immokalee in decades and signaled the naissance of the Coalition of Immokalee Workers to the wider world.

The strike erupted after Pacific Land Co., the largest tomato grower in Florida, announced that it was cutting the base wage to $3.85 per hour plus 10 cents for each bucket, down from $4.25 an hour plus the 10 cent piece rate of the previous season. At this rate, a worker picking two tons of tomatoes would, at most, walk away with $40 each day. The reason? Pacific officials said they had to pay pickers a lower base wage at that particular time "because the vegetables are easy to find in the fields" (Hill and Berry 1995). In response, the farmworkers, who frequently experienced wage theft, intimidation, and even physical abuse in the fields, decided to fight back. They demanded respect in the fields and $5.25 an hour or 80 cents per 32-lb bucket. For more than two weeks, hundreds of farmworkers refused to work, and Immokalee was filled with unfamiliar scenes: workers were participating in mass marches, obstructing buses, picketing outside Pacific's offices, and even setting fire to the occasional dumpster. During the strike, growers had to raise the wage to $5.00 an hour to attract workers, and after the strike ended, the CIW was able to negotiate a settlement with Pacific Land Co., who agreed to return the base wage to the original $4.25 an hour.

However, while failing to secure net wage increases, the farmworkers in Immokalee had achieved a success of a different kind: they had united across racial and ethnic divisions and worked toward a common goal. When a reporter asked farmworker

Christal Pierre about the "bridging of ethnic gaps" symbolized in the strike, Pierre responded in Haitian Kreyòl with an analogy: "If you get hit in the nose, your eyes water… [n]o matter where we came from, we all are facing the same conditions now" (Aschoff 1995). Farmworkers were not the only ones taking notice of the significance and strength of the newly formed interethnic coalition. A local paper covering the strikes reported how "area growers privately admit they were surprised at the coalition's organization and persistence, some suggesting the strike is the work of 'outside influences'" (Hernandez 1995). Although these sentiments echoed the "outside agitator" allegations long directed towards black mobilizations in the South – from the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union era to the U.S. Civil Rights Movement – local growers in Immokalee were onto something (U.S. Department of Labor 1945, 309; King [1963] 1997). The sparks that ignited the collective uprising of farmworkers in Immokalee at that historical moment was indeed a result of "outside" influences – particularly, those of a transnational origin. An understanding of farmworkers' experiences in their home countries prior to their migration to Florida reveals that the Coalition of Immokalee Workers' genealogy traces back not to U.S. labor movements, but to peasant movements and collective resistance to state and military violence in Haiti, Mexico, and Guatemala.

This chapter's primary goal is to respond to the question of how farmworkers in Immokalee were able to form and maintain a cohesive social movement community with a collective identity and consciousness, and how they were able to do so in the face of significant obstacles to mobilization, such as ethnic diversity and migrant labor patterns, that have historically challenged migrant farmworker movements.

First, I explore the transnational roots and initial formation of the Coalition of Immokalee Workers during its early years of mobilization by examining video and newspaper archives and drawing from select farmworker and staff oral histories. Second, using CIW archives and data collected from interviews, I demonstrate how the visual arts, popular theater, and music performances utilized during the early years of the Coalition of Immokalee Workers were much more than symbolic or expressive artifacts of a movement. Rather, these cultural repertoires were brought to Immokalee by farmworkers from their countries of origin, and through collaborations with groups in what Dellacioppa (2009) has termed transcultural advocacy networks (TCANs), the CIW developed a hybridized social movement cultural repertoire that served as the principal mechanism through which ethnic differences were rearticulated and "reworked" in the making of an interethnic farmworker movement (Jung 2006). Moreover, these same cultural repertoires, used in the context of popular education, were central in the development and maintenance of collective identity and consciousness among a migratory, politically excluded, illiterate, and impoverished farmworker community (success indicator #1).

I conclude the chapter with an exploration of how farmworker participation in these cultural repertoires also contributes to place-making in Immokalee – the creation of a "home" at the juncture of transnational migration and internal labor migration within the United States – and the cultivation of a social movement community that is able to sustain a collective struggle for human dignity and economic justice.

Farm Consolidation in Florida Agriculture: Ripe for Exploitation

In the previous chapter, I traced the construction of farmworker powerlessness throughout modern U.S. history and the numerous farmworker movements that attempted – with varying levels of success – to resist continued political exclusion and grower tactics of division by engaging in collective action for workers' rights and empowerment. While the gaze of the general public and social movement scholars was fixed on California during the rise and decline of the United Farm Workers from the mid-1960s until Cesar Chavez's death in 1993, the agricultural industry in Southwest Florida was undergoing changes that dramatically increased disparities in wealth and power between growers and farmworkers.

Between 1970 and 1992, farms in Southwest Florida were becoming increasingly consolidated and profitable. In Payne's (2000) study of Florida agriculture, he finds that in 1992, farms in Collier County (where Immokalee is located) were nearly four times as large as the average farm in Florida, and the average income of farm proprietors was $629,100 (Payne 2000, 56). This is compared to average farm owner incomes of $49,500 in Florida and $15,100 in the United States (ibid., see table 2.9). These numbers are more significant when compared to the difference in real wages of farm owners between 1970 and 1992: in the United States, real wages decreased by 21%; in Florida, they increased by 41%; and in Collier County, they increased by 342% (ibid., see table 2.11). While growers in Southwest Florida saw record wage increases during this period, the real wages of farmworkers were decreasing. Between 1980 and 1995, the piece rate remained stagnant at 40 cents for each 32 pound bucket (U.S. Department of Labor 1980; ibid., 1995).

Moreover, while Florida's agricultural industry was becoming increasingly profitable for smaller numbers of large corporate farms, individual farm laborers were simultaneously conforming to a model of an ideal, exploitable worker: young, single men who are physically able to withstand the demands of long hours of hard labor in the fields, but who are politically marginalized and excluded from nearly all forms of rights protections from the state. When one considers farmworkers in Florida specifically, it becomes clear that the most significant changes have been farmworkers' ethnicity and national origin. Payne writes, "between 1970 and 1990 the combined percentage of Caucasians and African-Americans working in the fields of Florida dropped from 89% to below one percent" (Payne 2000, 43).

During this same twenty-year period between 1970 and 1990, the percentage of Latinos in Florida's farm labor workforce increased drastically from 7.4 percent to almost 95 percent of the workforce: Mexicans made up 77.7 percent of the workforce, Guatemalans made up 17.2 percent (Roka and Emerson 2000). Moreover, Haitians began arriving in the area and finding work in farm labor in the late 1980s and early 1990s as a result of intense political violence and economic hardship in Haiti. In 1987, Haitians made up 8.5 percent of the workforce, but within the span of ten years, the percentage had been cut in half as "the Haitian population stayed in farm work temporarily and was not replaced by new Haitian immigrants" (Payne 2000, 44).

For the immigrant workers who arrived in Immokalee in the early 1990s, they found themselves immersed in an impoverished and diverse farmworker community. Not only were there racial differences among the Haitian, Latino, and indigenous Mayan workers, but they also spoke several different languages among themselves – primarily

Spanish and Haitian Kreyòl – but also Mayan dialects such as M'am, Q'anjob'al, and K'iche'. These differences were commonly used against workers in the fields by crew leaders who were members of the same racial group as the workers they oversaw, but whose families had become established in the United States. In one interview, a Mexican worker recalled how his crew leader, who was Mexican-American, would speak in Spanish to his crew and antagonize his workers for picking slower than the "little Guatemalans" in a neighboring field (interview with a farmworker, October 13, 2010).[44] The crew leaders would then speak English among themselves and their white, English-speaking bosses so the workers wouldn't know what they were saying (ibid.). Moreover, during the early morning worker recruitments at the Pantry Shelf parking lot, Haitian workers were commonly the last workers selected or would not be hired at all, as bosses "always had a little fear of Haitians" because many were working under political asylum visas and had reputations of standing up against abuse (Beaucicot 2010).

Thus, in addition to farmworkers' historical exclusion from federal labor protections discussed in the previous chapter, the combination of Florida's consolidating agricultural industry and the formal and informal importation of a diverse migratory labor force work produced a system in which growers and crew leaders had immense power over the farmworkers who labored in the fields. This system of exploitation was infallible insofar as workers remained divided and those who profited this exploitation remained unaccountable.

[44] The farmworker in this interview requested anonymity. The name of the worker is withheld by mutual agreement.

Transnational Roots and the Birth of the CIW

In 1992, several Haitian and Mexican farmworkers, including Christal Pierre and Lucas Benitez, and Greg Asbed and Laura Germino from Florida Rural Legal Services joined together to form the Southwest Florida Farmworker Project (SFFP), the precursor to the Coalition of Immokalee Workers. With local farmworker leaders, they set out to conduct a "concerted listening survey" to start conversations and gauge the most pressing issues facing farmworkers in Immokalee. The responses from workers were almost unanimous: low wages, disrespect at work, and inadequate housing were their most serious concerns (Asbed 2010). Once these concerns were determined, the SFFP began a series of evaluation meetings among workers where they analyzed the causes and outcomes of each problem. Through these early discussions, it was concluded that "the single most important obstacle to change for Immokalee's farmworkers is division – division between ethnic groups, division through competition for resources like housing and employment, division based on fear, mistrust and misunderstanding" (Payne 2000, 91).

Amidst ethnic divisions and differences, however, farmworkers shared a common experience of transnational migration. While these experiences had many variations, they had one thing in common: workers left their communities in Haiti, Guatemala, and Mexico under circumstances of extreme poverty and political violence. Many farmworkers in Immokalee were once peasants or small farm owners who worked their own land, but increased operating costs and competition resulting from the effects of neoliberal globalization and international free-trade agreements drove them off their land and eliminated their source of livelihood (Salucio 2010).

After these farmworkers made difficult journeys to Immokalee to find work, they were again confronted by poverty and an inability to earn living wages despite their grueling labor in the fields. Farmworker wages were miserably low and the piece-rate had not increased in decades. Yet, growers complained that increased competition in the international market did not allow them to raise wages (Payne 2000, 49). Farmworkers' transnational journeys to Immokalee cannot be understood without a simultaneous recognition of the mechanics of modern global capitalism, where people are simultaneously pushed out of peripheral countries and pulled into the core as an easily exploitable labor force.

While the U.S. agricultural industry has been punctuated with cycles of farmworker protest, the workers and future staff who arrived in Immokalee in the early 1990s were unique in that many had directly participated in peasant mobilizations or other resistance movements in Latin America and the Caribbean. In other words, the genealogy of what would become the Coalition of Immokalee Workers traces back not to organized labor in the United States, but to the organized peasant and resistance movements in Haiti, Guatemala, and Mexico. Moreover, the tools and repertoires that contributed to farmworkers' initial mobilization and the formation of an interethnic coalition originated in movements outside the United States and were either carried with farmworkers as they made their journeys to Immokalee or shared with the CIW through their participation in transcultural advocacy networks.

Interethnic vs. Interracial: A Note on Diversity in the Context of Immokalee

Before proceeding to the oral histories of those who were present in Immokalee during the early years of the CIW, I should explain why I am using the term "interethnic"

instead of "interracial" when investigating the problem of movement cohesion among diverse farmworkers in Immokalee. By invoking the term "ethnicity," I am neither negating the primacy of race in the contemporary or historical positioning of farmworkers' powerlessness in the United States nor ignoring the significant differences between the immigration experiences of people of color versus those of white Europeans, as is commonly implied in the ethnicity paradigm.[45] Rather, by using the term "ethnicity," I am bringing into play an understanding of a "language of place" that is not captured within the discourse of race, but that is particularly critical in understanding the convergence of transnational migrants in the context of Immokalee (Wade 1997:18). Moreover, the term "interethnic" allows one to account for nuanced divisions among farmworkers within a same race who often experience hostility – from fellow farmworkers, crew leaders, or others – based on differences in language, regional affiliations, or nationality.

Oral History: Mathieu Beaucicot (see oral history appendix)

The oral history of Mathieu Beaucicot provides insight into one farmworker's journey to Immokalee, and gives a perspective of the violent conditions under which he and many other Haitians were forced to leave their home country as exiles. Mathieu was one of hundreds of Haiti's "boat people" who fled to the United States in the aftermath of the September 1991 military coup that overthrew the country's first democratically elected president, Jean-Bertrand Aristide. During the coup d'état led by Army General Raoul Cédras and Chief of National Police Michel François (who are widely believed to have received military training at the School of Americas in the United States), it is

[45] For a more comprehensive critique of the ethnicity paradigm and related studies of assimilationism, see Omi and Winant 1994:14-23.

estimated that between 4,000 and 5,000 people, a majority of whom were pro-democracy activists, were killed (Robinson 2007, 144). To receive political asylum in the United States, individuals fleeing Haiti had to provide proof of eligibility by demonstrating well-founded fears of political persecution. For Mathieu, his active participation in the pro-democracy peasant movement and the Aristide election campaign was deemed by immigration officials to be sufficient for the legal requirements of asylum, but many others who were with Mathieu who were not able to provide sufficient proof of well-founded fear were returned to Haiti.

The arrival of young Haitians in Immokalee in the early 1990s was crucial in the initial formation of the Coalition of Immokalee Workers. Not only did this they make up a significant proportion of the farm labor workforce, they also brought with them valuable experiences of mobilization. By the late 1990s, the large majority of Haitian farmworkers had moved out of Immokalee in search of better employment opportunities afforded to them by their asylum visas and the relative ease with which they could apply for U.S. citizenship. The departure of Haitians from Immokalee during this time is part of the reason why the majority of studies and written works on the CIW – which arguably rose to national prominence beginning only in 2001 – do not focus on, or even mention, the contributions of Haitians to the organization. But to understand the initial mobilization of the CIW and many of the origins of the organization's core philosophy is to also understand the influence of the Haitian peasant movements and the translation of its movement repertoires to the farmworker struggle in Immokalee.

While many of the young Haitians who arrived in Immokalee had previous experience in collective action and political mobilization, the context of Immokalee was

significantly different and presented them with both new opportunities and new challenges. One major opportunity of mobilization in Immokalee was the fact that participation in public demonstrations did not pose the same immediate risks to violent retaliation as it did under dictatorships in Haiti (although participation could potentially threaten immigrants' visa status). As one Human Rights Watch report that documented repression of popular dissent to the military coup describes,

> [A]ll gatherings not controlled by pro-military forces are suspect. Any sign of public protest or dissent is swiftly and violently repressed. The tools of this repression have been intimidation, arrests, beatings, rape and murder. (Human Rights Watch 1993)

Effective mobilization in Immokalee would require Haitians to work in a context of diversity alongside farmworkers who not only spoke different languages, but who competed with them for jobs every morning. Haitians, after all, received qualitatively different treatment than their Mexican and Guatemalan counterparts in the fields. While Haitians were often selected last in the morning recruitments, they were not subject to the level of degradation and abuse that was commonly inflicted by bilingual Mexican American and Guatemalan American crew leaders upon farmworkers of their same racial group, but who held subordinate class and citizenship positions. Therefore, while many Haitians who arrived in Immokalee in the early 1990s had previous experience in political mobilization through their participation in pro-democracy peasant movements, their willingness and ability to work in a diverse coalition cannot be assumed.

When asked about the context of diversity in the organization's early years, Mathieu was quick to recall festive occasions and note the prominence of music at these events:

> When we organized parties, we were together… We used to have parties for the organization, for the Coalition. We ate, we played music, and there were Haitians who also came to play music. Either Spanish or Haitian music, you understand. We mixed up the music. (Beaucicot 2010)

Questions of how farmworkers interacted together in these settings, how they responded to the music, or what specific songs were performed are difficult to answer since these celebrations were not recorded. However, that Mathieu's memory of overcoming differences among diverse farmworkers is associated with music and celebration, however, is of great significance. Mathieu indicates that these celebrations were important in the activation of relationships among farmworkers from diverse backgrounds, a process Melucci identifies as central to collective identity formation (Melucci 1989, 35). Moreover, the "mixing up" of music during such festivities was likely a practice that not only further enabled individuals to "recognize themselves in each other," but also served as a means of encouraging unity by drawing group boundaries around a previously segregated workforce, a topic I will discuss in more detail in the following section (ibid.).

Mathieu's recollection of the worker strike in 1995 is also significant because it highlights the presence of music during collective action and in direct confrontations with crew leaders and growers:

> Sometimes [crew leaders] tried to sneak to different places to find workers… It was like a big *rara* band. Walking in the street is not something you do in a small group. Back then there were a lot of Haitians! We formed bands and played music… we would beat drums to keep our spirits up. We demanded $5.25 an hour. At that time we were only getting $4.00. So we made noise, sang, made more noise, because you know, your spirit has to be up! We have to be in high spirits – Haitians, Mexicans, and Guatemalans – we have to make noise when doing a protest, and walking here and there. (Beaucicot 2010)

The Pantry Shelf parking lot where workers ordinarily gathered in search of daily work had been transformed into a festive, outdoor dance hall filled with the sounds of hand drums and song. In a follow-up question with Mathieu, he clarified that when crew leaders attempted to recruit a small number of workers by driving the buses to alternative empty lots and offering temporary raises, farmworkers would signal to each other – musically – where the buses were headed. Guided by the sound of roving *rara* bands, workers were alerted to the locations of the buses, where they quickly surrounded them and prevented them from either recruiting workers or departing for the fields.

During the height of the strike, the CIW captured a photo of a Haitian woman standing in front of a bus with her hands in the air, motioning that she was not going to let it pass. Mural paintings and photos of this iconic image are still displayed prominently in the CIW community center today. The *Naples Daily News*[46] captured the defiant expression on the face of Joseph Denis, a Haitian farmworker and painter, as he was shoved in the back of a police car after being arrested for blocking traffic in Immokalee (Hernandez 1995). But what was not captured in these images was the soundtrack of the strike – the songs, chants, and rhythms that the farmworkers generated as they actively mobilized and directly confronted their bosses.

Listening to the thirty-minute video recording[47] that a member of the CIW shot while documenting moments during the first two days of the strike, one can hear throughout the entirety of the recording improvised rhythms being played in the Haitian

[46] See reference citation, Hernandez, Ruben. 1995. One arrested; strike support grows. *Naples Daily News*. November 15.
[47] I obtained the video from the CIW with their permission and digitized the VHS tape and transferred it to a DVD for their archive.

rara tradition (Coalition of Immokalee Workers 1995). Men and women sang together, "senk dola vennsenk" [five dollar twenty five (cents)]! (see figure 4.1 in appendix).

In her book *Rara! Vodou, Power, and Performance in Haiti and Its Diaspora*, McAlister asserts that *rara* is about "play, religion, and politics and also about remembering a bloody history and persevering in its face" (McAlister 2002, 23). Moreover, she describes the social organization of *rara* bands as "self-organized peasant groups," which can be understood as "the prepolitical forerunners of the contemporary grassroots popular organizations that make up the democratic peasant movement" (McAlister 2002, 136). By performing *rara* in the streets of Immokalee, farmworkers were translating a performance repertoire utilized in peasant movements in Haiti into a new transnational context. By employing the carnivalesque "dancing down the road" performative code of *rara*, farmworkers adapted the *rara* form traditionally utilized in Haiti into the context of a strike in Immokalee, where the performance form enabled farmworkers to signal to the collective group and move swiftly from one bus to another as crew leaders tried to covertly recruit strikebreakers (McAlister 2002, 43). Just as importantly, the performance of *rara* – with its drumming, singing, and dancing – also worked to "keep [workers'] spirits up" in the face of police intimidation, angry crew leaders, and the possibility of never being rehired (Beaucicot 2010). While it was primarily Haitian workers who led the *rara* performances and sang in Kreyòl, Mathieu also clarified in a follow-up interview that Mexican and Guatemalan workers also performed on the hand drums. In the video footage, Spanish-speaking workers can be seen dancing along to the music and shouting "cinco veinticinco!" [five twenty-five!] (CIW 1995).

Interethnic Collective Identity Formation: The General Strike of 1995

The only brief pauses in music making at the 1995 strike occur during the short speeches workers made through the megaphone. Workers' discourse, captured in the VHS video during the strike, reveals insight into the process in which diverse farmworkers formed and strengthened a collective identity. By bringing together theoretical contributions of new social movement theorists Melucci (1989) and Taylor and Whittier (1992), the process of collective identity can be understood as involving three constituting practices:

> 1) Activating relationships among actors who communicate, negotiate, and make decisions (Melucci 1989, 35)
>
> 2) Making emotional investments that enable individuals to recognize themselves in each other (Melucci 1989, 35)
>
> 3) Forming of group boundaries that establish differences between a challenging group and dominant groups (Taylor and Whittier 1992, 173)

The third practice, the forming of group boundaries, was prevalent in the workers' speeches, which overwhelmingly focused on one or a combination of three themes: 1) bosses versus workers, 2) families back home, 3) ethnic identity.

While the speeches were very informal and improvised on the spot, they were also filled with emotion and induced collective responses from the crowd. In one speech, Christal addressed his fellow strikers in Kreyòl in a call and response that differentiated workers from their bosses/companies:

> Christal: We know that it is us who are giving the bosses their jobs. If we don't work, will the bosses receive a paycheck?
> Crowd: No!
> Christal: If we are not working, will the companies make money?
> Crowd: No!
> (CIW 1995)

Similarly, on the second day of the strike, in the darkness of a pre-dawn gathering of returning strikers, Lucas addressed the crowd in Spanish:

> Lucas: Yesterday, at the end of our first day of the strike, one of the bosses said:
> "All of you are going to come back to work."
> "What do you mean?" we asked.
> "Because you are hungry."
> Workers: [Exclamations of outrage]
> Lucas: Are we going to let them treat us with such disrespect?
> Workers: No!
> (CIW 1995)

In these and many other speeches made by the strikers, workers consistently reinforced boundaries between "us" and "them." The crew leaders and bosses ("them") were described not by racial, ethnic, or physical terms, but by their privileged class positions, which was dependent upon worker complicity and exploitation. Christal highlighted how bosses and companies rely on the exploitation of workers to turn profits and Lucas emphasized the arrogance of bosses and their interest in maintaining workers' hunger and poverty. In contrast, when defining themselves and the reasons for the strike, the workers often referenced their families "back home." One Haitian worker, with a large drum strapped across his body, gave a passionate testimony to his fellow farmworkers (in Kreyòl):

> We can't have them pay us $3.85! We have to send money back home to Haiti! We have to feed people… to feed children, to give them clothes. This money is not enough!
> (CIW 1995)

Testaments such as these, which referenced workers' immigration experience – one characterized by separation from families in hopes of providing them food and clothing and basic life necessities – resonated with the large majority of farmworkers. The sharing of these common experiences among diverse immigrant workers in situations

of high emotional intensity contributed to the second process of collective identity formation, namely, the cultivation of emotional investments that enable farmworkers to recognize themselves in each other.

But the critical question in understanding collective identity among farmworkers in Immokalee is not simply about whether or not it was able to form. Rather, one must inquire into if and how collective identity was able to coalesce in the context of ethnic diversity. How did ethnicity play into the process of collective identity formation? Although Jung (2006) poses the following questions in terms of race, they are equally relevant for a community that is continually challenged by ethnic diversity: Did ethnicity recede in significance for farmworkers in Immokalee as they forged an interethnic class solidarity? Or did the farmworkers come to rearticulate or "rework" ethnicity, rather than erase ethnic difference, in the process of collective identity formation?

The few primary sources that document intergroup dynamics of the CIW in its early years, such as the video footage of the 1995 strike, suggest that farmworkers began to frequently articulate different countries of origin and identify themselves and fellow workers in ethnic terms, especially when discussing shared class-based goals and concerns. This is clearly exemplified when, near the end of the first day of the strike while participants were still drumming, dancing, and discussing the plans for the following day, one worker took the megaphone and addressed the crowd:

> All of us, united, we're going to achieve the wage we want, with the support of all of us workers! Let's unite, especially us Latinos, right? Mexicans, Guatemalans, everyone! Because if we continue the way we are (separated), all is lost!
> [Wanting to summarize and translate the message quickly, a Haitian worker took the megaphone and spoke in Kreyòl]
> "Our comrades from Guatemala and Mexico just spoke and they said they are joining out on the streets and coming together with us for something good!" (CIW 1995)

What is most significant about these statements, and many others like it throughout the video, is that when workers called for unity, or of being one collective force, they articulated and identified each other in terms of ethnicity. Rather than negating difference in favor of a discourse based solely on shared class interests, the workers articulated their "homelands" and a common experience of transnational migration. Moreover, while the formation of the coalition was indeed interracial – a coming together of workers with various shades of black and brown skin – the boundaries that divided the farmworkers were defined and constructed (and later deconstructed) in terms of language and geographic origin, rather than race. The first worker statement, for example, emphasized previous intra-racial divisions among Latinos in Immokalee and reflected a desire for Mexicans and Guatemalans to join together so that they could "achieve the wage [they] want[ed]."

The impact of the strike on the development of collective identity and positive relationships among previously segregated ethnic groups is exemplified in a statement by Alicia Chavez, one of the many farmworker leaders of the strike, who described in an interview with the *St. Petersburg Times* several weeks after the strike, "I used to cross the street when I saw Haitians… Now we wave and say 'how are you?'" (Aschoff 1995).

While videos of the strike and newspaper coverage during and after the strike provide documentation of the unity achieved by diverse farmworkers, the question of how they were initially able to overcome their differences remains. Greg Asbed, who was present at the formation of the CIW and the early meetings among farmworkers, and helped translate between Haitian Kreyòl and Spanish, provided insight on this issue.

> We called ourselves the Coalition because it was exactly that – we had different groups coming together under one banner. And if you look at the painting in the office, you see the thing they're holding up, what it says? It's in Kreyòl, it says "Immigrant." In their hands, there's a paper they're holding up like this (demonstrates), and it says "immigrant" in Kreyòl. And so basically, it was people coming together as immigrant workers across lines. We talked about it a lot – ethnic differences between workers – we had a saying at the time: A worker is a worker is a worker. That was one of our initial philosophies that kind of helped us overcome those things and make people think about it. We'd start a discussion around that idea, and the discussion would be "that's great, you may see yourself as Haitian, or indigenous, or whatever you see yourself as, but what do you think the system you find yourself in – which determines whether you're poor or comfortable – how do you think that system sees you? Does it care about where you come from? Does it care about who you are? It just wants to squeeze you for your labor! It doesn't care if today you're Haitian or tomorrow you're indigenous, and it has squeezed people forever. Doesn't matter who they were. And if we don't stop dividing our own selves it will keep doing it forever." So that was very much a part of our initial discussions – asking them to consider not how they see the world but how the world sees them – and in particular, where they find themselves now. (Asbed 2010)

According to Greg's testimony, dialogues figured prominently in the process of forging unity among workers. And in these dialogues, workers directly addressed issues of ethnic difference and collectively analyzed how these differences related to a larger "system" – or "how the world sees them." The system, they realized, did not care about workers' ethnic identity or "where they come from," only that they could be exploited for profit (for this reason, farmworkers in Immokalee still jokingly refer to growers as "equal opportunity exploiters"). The farmworkers concluded that ending worker divisions was the only way to prevent the system from "[squeezing them] forever" (ibid.).

After all, a strike of only Mexicans, or only Haitians could be easily defeated by the recruitment of workers from other ethnic group(s), who would likely fill the empty positions and take advantage of the decreased competition in the labor supply. While the saying "a worker is a worker is a worker" came out of this analysis of the larger system of exploitation, evidence suggests that farmworkers did not disregard ethnic differences

in generating worker unity. In fact, the discourse throughout the strike, the symbols in murals, and the incorporation of cultural repertoires from workers' diverse homelands into CIW's popular education methods suggest that a heightened articulation of ethnic identity – primarily through a discourse of nation-state homelands – has helped develop and maintain interethnic cohesion among workers.

Keeping ethnic identities alive, rather than attempting to erase them, is likely effective because ethnic differences among workers – which are largely determined by where they originate – are so apparent. Farmworkers in Immokalee not only speak different languages, but they also listen to different music, eat different food, and have diverse perspectives and experiences of social movement participation based on the political contexts of their homelands. These traditions are actively maintained in different diasporic communities throughout Immokalee, and newly arrived immigrants seek out and associate with these communities to find people, languages, sounds, and smells that remind them of home.[48] If the CIW ignores workers' ethnic identities and refrains from recognizing differences, farmworkers would likely be more susceptible to crew leader tactics that frequently use these ethnic differences to taunt and divide workers. They would also be vulnerable to internal strains arising from the constant arrival of new workers who are much more likely to associate with people within their own ethnic group than recognize a shared class interest with people who speak a different language or look different from them.

This forthright acknowledgement of different ethnic identities, rather than serving as a divisive force, actually worked to validate farmworkers' individual identities in the

[48] In multiple farmworker oral histories and interviews, participants recalled a strong desire to find people and things that reminded them of home when they first arrived in Immokalee.

isolating and disorienting experience of transnational migration. Immigrants' identification with an ethnic group that was recognized and celebrated by the CIW became the means through which they came to identify with the larger coalition. And in the diverse context of CIW meetings, cultural practices, and actions in Immokalee, a heightened discourse of ethnicity was coupled to narratives of shared experiences of immigration and worker abuse. Thus, the identity of "immigrant worker," which enabled workers to relate to a diverse membership and see themselves in each other – while still valuing the language and culture of their individual homelands – became the unifying force of the interethnic collective identity achieved in Immokalee.

Oral History: Greg Asbed (see oral history appendix)

Greg's experience in Haiti working alongside *animateurs* [animators] of the peasant movement greatly influenced the trajectory of his life and his decision to work alongside farmworkers in the United States, helping lay the foundations of the Coalition of Immokalee Workers. What is most significant for the study of social movements and transnational processes, however, is the question of how, and to what degree, the Haitian peasant movement influenced the emerging farmworker movement in Immokalee. While the influence was indeed significant, largely through the physical migration of movement participants from Haiti to Immokalee in the early 1990s, the farmworker movement did not develop as an extension or transplant of the peasant movement. The movements did not collaborate together on single campaigns or policy issues. Rather, select social movement cultural repertoires from the Haitian peasant movement were transplanted and adapted to address the particular challenges of mobilizing Immokalee's farmworker community – namely, the population's migratory instability and ethnic diversity.

The example of the Haitian *rara* bands in the 1995 strike demonstrates how movement participants carried one cultural repertoire in the Haitian peasant movement into the context of Immokalee through transnational migration. The adapted "dancing down the road" performative code allowed singing strikers to chase down grower-owned buses, and the hand-drum instrumentation and repetitive chorus line enabled the participation of diverse farmworkers unfamiliar with the *rara* tradition. In addition to musical repertoires that were carried and adapted by farmworkers themselves, social movement repertoires were also introduced in Immokalee through cultural exchanges that the CIW arranged with Haitian peasant movement leaders.

At the commencement of the 1994 –1995 harvest season[49], the CIW invited Chavannes Jean-Baptiste, the founder of the Peasant Movement of Papaye (Mouvment Peyizan Papaye, MPP), to Immokalee to hold a two-week training program for Haitian leaders in the community. In the context of the Haitian peasant movement, Jean-Baptiste implemented a very effective, participatory training process in which movement leaders were trained to be animators in popular education techniques. These participants would spend two weeks in intensive leadership training at a center based in the city of Hinche [Ench], and then disperse throughout the entire country to mobilize people in their local districts. The resources and efforts of the peasant movement were thus directed to developing strong leaders and animators, who would utilize various popular education techniques to animate people and raise consciousness in stable, multigenerational communities. However, when the CIW attempted to implement this same organizing model in Immokalee after the training with Jean-Baptiste, it became clear that dedicating

[49] Exact date unknown to movement participants.

scant movement resources to intense leadership training in an unstable, highly mobile community with significant turnover would be unsustainable. In a follow-up interview, Greg Asbed explained:

> Haitian workers in Immokalee benefitted greatly from the trainings, but where you can put a lot of resources into institutional leaders in Haiti, in the Immokalee setting, we have a constant erosion of leadership due to the nature of the migrant community. What we had to do was shift the mix a little bit, because we couldn't use the same recipe in this context. We began with the same principles: a broad base of horizontal leadership and consciousness as the driving force behind action. But in Immokalee, we had to reverse the process – we increased the popular education side of things and put resources there. In that process, we created an environment where natural leaders, leaders who are self-selected, can rise from the community. (Asbed 2011)

In this way, the mobilizing model and philosophy that Jean-Baptiste shared with Haitian farmworkers in the intensive trainings were strategically adapted by the CIW to take into account the challenges of a migratory workforce. The end result was a mobilizing strategy where resources were directed to popular education – not permanent leaders – so that leadership and consciousness could develop out of the farmworker community every season. Such a strategy allowed the CIW to more easily regenerate farmworker leaders every season and decrease its dependency on the annual return of a few, intensely trained "leaders." But just as it had adapted the Haitian peasant movement's mobilizing model to address the challenge of Immokalee's migrant labor force, the CIW also adapted the Haitian popular education repertoire to confront the challenge that ethnic diversity posed to building a cohesive farmworker movement.

Popular Education: Visual Art, Theater, Music and the Maintenance of a Cohesive Movement

The indigenous Mayan and Mexican popular education traditions the CIW would come to incorporate arrived in Immokalee either via farmworkers' transnational journeys

or through CIW's partnership with organizations in "transcultural advocacy networks" (TCANs) (Dellacioppa 2009).[50]

These cultural repertoires – such as the visual art made by CIW members involved in the Haitian peasant movement, popular theater brought to Immokalee by a Mayan theater troupe from Chiapas, and music performances by workers from Mexico – contributed to the achievement of three indicators of social movement successes: the formation of a cohesive movement[51] amidst significant obstacles to mobilization (indicator #1), a decrease in violence in the fields (one material improvement, indicator #2), and the creation of a social movement community where farmworkers could experiment in living desired social alternatives (indicator #3). They did this by helping to 1) maintain and further strengthen the interethnic collective identity achieved during the 1995 strike among new waves of migrant workers, 2) develop and maintain consciousness, and 3) create a sense of place and a home community for transient workers who both transnational and intra-national migrants.

Following the momentous 1995 strike, the members of the newly formed coalition continued to meet, and decided in early 1996 to become incorporated as a 501(c)3 organization and rent office space for a farmworker community center at 215 West Main Street, a block away from the Pantry Shelf parking lot. CIW members[52] agreed that the coalition needed more permanent staff that could provide continuity to the organization's

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[50] Dellacioppa (2009) refers to her term TCAN as "transcultural advocacy network" on page 5, where she introduces the concept. However, in her index and in chapter five, she refers to it as "transcultural activist network." In order to be consistent with the "transnational advocacy networks" (TANs) developed by Keck and Sikkink (1998) to whom she is responding to, I refer to TCANs in this text as "transcultural advocacy networks."

[51] I define cohesive movement as one with a collective identity, consciousness, and solidarity. I discuss issues of solidarity in later chapters.

[52] "Membership" in the Coalition does not require payment of dues of any kind. The CIW, however, does provide a laminated member-card that serves also as a form of identification for the price of ten dollars.

work, but who would also remain accountable to a general assembly of farmworkers. Based on the horizontal organizing model of the Haitian peasant movement, these staff members would be elected from among the workers themselves, because the organization needed "people not in the fields all day, but from the fields" (Asbed 2010).

The horizontal structure would also guard against the making of an elite-controlled organization (such as having a "CEO" or "president") and staff members' pay would be determined based on the average farmworker wage. This structure would also reflect the coalition's philosophy, "*todos somos líderes*" [we are all leaders]. Thus, even when the informal coalition of Haitian, Mexican, and Guatemalan farmworkers became more formalized as a non-profit organization, its structure originated from the workers' transnational roots in peasant movements rather than the predominant hierarchical union organizing structure in the United States. One staff member described the difference to me this way: in Immokalee, it is "a community organizing," not "community organizing" (Reyes Chávez 2010).

As an eventful harvest season drew to a close that spring of 1996, the farmworkers in Immokalee looked back at all they had accomplished. They had successfully mobilized across ethnic lines and communicated with each other (often times in three or more languages), enabling them to devise and carry out a strike that prevented the implementation of a severe wage cut. With their combined resources and donations from area churches and supporters, the workers were able to rent space and establish a horizontal organizational structure comprised of and held accountable to farmworkers.

By late April, farmworkers began to pack up their few belongings and head north along the East Coast migrant stream. Along their journeys, many would stop in Georgia to pick peaches and watermelons and head as far as Delaware and New York to pick blueberries, apples, and cucumbers. When the tomatoes began to ripen in Immokalee in late August, the farmworker staff of the CIW conducted a survey of the returning workers. To their surprise, they found that "80 percent of the workers that participated or were in the area during the strike had moved on" (Hernandez 1996). In practice, a highly migratory farmworker population – both in terms of the East Coast annual migrant stream and the initial third to first world transnational migration – meant that the CIW would have to renew the interethnic collective identity that had already been achieved, reeducate and develop consciousness, and retell the history of the farmworker movement in Immokalee to an almost entirely new group of workers, many of whom were illiterate.

To accomplish this, the CIW would draw from the diverse popular education traditions of its farmworker membership and initiate partnerships within transcultural advocacy networks (TCANs). The CIW combined the visual arts, theater, and music from these sources into a hybridized social movement cultural repertoire that developed an interethnic collective identity – through an emphasis on geographic origins and shared experiences of migration – and consciousness among returning and newly arrived workers.

Visual Art

The first object that was placed on the walls of the new community center was an 8x8-foot painting intended to capture the spirit of the farmworkers' emerging movement (see visual appendix 4.1). Painted by Joseph Denis, the same farmworker arrested during

the strike, the bright and colorful image served as a portable mural and was hung prominently in the main hall to greet every guest to the space (and remains in the same position in the new community center built in 2007). At its center are five workers in the foreground and others in the background, all standing at the zenith of a blue/green earth in front of a sunrise, with their fists raised in the air. But above their heads, their fists join together into one large brown hand grasping a white banner that says "*IMMIGRAN*" [immigrant, in Kreyòl]. Above this hand, "The Coalition of Immokalee Workers" is painted in white. To the left of the group of workers is inscribed "*Yon Sel Fos*," and to the right, "*Una Sola Fuerza*" [One Sole Force/Strength]. Below the workers and in front of the globe is inscribed "Kowalisyon Travaye nan Immokalee" and "*La Coalicion de Trab[a]jadores de Immokalee*" [The Coalition of Immokalee Workers] in Kreyòl and Spanish.

But less obvious in the painting are the words meticulously inscribed on the workers' clothing: "Mexico," on a man's sombrero, "Guatemala," on a man's baseball cap, "Honduras," on a woman's purple dress, and "U.S." on a man's white t-shirt, and in the center, "Haiti," on a woman's red headscarf (see visual appendix 4.2). This re-articulation of ethnic difference through the identification of workers' various nation-state origins is a visual representation of the kind of interethnic collective identity achieved by the CIW, formed not by the erasing of ethnicity in favor of a working-class politics, but rather, by emphasizing ethnic identities to enable workers to recognize their common immigrant experience.

In addition to representing a past interethnic coalition, the painting and the prominence of its location in the community center also served and continue to spark

interest and discussion among newly arrived immigrant workers in Immokalee. Even for the many workers who are unable to read, they are able to see and interpret the painting's portrayal of people with different skin colors and styles of clothing standing together and forming one powerful fist, all the while standing on top of the world, as a symbol of collective power through unity.

In addition to this painting, visual art forms such as sketches and drawings constituted an important part of the early cultural repertoires utilized in CIW's popular education techniques that seek to develop and maintain critical consciousness among farmworkers. The particular popular education form employed in Immokalee largely reflects the pedagogical philosophy of Freire ([1970] 2000), and is a result of a process of hybridization incorporating cultural practices from farmworkers' previous participation in peasant movements, particularly those in Haiti and southern Mexico.

Popular education in Immokalee is grounded in Freire's pedagogical philosophy that views *conscientização* [conscientization] of members of an oppressed group as a process involving participants who are at once both students and teachers capable of critical analysis and the development of strategic actions for their own liberation (Freire [1970] 2000, 67-69). Just as there is not a single "charismatic leader" among the farmworkers, there is not a single "teacher" enlightening passive students. Rather, based on the role of the "animator"[53] in the Haitian peasant movement, farmworker staff and more experienced farmworkers seek to animate, rather than organize, newly arrived workers, which recognizes the knowledge these workers have acquired in their previous relations with the world.

[53] For more on the role of the animator in rural Haiti, see Maguire 1984.

Elements of CIW's movement cultural repertoire, including paintings, drawings, popular theater, and music, are central in the popular education methodology of the farmworker movement, as they are used to raise issues and generate critical discussion among workers who are encouraged to participate as both student and teacher. Based on workers' own experiences, the group discusses a problem in the community and how it plays out in their daily lives, collectively analyzes the problem's root causes, and generates ideas for action.

These dialogues among workers who educate each other as both students and teachers are central in the process of consciousness-raising in Immokalee. To spark these dialogues in practice, the CIW utilizes a variety of cultural forms in its popular education methods. To demonstrate how these forms of popular education likely contributed to consciousness-raising among farmworkers during the early years of the organization, I assess consciousness based on contributions from resource mobilization theorists McAdam (1982) and Piven and Cloward (1979). McAdam conceives of consciousness as "cognitive liberation," which he describes as necessary in order for collective protest to begin (McAdam 1982, 51). Most essential in this concept of cognitive liberation is the process through which people "collectively define their situations as unjust and subject to change through group action" (ibid.). Piven and Cloward conceive of a transformation of consciousness necessary for "the emergence of a social movement" as consisting of three "necessary cognitions": people must recognize their arrangements as "unjust," assert their "rights," and believe they can "alter their lot" (Piven and Cloward 1979, 3-4).

In the early years of the farmworker movement in Immokalee, drawings on fliers that were distributed by CIW members were the primary means through which the

Coalition first communicated with new farmworkers. The themes or messages of the drawings were discussed and determined during weekly meetings by farmworker staff and sketched by Greg Asbed, who had developed his drawing skills alongside animators in the Haitian peasant movement. These drawings generally fell into two categories: one, the depiction of injustice, or two, the emphasis on collective efforts, both of which could be interpreted without written explanation, thereby increasing accessibility to those farmworkers who could not read. The drawings were accompanied by written commentary in either Spanish or Kreyòl and included an invitation to the weekly worker meeting at the community center (where the group discussed the problem/message presented on the flier), both of which were articulated verbally by the CIW member when distributing the flier.

Drawing #1 (see figure 4.2 in appendix)[54] is an example of a flier that depicts injustice. The drawing features a farmworker wearing a CIW hat stooped over a 40-cent bucket in the field furiously picking tomatoes. Sitting on his back is a chubby crew leader with a mustache, and on his shoulder, a man wearing sunglasses and a business suit eating a snack and enjoying himself. The businessman is passing down a dollar bill to the crew leader, who then passes a penny down to the farmworker. To the left of this scene is the written commentary:

> Fellow worker: What does this look like to you? It's true, this is our current state! We do all the work and they pay us pennies, while those who don't work earn dollars! We carry them as if we were donkeys and they live off of our sweat. Don't you think it's time to raise the price of the bucket? Organize yourself and make a change!

[54] These drawings can be located in CIW's organizational archives. The drawings as they appear in the appendix are from Payne (2000), which preserved the drawings in their near-original condition. CIW has granted permission to include these fliers in this dissertation.

Drawing #2 (see figure 4.3 in appendix) is another example of a visual depiction of injustice. The scene is at a dinner table. Two men with large bellies, dressed in ties and fancy watches (with "*ellos*" [them] written on their pants) are seated around the table smoking cigars and admiring a Christmas Day feast with turkey, wine, and candles lighting the spread. However, the table is sitting on the backs of farmworkers (with "*nosotros*" [us] written across their shirts) who are on their knees, eyes wide with pain, supporting the weight of the feast. Written below the scene is the statement:

> Fellow worker - in this holy week, you only have to look at how the growers are compared to how we are... They have their holidays and their big feasts, but on the backs of whom? Of us! All the while we will never have a day of paid vacation. They have their vacation and we have nothing but a lost day of work! Why is this?

Both of these drawings distributed to farmworkers in Immokalee, ordinary experiences for farmworkers – that of working in the fields and the lack of work or holiday meal – are presented. However, these situations are contextualized in relation to an economic system and workers' positions of exploitation are set in contrast to others who profit within that system – specifically, growers and crew leaders. These drawings, particularly when discussed in a popular education setting, were critical in developing a consciousness among workers that the "institutional arrangements" of farm labor and the authority of growers and contractors were "unjust and wrong," the first requirement in both the cognitive liberation and necessary cognitions frameworks.

The second necessary cognition outlined by Piven and Cloward is the assertion of "rights that imply demands for change" (Piven and Cloward 1977, 4). While I examine and discuss the issue of "rights" and the transformation of CIW's rights language over time in Chapter Seven, I demonstrate here that during the early years in which

farmworkers began developing a consciousness of rights, artistic popular education tools helped articulate and communicate these rights to new waves of migrant workers.

Consider Drawing #3 (see figure 4.4 in appendix), which depicts a farmworker arriving at his new living quarters after days of travel from his home country, only to be brought to a dingy trailer home owned by his boss. Next to this scene is a depiction of the inside of the trailer, which lacks enough beds for all of the workers and has rats scurrying across the floor. Below the drawing, workers' rights under federal health and safety laws and H-2A employer requirements are outlined:

> It doesn't matter if the owner of the house isn't your boss. The law says the you have the right to:
> - A clean bed for every person
> - Good stoves with burners that work
> - Clean and functioning bathrooms
> - Showers with cold and warm water
> - Sturdy houses that have good walls, roofs, and floors
> - A house without rodents, cockroaches, or other insects
>
> You have come to work hard. You deserve - and have the right by law - to have a decent place where you can live comfortably.

On another flier, Drawing #4 (see figure 4.5 in appendix), a man is pictured sitting in a rocking chair with a gun in his hand and next to him is a text bubble with his thoughts, "If anyone tries to escape without paying me, I'll kill him!" Next to this image is the text:

> Field... or prison?
> Whether or not you have papers, your boss doesn't have the right to control your life. The law says: the field is your home.
>
> Therefore:
> - You are free to leave whenever you want, even if the boss or transporter says you owe them money.
> - You don't have to work by force.
> - You can buy whatever you want, wherever you want, from whomever you want.
> - No one has the right to take away or keep your papers.

- You have the right to decide who you want to visit you.

Remember this: Your boss can give you work, but that does not mean that you give up your freedom to him in how you are treated. If the boss says that you owe him money or if he is holding you against your will, call the Coalition of Immokalee Workers.

Coupled with discussions of the fliers' content during meetings, the fliers provided a highly accessible medium through which farmworkers were able to learn about their rights. Equipped with this knowledge, farmworkers began reporting rights abuses to the CIW staff, who would then confront growers and alert relevant authorities. Most notably, fliers of Drawing #4 were covertly given to farmworkers at a labor camp near Lake Placid, Florida on Palm Sunday in 2001 after the CIW was alerted of a possible slavery operation (Bowe 2007, 62). Several days later, the CIW received a call from a worker who had received the flier and said that he and others workers were not allowed to leave. After the FBI refused to intervene based on a perceived lack of evidence, the CIW arranged the escape of three workers who were being held against their will. These three workers became key witnesses in the 2004 slavery case prosecuted by the U.S. Department of Justice, *U.S. v. Ramos et al.* The accused, Ramiro and Juan Ramos, who oversaw more than 700 workers in Florida and North Carolina, were found guilty of slavery and firearms charges and were each sentenced to 15 years in prison.

The third and final "necessary cognition" articulated by Piven and Cloward (1979) is "a new sense of efficacy," or what McAdam (1982) describes as a belief that an injustice is "subject to change through group action." Popular education drawings such as Drawing #5 (see figure 4.6 in appendix), which was created in 1998, demonstrate that farmworkers of the CIW believed that if they worked together collectively, they could achieve a just wage. In the drawing, three different time periods are shown. In the first

time period, entitled “The Last 20 Years,” a single worker is pulling with all his might in a game of tug of war with a fat “ranchero” [grower] as other workers stand behind him apathetically with their arms crossed. The center tie is stuck at 40 cents, representing the price of the 32 lb. tomato bucket. In the second time period “The Year 1998,” three workers join him, and they are able to tug the center tie to 45 cents. The grower must pull harder and begins to look concerned. In the final time period, entitled “The Year 2000…?,” a large group of workers tugs together and the tie passes the 75 cent mark, with a grower being pulled helplessly on his belly. Below this is inscribed, “Raising the pay can still be done, we just have to pull together!” Not only did popular education technique such as this drawing spark discussions and develop a belief that collective action could lead to a just and increased pay in the future, it also served the crucial task of demonstrating CIW’s history of effective collective action and previous gains to newly arrived workers in the community.

Popular Theater

The task of maintaining a social movement community by re-teaching the Coalition’s history to new workers and developing consciousness among them each harvest season was not an easy one. While visual art and drawings distributed to workers before meetings were thought-provoking and sparked the themes of weekly discussions, CIW staff realized they would need to employ more participatory forms of popular education if they were to create a space where workers could open up and discuss difficult issues such as degrading treatment or incidents of physical violence in the fields. Ending such abuses first required that farmworkers recognize them as collective problems, not individual troubles.

In order to pursue more participatory forms of popular education, the Coalition connected with cultural initiatives based in many of its members' home state of Chiapas, Mexico. In the spring of 1994, the Southwest Florida Farmworker Project (the organizational precursor to the CIW) invited a Mayan theater troupe to perform in Immokalee and help train farmworker members in popular theater. The group, *Sna Jtz'ibajom* [House of the Writer], was founded in 1982 in San Cristóbal de las Casas in Chiapas with the assistance of Dr. Robert Laughlin, an anthropologist at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, DC. During that first visit, the members of *Sna Jtz'ibajom* performed the play "*De Todos Para Todos*" [From All, For All] that depicted the armed Zapatista uprising that occurred just three months before on January 1, 1994, the day the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) went into effect. In the words of Tziak Tza'pat Tz'it, a *Sna Jtz'ibajom* actor, "[*De Todos Para Todos*] reflects our beliefs and convictions about the causes of the Zapatista movement, which surprised the entire world with its armed uprising" (Smithsonian Institution).

Unlike conventional theater, where audiences passively observe the stage and do not interact with actors, audience participation is central to the popular theater tradition employed by *Sna Jtz'ibajom*. After the performances, the actors return to the stage and engage in dialogue with the audience about the theme or message of the play. In Immokalee, this dialogue focused on the experience of social, political, and cultural exclusion and poverty that both communities shared, and how the struggles of indigenous people in Chiapas were connected to those of farmworkers in Immokalee. Most importantly, the dialogues also sought to explore the root causes of the problems that their communities faced, both on the sending and receiving ends of transnational labor

migration. After his first visit to Immokalee, Xun Teratol, an actor with *Sna Jtz'ibajom*, shared his thoughts on the connection between the two communities and the underlying cause of their poverty:

> Parts of Mexico have industry, technology, and other signs of progress, but Chiapas remains a poor agricultural state, the poorest in the country, and one of the poorest regions in the world. People are destitute. There are few opportunities for finding work and, since the North American Free Trade Agreement, our native corn is being displaced by hybrid corn imported from the United States. Industrial corn is only good for feeding pigs. It has no soul, like our corn that was a gift from the gods. Their corn is cheaper, and now we can't count on a local market where we can sell our harvest. Because of this, many of our countrymen have to emigrate to the U.S. in search of jobs. They think that migrant work will be better than starving or suffering under the military oppression that has followed the Zapatista Rebellion. (Smithsonian Institution)

These dialogues were fundamental in the process of popular education – of shared learning and teaching grounded in a collective examination of lived experiences – both for the farmworkers in Immokalee as well as for the actors of *Sna Jtz'ibajom*. While the theater actors actively participated or aligned themselves with the Zapatista movement, and recognized friends and relatives they knew from Chiapas working as farm laborers in Immokalee,[55] it is an overstatement to conclude, as Dellacioppa (2009) does,[56] that the CIW is some sort of transplant of the Zapatista movement (Dellacioppa 2009, 149-152). In writing about the origins of the CIW, Sellers (2009) warns against the "tendency to

[55] See Hernandez, Ruben. 1997. Act 1 for new farmworker theater troupe in Immokalee. *Naples Daily News*. March 24.

[56] Kara Zugman Dellacioppa, published formerly as Kara Zugman, substantiates her claims with statements such as "The CIW, like the Zapatistas, used the Internet to connect with a multitude of communities." Her primary source, Ellen Leary (2005), which she describes as a "former organizer with the CIW" is, as Sellers (2009) clarifies, a former United Auto Workers member who volunteers with the CIW when she resides in Naples during the winter months (see Sellers 2009, footnote 95.) Therefore, Dellacioppa's reliance on Leary's statements that CIW's ally organizing network reflects "their Zapatista heritage" is questionable as evidence for her conclusions (Dellacioppa 2009, 150). Moreover, Dellacioppa's numerous references to the CIW as the Coalition "for" Immokalee Workers is also indicative of the lack of familiarity she has with the movement (see 2009: ix, 26, 152)

ascribe Zapatista origins to any overlap between the movements' philosophies" (Sellers 2009, 109).

I argue that the CIW is neither an offshoot nor completely independent of Zapatista movement. Rather, the influence of Zapatismo on the CIW is a balance between these two competing explanations. Unlike the Zapatista movement, which takes a firm stance of autonomous, armed resistance against the Mexican state with spokespeople such as Subcomandante Marcos communicating the movement's positions and ideologies, the CIW collaborates with the local Sheriff Department and federal officials in its Anti-Slavery Campaign and strongly rejects the promotion of any sort of individual, charismatic leader.

However, Zapatismo's analysis and critique of neoliberal economic globalization and fervent commitment to local self-determination likely influenced CIW's development of similar positions,[57] although the means and extent through which this took place – directly through transnational migration, collaboratively through cultural exchanges, or indirectly through the spread of news and information – is difficult to determine.

While Dellacioppa overemphasizes the role of the Zapatistas in CIW's origins, her theoretical development of transcultural advocacy networks (TCAN) is especially informative in understanding CIW's relationships with other national and transnational movements (Dellacioppa 2009). Dellacioppa describes the concept of TCAN as involving "a social process that develops the translocal and transcultural connections across national and cultural borders," which differs from Keck and Sikkink's (1998) work on

[57] The influence of the Zapatistas is also evident in the annual *encuentro* [gathering/encouter] hosted in Immokalee by the Student Farmworker Alliance during the height of the Campaign for Fair Food (2005-2010, 2012). The name is derived from the Zapatista's First *Intercontinental Encuentro for Humanity and Against Neoliberalism* in Chiapas in the summer of 1996, and subsequent *encuentros*, which was a forum created by the Zapatistas to meet and strategize with a broader activist network outside of Chiapas.

transnational advocacy networks (TANs) in that it focuses on "political culture and political vision rather than working for a singular policy change" (Dellacioppa 2009, 5).

Transcultural advocacy networks accurately describe CIW's relationship with the Haitian peasant movement, as well as with indigenous struggles in southern Mexico. Rather than importing wholesale the strategies and goals of these movements to address one common issue or policy, the CIW selectively incorporated political ideas (such as horizontal leadership structures) and cultural repertoires (drawings of Haitian animators and popular theater of indigenous movements in southern Mexico) from many of its members' home communities into hybridized cultural practices adapted to confront the challenges of diversity and displacement among farmworkers in Immokalee.

Thus, in understanding CIW's relationship with *Sna Jtz'ibajom* as one of many transcultural connections the organization has developed, rather than as an indicator of CIW's sole Zapatista heritage, we can more accurately see how the CIW – in a collaboration of mutual learning through the medium of popular theater – adapted a cultural repertoire cultivated in an indigenous community in Chiapas to raise consciousness among farmworkers in the diverse, diasporic community of Immokalee, and how in turn, actors of *Sna Jtz'ibajom* utilized the farmworker adaptation to raise consciousness among audiences in Chiapas about reality of life "*en el otro lado*" [on the other side] of the border.

> The Coalition of Immokalee Workers adopted the slogan, 'From the People, for the People.' They teach [workers] about their human rights. We lived with them and slept in their trailers. Only in this way could we understand their story. We thought we were on the coffee plantations in Chiapas, but much worse.
> - Tsiak Tsa'pat Tz'it

> They formed their own theatre group so that they could mount their own plays and show through theatre their disagreements with the ranch owners. Together we

> mounted the play, $5.25. Later we modified the play and presented it to communities in Chiapas with the title, WORKERS IN THE OTHER WORLD. - Cristóbal Ts'it Nujkul (Smithsonian Institution)[58]

The transcultural relationship between the CIW and *Sna Jtz'ibajom* would extend for more than four years, with *Sna Jtz'ibajom* making a total of five visits to Immokalee to collaborate in theater performances with farmworkers. By the time *Sna Jtz'ibajom* departed Immokalee in April 1994, they had conducted a series of intensive theater workshops, where farmworkers had learned the basics of staging, building props with little or no budget, and most importantly, how to transform a community's struggle into a story that generates discussion of farmworkers' shared problems and possibilities for action.

Rather than adopt the themes performed by the Mayan theater troupe, which depicted indigenous people in Chiapas choosing to follow the path of armed resistance, farmworkers of the Coalition adapted the popular education tool to the context of Immokalee. Although the presence of Mayan actors portraying the struggles of indigenous people animated indigenous Mexican and Guatemalan farmworkers in particular and affirmed their collective presence in Immokalee, popular theater quickly became a means of addressing the injustices that many farmworkers faced individually, but were difficult to talk about openly: wage theft, disrespect, and violence in the fields.

The first year after the training with *Sna Jtz'ibajom*, the Coalition experimented with popular theater during weekly farmworker meetings. Theater would become one of the predominant forms of popular education later in the CIW's history (2000-2011): the early collaborations with *Sna Jtz'ibajom* helped develop an interest in popular theater and

[58] The play "$5.25" was about CIW's 1995 general strike.

concrete skills among farmworkers. A brief examination of two of their Immokalee-wide performances in collaboration with *Sna Jtz'ibajom* reveals the importance of popular theater in preserving movement history among new waves of migrant workers and developing a critical consciousness.

In the late fall of 1996, the CIW invited *Sna Jtz'ibajom* to Immokalee for a second time to help train newly arrived workers in popular theater and help stage a play depicting the farmworker strike of the previous harvest season. While video footage of these performances cannot be located, CIW's thematic choice for the joint production indicate that cultural repertoires such as theater served as the primary means through which returning farmworkers sought to share the movement's history to new immigrant workers. Together, the members of CIW and *Sna Jtz'ibajom* created the play "*Cinco veinticinco* [Five Twenty-Five]" depicting grueling labor in the fields, growers' attempt to lower wages, and the day the workers went on strike as a united force and successfully prevented the wage decrease.

In addition to teaching a historic moment in the movement's past through performance and discussion, the Coalition soon discovered that popular theater could help farmworkers respond creatively and constructively to incidents in the community.

According to the investigative story "Immokalee laborer alleges beating at farm" in the *Naples Daily News*, on December 6, 1996, a young worker named Edgar Figueroa, originally from Guatemala, had stopped harvesting tomatoes momentarily to take a drink of water (Hernandez 1996). Juan, a company crew leader, ordered Figueroa to get back to work, shouting, "Did you come here to work or to fuck around?" (ibid.). When Figueroa proceeded to drink the water, Juan threw him into a ditch and beat him. When alerted to

the incident, a field supervisor named Ramiro gave Figueroa a soda, assured him he had a job at the company "whenever he wanted it," and without calling any emergency medical services, drove him to Immokalee (ibid.). Figueroa, wearing a shirt drenched in his own blood, walked several miles to the Coalition of Immokalee Workers' community center. There, an EMS crew treated his injuries, and CIW staff helped him file a report with the Sheriff's Office and the Florida Department of Labor and Employment Security (Labor Department) (ibid.).

That night, after news of the brutal beating spread, several hundred workers – many of whom had recently participated in popular theater performances depicting the power of farmworkers' collective action during the 1995 strike – gathered outside the community center and marched, with Figueroa's bloody shirt held high in the air, to the crew leader's house shouting "*¡Golpear a uno es golpear a todos!*" ["To beat one of us is to beat all of us"] (Asbed 2008). Although the confrontation was peaceful, several farmworkers received threats of retribution for participating in the march. The following day, as farmworkers recall today, not one worker showed up at the Pantry Shelf to board the buses for the fields.

In response to the incident, B & D Farms attempted to cast Figueroa's beating as "a fight between two workers" (ibid.). In mid-January, a local investigator assigned to the case by the Labor Department found that Figueroa's rights "were not violated" (Hernandez 1997). Members of the Coalition concluded that federal farmworker protections weren't working "if the agency responsible for enforcing the farmworker protection law turns around and says that a supervisor beating the hell out of a worker is not a violation" (ibid.). One member told a reporter, "We are tired of having to live and

work in a world where our bosses feel free to beat us in the fields and then turn around and threaten us when we organize to exercise our rights" (ibid.). This collective assertion of rights, one of Piven and Cloward's (1977) three necessary cognitions, cannot be assumed as a given in Immokalee, particularly among new farmworkers in the community. Rather, such an assertion is indicative of a "transformation of consciousness," in which individuals who once blamed themselves for their troubles come to see these same troubles as a result of injustice that can be changed through group action (Piven and Cloward 1979, 3-4; McAdam 1982). In Immokalee, popular theater was a crucial vehicle for developing that consciousness. As Lucas Benitez of the CIW described,

> Our relationship with *Sna Jtz'ibajom* was instrumental in organizing our community of farmworkers here in Immokalee, because their plays helped us to see our reality. They gave us the chance to examine the lives we are living and in that way seek solutions to our problems. Their theatre is a theatre of analysis and a major part of our program of popular education, which is designed to create in our members what we call Consciousness + [Commitment] [59] = Change, a change from the grassroots up. (Smithsonian Institution)

On the weekends of January 22 and March 21, 1997, the actors of *Sna Jtz'ibajom* and CIW members performed versions of the play "*Don Tomate y sus coyotes*" [Don Tomato and his Coyotes] to large crowds of farmworkers in Immokalee and in nearby counties. A VHS video recording made by one of the workers in January captures the theatrical performance as well as the reactions of approximately 300 workers who had crowded around the stage (Coalition of Immokalee Workers 1997).

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[59] Smithsonian Institution, National Museum of Natural History, Department of Anthropology website: http://anthropology.si.edu/maya/speakingpage1.html. Accessed October 1, 2011. The translation provided by the Smithsonian is "Conscience + Compromise = Change." However, the translation of the Spanish "compromiso" is that of "commitment," not "compromise." This interpretation and correction was confirmed by Lucas Benítez and multiple members of the CIW.

The "stage," of course, is actually the back of a flatbed truck. The headlights of parked cars light the stage. The play begins with a poor man and woman (in traditional Mayan dress) sitting in their home in Chiapas. They discuss how hungry they are and how much they and their family are suffering. Suddenly, a crazy man with colorful plaid shorts and a coyote[60] mask jumps on stage and tells the couple that they don't need to worry anymore – he has come to offer them jobs in the United States! When the couple asks what kinds of jobs are available, the coyote tells them they can work in an office… cleaning bathrooms! (The crowd bursts out laughing) The coyote tells them he will return the next day to pick them up. While he is gone, the couple meets up with a friend, and tells him they are going "north." The friend replies ignorantly, "Oh, north to Chamula?"[61] (The crowd laughs even harder) The couple responds, "No, North! Where the gringos live. The coyote says we will make $300 a day!" (The camera pans the audience, and hundreds of farmworkers are seen packed together, parting only where the headlights beam ahead on stage).

The next scene opens with the coyote introducing the workers (two men and two women) to their new boss. The crowd bursts into hysterical giggles as the boss – Don Tomate – walks on stage: the boss' shirt is stuffed fat with a pillow and in place of a human head is a three-foot wide papier-mâché red tomato with eyes, a nose, a mouth, and a little sombrero on top. In an accent mimicking a non-native Spanish speaker,[62] Don

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[60] "Coyote" is also the name of a person who transports people across the border, generally making money from those they are transporting or from a contractor who "buys" the workers from coyotes. Often, coyotes recruit people under false pretenses, with migrants knowing very little about the legality of the crossing or the working arrangements that await them.

[61] San Juan Chamula is a municipality located six miles north of San Cristóbal de las Casas in Chiapas, Mexico.

[62] The Spanish is articulated very slowly and R's are pronounced very hard, likely poking fun of "gringo" bosses or Mexican-American crew leaders who don't speak Spanish fluently.

Tomate tells the workers that they are there to work hard and that they will earn $4.00 to $5.25 an hour. A crew leader, also wearing a coyote mask, enters the stage and tells the workers to get on the bus. The crew leader in front and the four workers behind him run around stage as if they were riding the bus through the fields, bouncing up high – to the delight of the audience – on every imaginary bump they hit on the road. They get to a row of tomatoes, and the workers begin picking feverishly, their coyote crew leader yelling at them to work faster. One of the male workers, exhausted from the labor and the heat, walks over to the water cooler. The coyote stomps over to the worker and asks what he thinks he's doing. While the worker begins to explain that he just wants a drink of water, the coyote grabs him by the collar and throws him to the ground, kicking him repeatedly in the head.

Don Tomate enters the scene and helps the worker up, asking what happened. As the worker begins to explain, Don Tomate comforts him saying, "Don't be mad. I am a friend. Here is a soda." Another coyote crew leader enters the scene and says, "Oh, nothing's wrong. You're okay." (The crowd falls silent). As other workers come to comfort the injured worker, and a man with sunglasses – an investigator – approaches the crew leaders. The crew leaders explain it was a fight. Busily taking notes, the investigator nods and says, "Yes, it was an accident." He finishes writing his report, holds it up and exclaims, "This is the truth!" The injured worker, seeing what is happening, approaches the investigator with one of his fellow workers, saying that she witnessed what had happened. The investigator grabs the woman and asks her, "Is it true, the beating?" She responds, "Yes, it's true." The investigator shakes her and shouts, "No, it's not true!" Waving the report in the air again, he exclaims, "This is the truth!" The investigator takes

out a phone and suggests calling the state authorities to verify his findings. Listening to the voice on the other line, he nods in agreement and commands the worker to tell the state authority what happened. The worker explains how he was beaten, and after every statement the worker makes, such as "I have rights! They can't beat me! Do you think this is just?" the voice on the phone repeats, "I don't know!"

Frustrated, all of the workers gather and decide what to do. They proclaim, "Let's get our compañeros! Call the Coalition! Let's go!!!" More workers get on stage and they begin dancing around, shouting amongst each other, "The people, we are united! To beat one of us is to beat all of us! We aren't going to be pushed around! We can do it!" Hearing the raucous, Don Tomate approaches the workers and tries to intimidate them. But the workers of the Coalition, defiant and unafraid, encircle Don Tomate, grab the tomato off his head, and begin a game of keep away. Don Tomate, infuriated, begins stomping his feet and screaming "But I am the contractor, I am the law!!!" The crowd roars with laughter and applauds as Don Tomate is chased off stage. The play closes with the scene of workers celebrating the defeat of Don Tomate and his coyotes.

This play is an example of the way in which popular theater helped raise and maintain consciousness among farmworkers in Immokalee. In particular, the play developed an increased belief in the injustice of institutional arrangements, an assertion of rights, and a sense of political efficacy among audience members.

The recognition of unjust arrangements – the first "necessary cognition" – was developed when the investigator ignored the statements of the workers and listened only to the accounts of the crew leaders and Don Tomate in writing his report. Amidst physical evidence and worker testimonies, the state agencies meant to protect workers

deferred to powerful growers who had a financial interest in making incidents of abuse disappear. The audience began to question the authority of the company bosses and state investigators and viewed the arrangements that gave them the power to rewrite "the truth" as illegitimate and wrong.

At the same moment in the play, the worker began standing up for himself, asserting his rights and demanding justice for the beating – the second "necessary cognition." The play concluded with a scene in which workers alerted the Coalition and rallied hundreds of workers together for a march through Immokalee to confront the crew leader. When Don Tomate came to squash the march and intimidate them, the united group of farwmorkers was able to defeat him (symbolized by the removal of his giant tomato head). This closing scene contributed to the development of the third "necessary cognition": the belief that workers have the capacity to "alter their lot" and that injustices, such as the tyranny of Don Tomate, are subject to change through collective action.

The group dialogues that followed the performances provided an important forum for farmworkers to talk about difficult issues such as physical abuse that many workers experienced individually, but rarely acknowledged publicly. Members of *Sna Jtz'ibajom* recalled the story one worker shared after the performance:

> They treat us like dogs. When we go to work, they growl at us if we don't work fast enough. When we're thirsty, they say, 'Drink the water from the ditch!' Then they kick us.
> - Anonymous worker (Smithsonian Institution)

While it seems at first incongruous that workers would share such difficult experiences after laughing at a comedic play, the popular theater *Sna Jtz'ibajom* shared with the CIW was effective in encouraging workers to speak candidly precisely because of its effective use of humor. In Immokalee, the performance of "*Don Tomate y sus*

coyotes" and the act of laughing together helped transform workers' feelings of shame, helplessness, and fear that accompany the modern immigrant farmworker experience into feelings of courage, hope, and defiance.

For example, when the coyote told the couple in Chiapas that he had found them cleaning jobs in the United States that paid $300 a day, the farmworker audience broke into laughter because many of them, too, had once believed the same story and foresaw that the characters were in for a surprise. The moment each farmworker made the decision to come to the United States – influenced by the promise that hard work would be rewarded – is one that many in Immokalee reflect upon in solitude, often with feelings of shame and disappointment. That this same moment was dramatized in the form of satire and witnessed alongside hundreds of others who responded the same way signaled to workers that they shared a common experience and could talk more openly about difficult issues they once assumed were individual troubles.

Other moments in the play that generated significant farmworker laughter included those in which coyotes, crew leaders, or Don Tomate entered the stage. These seemingly omnipotent individuals in farmworkers' lives, who normally treated them "like dogs," were suddenly reduced to mere animals and fruits. The use of coyote and tomato masks served as a powerful means by which farmworkers were able to invert the dehumanization they often experienced back upon their bosses and act as the full human beings in the play. Together, this reclaiming of workers' humanity and the shared laughter that accompanied the satire of tomato-faced bosses helped animate workers to participate in the group dialogues.

CIW's collaboration with *Sna Jtz'ibajom* during the 1996/1997 harvest season was instrumental in maintaining consciousness across new waves of workers through the re-enactment of the 1995 strike. Moreover, it was also a site where movement participants collectively analyzed and developed consciousness in response to new challenges. In the dialogues about the nighttime march to the crew leader's house and the betrayal of the state inspector portrayed in the performances of "*Don Tomate y sus coyotes*," workers came to see the system of state accountability as unjust. Moreover, the themes in the play and the following discussions reinforced a belief among farmworkers that they could improve their lot through collective action.

The performance of popular theater, in addition to creating safe spaces for dialogue and consciousness-raising among farmworkers, also influenced farmworker behavior in the streets and in the fields. For instance, it is no coincidence that within weeks of theater trainings and performances of "Five Twenty Five" – a play that valorized farmworker unity and disobedience to bosses in 1995 – farmworkers were inspired to respond to the Figueroa beating with a mass march to the crew leader's house. That farmworkers' actions became markedly more defiant – and collective in nature – is indicative of what Piven and Cloward (1979) define as elements of behavior transformation in the emergence of a protest movement:

> First, masses of people become defiant; they violate the traditions and laws to which they ordinarily acquiesce, and they flaunt the authorities to whom they ordinarily defer. And second, their defiance is acted out collectively, as members of a group, and not as isolated individuals. (Piven and Cloward 1979, 4)

Workers of the CIW continue to share stories passed down over the years about the impact these actions had on workers' collective sense of confidence and power.

Workers realized that they could not depend on laws to protect them; rather, they would have to rely on themselves, acting together as a collective force, to defend their rights.

Music

In the early years of the CIW, as highlighted in the oral history and follow-up interviews with Mathieu Beaucicot, sharing different music traditions in celebrations helped workers build relationships across ethnic lines. During the pivotal 1995 strike, Haitian *rara* bands "lifted the spirits" among diverse workers, which was particularly crucial in sustaining intense confrontations with bosses during field-bus sabotages. But music also contributed to the Coalition's popular education goals of historicizing the movement, maintaining an interethnic collective identity, and raising consciousness among new waves of largely illiterate migrant workers.

One song in particular sheds light on this form of popular education. As farmworkers began to arrive in Immokalee at the beginning of the 1996 harvest season, 18-year old Lucas Benitez was eager to embark on another eventful year of animating and mobilizing his fellow workers. But, like many of the farmworker staff of the nascent CIW, he was overwhelmed by how few workers he recognized at the Pantry Shelf parking lot. Farmworker staff and CIW members who had returned from the previous year quickly began handing out fliers through trailer parks, bus drop-offs, and laundromats – spreading the word about the Coalition and inviting workers to the Wednesday meetings.

But it was immediately clear at the meetings that the story of the 1995 strike needed to be shared to demonstrate to workers how a united farmworker front had and could continue to achieve collective goals. Before *Sna Jtz'ibajom* returned to Immokalee

later to collaborate on the play "Five Twenty-Five," Lucas had already begun the task of retelling the story. Early one evening at an ordinary weekly meeting at the CIW community center, a farmworker began strumming the 3/4 rhythm of a traditional Mexican *corrido*. The premier of *Los decididos* [The Determined People] had begun.

> These verses that I sing
> Become a *corrido*
> To remind you all
> What has happened
>
> It was the 12th of November,
> An auspicious date
> The first time we
> United with courage
> To protest for our wages,
> And for better treatment
>
> It was the 12th of November,
> In the year 1995
> At the very break of dawn,
> Workers and women
> Began to proclaim
>
> Defending their rights,
> Protesting to the world around,
> To the abusive bosses,
> Saying "no more!"
>
> We've had enough
> We won't be dragged around anymore
> Because we all united
> Calling and drumming
> And exclaiming, "strike!"
>
> The bosses, scared to death
> Wondering what's going on
> Because they saw that the people[63]
> Were united together
> Defending their rights
> And making them real

[63] Translated from the Spanish word "raza," The term has many meanings beyond the English translation of "race," and is most accurately interpreted as "people" or "community."

These verses that I've sung
Are my people's verses
Tomato and pepper pickers
Orange pickers and others
Mexicans and Haitians
Other peoples too
There was nothing to fear
It was the 12th of November
At the very break of dawn (Benitez 1996)[64]

As a musical form of traditional storytelling in Mexico, the *corrido* provided a detailed description of the 1995 farmworker strike to newly arrived workers. By specifying dates and events in the past, the *corrido* served to historicize the space of Immokalee, which for generations has been a space devoid of a collective memory – a space of permanent transience, or as Greg Asbed pointed out, "a space where no one dies" (Asbed 2010). Thousands of people arrive alone every autumn and depart unceremoniously every April in search of work along the migrant stream. For the new farmworkers who were present at this Wednesday workers' meeting, the song's lyrics and the discussion that followed not only informed them of a pivotal moment in CIW's history, it also marked the beginning of a process of interethnic collective identity formation and consciousness-raising.

In mirroring the rearticulation of difference in the popular education mural, *Los decididos* stresses an interethnic coalition by valorizing the unity among "Mexicans and Haitians." This phrase is significant for two reasons. First, in articulating difference, the lyrics identify groups with geographical terminology of nation-states or homelands, rather than race: Mexican and Haitian, rather than Latino and Black. Second, the lyrics of the *corrido* promote farmworker unity by stressing workers' different countries of origin,

[64] See figure 4.7 in appendix for original Spanish lyrics.

thereby supporting Jung's assertion that racial (or ethnic) difference is reworked, and not erased, in the making of interracial working-class movements.

Moreover, in emphasizing an interethnic coalition, the *corrido* goes beyond rearticulating "Mexico and Haiti" and the unity of workers from different homelands. Instead, it connects an interethnic collective identity to consciousness, and the necessity of asserting "their rights."

> Because they saw that the different peoples
> Were united, together
> Defending their rights,
> And making them real (Benitez 1996)

An analysis of the lyrics of the *corrido* demonstrates how music making in Immokalee contributed to the process of consciousness-raising among new waves of migrant workers and the development of Piven and Cloward's (1979) three "necessary cognitions." Verses four and five's description of workers proclaiming that they had "had enough" of "abusive bosses" and were not going to be "dragged around anymore" are illustrative of the first necessary cognition, where workers come to see that "the authority of their rulers and the legitimacy of institutional arrangements… are unjust and wrong" (Piven and Cloward 1977: 3).

The second "necessary cognition," the assertion of rights, is made evident in verses four and six, where "defending their rights" is articulated in the context of active participation, in "protesting to the world" and "making [rights] mean something." It is important to highlight that at this stage of the movement, even while workers are portrayed as "protesting to the world," rights claims were being directed only towards growers. While a discussion of qualitative changes in rights claims will be examined in more detail in the Chapter Seven, it is important to note that in both the specific text and

the larger theme of the *corrido*, the emphasis is on the collective aspect of rights: that farmworkers were defending "their" rights as a "people," not as individuals.

The third cognition, the development of a new sense of efficacy, is expressed most clearly in the meaning represented in the *corrido's* reversal of human fear. Piven and Cloward (1979) describe the development of a new sense of efficacy as a process in which "people who ordinarily consider themselves helpless come to believe that they have some capacity to alter their lot," or what McAdam (1982) similarly describes as a belief that injustices are "subject to change through group action" (Piven and Cloward 1979, 4; McAdam 1982, 51). Ordinarily, crew leaders and bosses exercise ultimate authority in the fields and instill fear and submissiveness among workers: fear of losing one's job and livelihood, fear of physical violence, or fear of deportation or losing one's visa. In the *corrido*, however, a story is told about a collective action that was so powerful that bosses were "scared to death." Meanwhile, as a united front, the farmworkers had "nothing to fear." The story of the 1995 strike shaped the way new farmworkers perceived of their own feelings of individual helplessness, the inevitability of poor working conditions and abuse, and the effectiveness of group action.

In a follow-up interview with Lucas, he described why he wrote the *corrido*:

> I decided to write the song because I wanted to tell the story of the strike to my fellow workers, many of whom where not in Immokalee with us the previous year. The *corrido* is traditional in Mexico, and because many common people do not know how to read, it is another way to share history. *Corridos* are real history for real people.
>
> We perform it now and then, especially because there are always new people who don't know the past. We played it on the radio once… we had a member who could sing really well, but when we were ready to record it, we found out that he moved on and couldn't return… (Benitez 2011)

When I asked Lucas why he chose music – and not a poem, for example – to tell the story, he responded:

> Well, for us workers from Mexico, the sound of a *corrido* really reminds us of home. So when we hear it in Immokalee, so far from our families and everything we know, it brings a little piece of home to this place. It lifts us up, makes us feel normal, more human, again. And when you combine this feeling with a story about workers coming together and standing up for themselves, it really animates people. (Benitez 2011)

Rather than serving as a mere accompaniment to a movement, *Los decididos* demonstrates how music can be a particularly powerful popular education form that helps overcome the obstacles of relocation and illiteracy that pose practical challenges to mobilizing migrant farmworkers. The communication of the *corrido's* lyrics contributed to movement maintenance across harvest seasons by introducing the foundations of an interethnic identity and consciousness, as well as a movement history, to new waves of workers. In addition, the oral music tradition of the *corrido* made the lyrical content accessible to all workers, regardless of their literacy abilities.

However, it is the quality of music as "organized sound"[65] – which has the ability to evoke notions of place and memories without words – that distinguishes music from other forms of popular education (Goldman 1961, 133). While a migratory workforce presents many practical challenges to political mobilization, the transnational journey that workers make alone and the constant uprooting from place to place along the East Coast migrant stream also generate immense feelings of homesickness. For farmworkers who leave behind their homeland, traditions, and loved ones, and arrive in the United States only to experience anonymity and dehumanizing treatment in the fields, the creation of

[65] French composer Edgard Varèse coined the definition of music as "organized sound." See Goldman 1961.

familiar sounds from "back home" in the context of Immokalee takes on significant meaning. As Lucas described it, hearing the sound of the *corrido* brings a "little piece of home to this place" (Benitez 2011).

In this way, even when farmworkers in Immokalee are thousands of miles away from their families and homes, separated by border fences or seas, music serves as a "means of transcending the limitations of [their] own place in the world, of constructing trajectories rather than boundaries across space" (Stokes 1997, 4). But rather than understanding the construction of trajectories simply as a form of escape, it is important to consider how music that recalls distant homelands can also function, as Stokes (1997) suggests, as a means by which a "pre-structured social space," such as the oppressive racial, class, and citizenship structures that situate farmworker powerlessness in Immokalee, "can be transformed" (ibid.).

At its core, this transformation of powerlessness in the context of Immokalee – which is at once a space of transnational convergence and a transitory abyss devoid of either roots or rights – requires farmworkers to undergo a collective process of place-making, of planting roots, as part of a larger and "incessant struggle to regain their humanity" (Freire [1970] 2000, 48).

> The oppressed, who have been shaped by the death-affirming climate of oppression, must find through their struggle the way to life-affirming humanization… The oppressed have been destroyed precisely because their situation has reduced them to things. In order to regain their humanity they must cease to be things and fight as men and women. This is a radical requirement. They cannot enter the struggle as objects in order *later* to become human beings. (Freire [1970] 2000, 68).

Central to this struggle, as Freire argues, must be a pedagogy that produces dialogues and reflections among the oppressed on the fundamental causes of their

oppression, out of which comes their "necessary engagement in the struggle for their liberation" (ibid., 48). In Immokalee, this "pedagogy of the oppressed" not only has to account for the physical abuse in the fields or the violence of everyday poverty among farmworkers, it must also address the dehumanizing effects of transnational displacement and the transience of migratory labor. Music may in fact be a vital part of this process of humanization, as it enables workers to overcome the limitations of physical space and bring something very evocative of "home" to Immokalee, a process which "lifts [them] up… makes [them] feel more normal, more human, again" (Benitez 2011).

Conclusion

In this chapter, I demonstrated how the use of cultural repertoires was instrumental in the organization and maintenance of a cohesive social movement community with a collective identity and consciousness. These cultural repertoires were brought to Immokalee either directly by farmworkers themselves along their transnational migrations or through CIW's partnerships with organizations in transcultural advocacy networks, such as *Mouvman Payizan Papay* (MPP) or *Sna Jtz'ibajom*. The origins of these repertoires illustrate that CIW's roots trace back to peasant and rural resistance movements in Latin America and the Caribbean, rather than labor or farmworker movements in the United States. Furthermore, CIW's incorporation and adaptation of popular education traditions originally developed in these Haitian, Mexican, and indigenous Mayan contexts into a hybridized set of animating tools were critical in forging an interethnic collective identity among farmworkers in Immokalee.

Analysis of the content of farmworker discourse between *rara* performances in the 1995 strike, the mural inside the CIW community center, and the lyrics of *"Los*

decididos" support Jung's (2006) conclusions on the formation of the interracial labor movement in mid-century Hawaii. In Immokalee, the coming together of a diverse coalition of working-class immigrant workers was similarly achieved through the "rearticulation" of ethnicity, not through the erasure of difference. In other words, the formation of an interethnic collective identity was achieved through a heightened awareness and signaling of the various places workers once called home.

The rearticulation of ethnicity that was prominent in CIW's cultural repertoires, however, was more than a mere symbol of an interethnic coalition: rather, in the practice and space of popular education, these repertoires sparked dialogue among workers about how ethnic differences played out in their lives, in the fields, and in larger systems of oppression. In this context, ethnic differences became subject to *conscientização*, or conscientization: farmworkers became aware of how ethnic and racial divisions among themselves were sources of their own oppression and tools of exploitation by those who benefitted from their labor.

The three forms of cultural repertoires utilized by the CIW in its early years also effectively raised consciousness among new and returning farmworkers in Immokalee. Systematizing consciousness along Piven and Cloward's (1979) three necessary cognitions, I demonstrated how the thematic content of the flier drawings, the theater presentations, and the music performances of CIW's popular education repertoire 1) portrayed the institutional arrangements between growers, crew leaders, and workers as unjust and wrong, 2) asserted farmworkers' rights, and 3) developed a sense of political efficacy. Moreover, the form of these cultural repertoires, and the oral transmission of

theater and music performances in particular, helped the CIW overcome the challenge of consciousness-raising among farmworkers with low levels of literacy.

The challenge that a migratory work force posed the project of political mobilization was also mitigated by the CIW's dedication of resources to popular education. Rather than directing resources to the intense training of leaders or animators in the farmworker community, the CIW strategically adapted the organizing model of the Haitian peasant movement to account for a highly unstable migrant labor force and made popular education the mode through which natural leaders would develop from the base every season. Furthermore, the storytelling content of these popular education repertoires conveyed to new waves of workers the consciousness farmworkers before them had developed through collective analysis and action. The effectiveness of popular education techniques in maintaining a movement across harvest seasons was demonstrated most clearly in the fall of 1996. After learning about the successful strike the previous year through dialogues sparked by the music performance of *Los decididos* and the theater performance of *Cinco veinticinco,* a new wave of farmworkers defiantly marched to protest the beating of Edgar Figueroa. This ability to continuously raise consciousness and adapt to new challenges is of utmost significance in maintaining a movement whose membership is always moving and always changing.

In this chapter, I have demonstrated how in the early years of the farmworker movement in Immokalee (1992-2000), the importation and adaptation of cultural repertoires from workers' home communities and their utilization in popular education were the means through which an interethnic collective identity was developed and a critical consciousness was raised amidst the obstacles that a diverse, migratory, and

illiterate workforce posed. The achievement of a cohesive social movement was a success in itself.

Still, the new sense of unity and heightened consciousness led farmworkers to engage in collective action that achieved relatively small-scale, but not insignificant, material improvements for farmworkers in Immokalee: namely, a halt to three decades of decreasing real wages and a reduction in crew leader violence (Asbed 2010). While physical violence became less prevalent for the majority of farmworkers in Immokalee, the CIW became alerted to the rare but extreme cases of farmworker abuse that persisted in the fields: modern day slavery.

Over the course of the next decade, from 2001 to 2011, the Coalition of Immokalee Workers would achieve significant material gains as well as national and international recognition for its Anti-Slavery Campaign and Campaign for Fair Food. While these campaigns and CIW's alliances with students, faith communities, and social justice groups have been the focus of numerous books and articles, few works, if any, have seriously considered the immense challenges that remained in Immokalee during this same time period. In order to maintain a farmworker-based and farmworker-led social movement, the CIW would have to continue to re-educate and mobilize new waves of workers every season and adapt to new changes and challenges in the community.

One of these changes was the ethnic make-up of the farmworker workforce: significantly less numbers of Haitians were arriving in Immokalee, while more farmworkers from Guatemala – who spoke a number of Mayan dialects – began working in the fields. Another change was the increased presence of women in Immokalee. While women continued to make up a small percentage of the farmworker population, their

numbers grew significantly between 1995 and 2005 – by some estimates from less than two percent to between five and ten percent of the workforce.[66] Many farmworker women not only faced discrimination in the fields, they also encountered disrespect – and physical abuse – from men in their own homes and in the wider community. Lastly, the CIW became aware of the increasing prevalence of human labor trafficking and forced labor in Florida. While CIW's work in the uncovering and investigation of two major slavery cases[67] in the late 1990s were influential in shaping federal legislation with the passage of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000, farmworker leaders knew they could not rely solely on federal investigators and occasional prosecutions to uncover and deter cases of forced labor in the fields. The most reliable way to detect these most extreme cases of farmworker abuse would be to inform enslaved workers of their rights and how to contact the Coalition, and to educate all farmworkers on how to identify and report possible slavery operations.

To address these changes, the CIW would continue to employ methods of popular education to animate workers, inform them of their rights, and provide a sense of place and belonging in Immokalee. While in the early years of the organization, visual arts and murals constituted a large part of CIW's popular education repertoire, in the 2001-2011 period, *Radio Conciencia's* programming and music performances would become the primary means of maintaining a cohesive social movement community – even as the farmworker population underwent significant transformations in ethnic and gender composition. Moreover, as a highly accessible medium of communication, *Radio*

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[66] Because demographic data on farmworkers in Immokalee are unavailable, these statistics represent estimates from longtime residents in Immokalee and from discussions in women's group sessions at the CIW.

[67] See *U.S. v. Flores* (1997) and *U.S. v. Cuello* (1999).

Conciencia would be able to educate farmworkers about forced labor, reaching even those who were in situations of servitude or debt bondage. Thus, invoking the words of Freire, we see in farmworkers' incessant struggle for their liberation how this pedagogy of the oppressed was effectively "made and remade" (Freire [1970] 1993, 48).

CHAPTER FIVE

Radio Conciencia and the Maintenance of a Social Movement Community 2001-2011

> *Estás escuchando a Radio Conciencia. Derribando barreras. No representando fronteras que dividen a nuestra gente. Libera tu mente. Radio Conciencia 107.9, La Tuya*.
>
> You are listening to Consciousness Radio. Tearing down barriers. Not representing the borders that divide our people. Liberate your mind. Consciousness Radio 107.9, Your Station.[68]
>
> A recorded jingle that repeatedly plays on *Radio Conciencia.*

It is a few minutes after 5am on a Monday morning in early November 2010. I sit across from Cruz Salucio, a farmworker deejay on *Radio Conciencia*, in the small radio station studio at the CIW community center. Cruz grins at me as I struggle to hide my yawn. Seamlessly, he navigates the radio control board as he greets his listeners and takes their song requests over the phone. I gaze out the window of the station and watch as farmworkers, with their lunch boxes in tow, begin to arrive in the old Pantry Shelf parking lot, which now bears the curious name "La Fiesta #3". I imagine the scene of CIW's first farmworker strike unfolding in the same parking lot fifteen years earlier. My thoughts are interrupted as Cruz suddenly shouts, "HIJOLE!" [Jeez!] Both phones begin ringing off the hook and dozens of lights flash with incoming calls. Cruz quickly explains that farmworkers often place song requests and dedications before heading for the fields,

[68] La Tuya is more commonly used, informal name for *Radio Conciencia*. The translation of "La Tuya" is technically "yours" or "the one that is yours," in reference to the radio station. The translation I provide, "Your Station," is not literal, but a translation meant to clarify the meaning of the original Spanish.

making five to six o'clock in the morning the busiest hour in *Radio Conciencia's* weekday programming.

Throughout my fieldwork in Immokalee, I tuned in regularly to *Radio Conciencia* and observed rehearsals of the farmworker marimba ensemble, block parties known as *controles remotos* [remote controls], and music performances at Coalition celebrations throughout the harvest season. Despite the prevalence of these musical practices in Immokalee, there are but a few passing mentions of them in the growing academic and journalistic literature on the Coalition of Immokalee Workers (Sellers 2009, 79-80; Giagnoni 2011, 15-18). Rather than serving as mere background noise or a soundtrack to a movement, I contend that music broadcasts and performances are fundamental to how the CIW mobilizes and maintains a social movement community in present-day Immokalee.

In the previous chapter, I demonstrated how the CIW's adaptation of popular education techniques from farmworkers' home regions into a hybridized cultural repertoire were crucial in overcoming obstacles of ethnic diversity, migratory work seasons, and illiteracy, organizing workers into a cohesive social movement in the 1990s. In 2001, the CIW launched the Campaign for Fair Food in an effort to persuade corporations in the fast food, food service, and grocery industries to increase farmworker wages, institute a zero-tolerance slavery policy and human rights mechanism in the fields, and include farmworker participation at all levels of implementation. The CIW's Campaign for Fair Food and anti-slavery work greatly expanded the scale – and notoriety – of its mobilizing efforts among student, faith, and activist groups across the United States. Because of this, most scholarly and written works on the CIW after 2001 analyze

the organization's success in securing agreements with the Campaign's targeted corporations, its the investigation and prosecution of farmworker slavery cases, or its participation in activist networks through the Student Farmworker Alliance, Interfaith Action, and the Alliance for Fair Food (Gonzalez 2005; Walsh 2005; Rodrigues 2006; Laughlin 2007; Sellers 2009; Giagnoni 2011).

While these are necessary subjects of examination, these studies implicitly assume the continuing cohesiveness of the farmworker movement community in Immokalee as the starting point for their analyses. This is particularly problematic given the constant arrival of new workers and the migratory instability of farm labor, and the significant demographic shifts in the farmworker population – namely an increase in the number of women and workers from Guatemala – that has occurred in Immokalee during the years of the Campaign for Fair Food. Recognizing these gaps in the literature on the Coalition of Immokalee Workers and informed by insights gained by extensive participant observation of the farmworker community in Immokalee, I explore three intersecting topics in this chapter.

First, in an investigation of research question #1 and success indicator #1, I examine the mechanisms through which farmworkers in Immokalee have sought to maintain a cohesive social movement with an interethnic identity and consciousness during the period 2001-2011, after the initial mobilization process in the early 1990s. What roles have CIW's previous cultural repertoires played in its efforts to overcome the persistent obstacles a poor, interethnic, illiterate, migrant population poses to long-term mobilization? In what ways, if any, have these repertoires been remade through *Radio Conciencia* – as well as associated music practices such as marimba ensembles, *control*

remoto block parties, and annual celebrations – in order to address changes in farmworkers' ethnic and gender diversity and increase contact with victims of forced labor?

Second, I address research question #2 by investigating music practices and how they may contribute to building and sustaining the farmworker movement in Immokalee. Utilizing oral histories, interviews, radio logs, audio recordings, and participant observation of radio programs, block parties, and live music performances, I investigate if and how the music and accompanying discourses of *Radio Conciencia* and performances at CIW celebrations contribute to the maintenance of a cohesive social movement with a collective identity and consciousness (success indicator #1). I test Jung's hypothesis of a heightened discourse – or rearticulation – of ethnicity in the making and maintenance of an interethnic working-class labor movement by analyzing the content of music dedications on *Radio Conciencia*, deejay discourse, and diverse radio programs such as the marimba program.

Furthermore, using insight from farmworker interviews, participant observation, and critical listening of radio programs and music performances in Immokalee, I explore the ways in which music practices may contribute to the achievement of success indicator #3, the creation of a social movement community where farmworkers are able to experiment in living alternatives to dominant forms of oppression, such as racism and sexism. Together, these findings respond and contribute to existing work on radio and social movements and expand conceptions of "protest music," especially in the mobilization of a diverse, migratory, immigrant-based population.

Third, I examine CIW's cooperation with organizations within transcultural advocacy networks (TCANs) during the 2001-2011 period, addressing research question #3, the question of how world cultural norms intersect with the local movement context in Immokalee. In addition to the well-documented partnerships with the Student Farmworker Alliance and Interfaith Action, which are housed in the community center and coordinate directly with the CIW on specific movement goals and projects, the CIW also developed less formal partnerships with organizations and groups that have led to a sharing of cultural skills and repertoires – many of which were musical. In particular, I consider CIW's partnerships with the *Prometheus Radio Project*, a Philadelphia-based organization dedicated to the "democratization of the airwaves," and *Sobrevivencia* [Survival], a Mayan rock band from Guatemala, to assess how these transcultural relationships contribute to the mobilization and maintenance of a social movement community in Immokalee.

***Radio Conciencia*: *Del Pueblo Para El Pueblo* [Of the People, for the People]**

In recent years, Immokalee has become a social justice destination-of-sorts for journalists, writers, and students interested in the Campaign for Fair Food and modern-day slavery. Often, their observations revolve around a study in visual contrasts: the million dollar homes in Naples, Florida, just 30 miles west on County Road 846, versus the dilapidated trailers of Immokalee; the seagulls and cranes of Fort Myers versus Immokalee's vultures and "free range" chickens; the sunburned-pink skin color of vacationers in nearby Sanibel island versus the dark brown skin of farmworkers tanned by hard labor in the fields. What is usually ignored, however, are the radical contrasts in soundscapes embedded in the airwaves of South Florida. If you listen carefully and set

your dial to 107.9 FM as you enter Immokalee, the sounds of spoken English and smooth jazz crackle and fade away as they become consumed by the sounds of marimba, Mexican love ballads, and farmworker voices speaking in Spanish, M'am, or Q'anjob'al.

The original idea for a farmworker community radio station had been circulating among CIW members since the late 1990s. While theater performances and illustrated fliers were useful methods to educate new workers, CIW staff recognized that these methods were inadequate in quickly disseminating information to large numbers of workers. Their options for communication were greatly limited: televisions are too expensive for farmworkers' meager wages; newspaper announcements are inaccessible to the high percentage of workers who are unable to read; and email communications are completely out of the question. Radio, it seemed, was a possible means through which the CIW could effectively reach and communicate with a poor, migratory, and illiterate farmworker population. To transform this idea into a reality, the CIW turned to new allies in its growing transcultural advocacy network.

Oral History: Gerardo Reyes Chávez, Part I (see oral history appendix)

The history of how *Radio Conciencia* became a part of the farmworker movement in Immokalee in 2003 is in many ways similar to how popular theater was first introduced to the community a decade before. Like *Sna Jtz'ibajom*, members of Prometheus Radio Project [Prometheus] did not develop a relationship with the CIW for the purpose of direct participation in a specific campaign. Rather, their relationship is better described through Dellacioppa's concept of transcultural advocacy networks (TCANs), in that their three-day collaboration was grounded in mutual learning and cultural exchange intended to encourage grassroots participation, share strategies and

insight across movements, and strengthen local struggles for self-determination under a common vision of global justice (Dellacioppa 2009).

Founded as a non-profit organization by a collective of social justice activists and radio pirates in West Philadelphia in 1998, Prometheus's mission is to build "participatory radio as a tool for social justice organizing and a voice for community expression. To that end, we demystify media policy and technology, advocate for a more just media system, and help grassroots organizations build communications infrastructure to strengthen their communities and movements" (Prometheus Radio Project). Prometheus carries out this mission by collaborating with local movements and helping them build low-power FM radio stations through a participatory process called a "barnraising," based on the Amish tradition in which an entire community would help a new family build a barn on the premise that the newcomers would return the favor to another new family down the road (Reyes Chávez 2010).

While the barnraising of CIW's *Radio Conciencia* in 2003 was Prometheus' fifth major project in the United States (see visual appendix 5.1, 5.2), following barnraisings in Maryland, California, Louisiana, and Washington, Prometheus members also brought with them a global perspective of community radio developed from their experience building local radio stations in Guatemala. These experiences of working with radio internationally, including later projects in Colombia, Nepal, Jordan, and Tanzania, are reflected in Prometheus' stated vision:

> We envision a world in which the media is not a means to limit democratic participation, but a way for communities and movements to express themselves and struggle for justice. We imagine a nationwide community radio infrastructure made up of hundreds of independent, locally-orientated stations, part of a global movement to put media in the hands of the people. (Prometheus Radio Project)

The birth of *Radio Conciencia* thus developed out of a transcultural collaboration between CIW and Prometheus, and its purpose became infused with an "envisioning of a world" whereby local movements are able to "express themselves and struggle for justice" (Prometheus Radio Project). As a local station serving a community at the crossroads of transnational labor migrations, *Radio Conciencia* has also become a central mechanism through which meanings between the global and the local are received and transmitted. Through the broadcasting of musical sounds originating from farmworkers' homelands, *Radio Conciencia* serves as a local place-making function, enabling listeners to import meanings and memories of faraway places to the diasporic sphere of Immokalee. Reversely, *Radio Conciencia* also transmits transnational trajectories through the broadcasting of listeners' music dedications to loved ones "back home." Moreover, through *Radio Conciencia's* broadcasts of news reports, announcements, and educational programming, a human rights discourse prevalent in modern world culture is introduced and made relevant to the local farmworker movement.

Radio and Movements: More Than Emergency Information

In Seller's (2009) master's thesis on the Coalition of Immokalee Workers, he describes *Radio Conciencia* as "a principal site of community activity" that has "immense and obvious ramifications for organizing," yet he devotes little more than a page to the subject (Sellers 2009, 79-80). Sellers focuses on Gerardo's testimony to the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) in 2007, in which he described how *Radio Conciencia* had served a crucial community service of providing emergency information to workers when Hurricane Wilma hit Immokalee in 2005 (ibid., 80). Similarly, in Giagnoni's (2011) ethnography of the CIW, she describes *Radio Conciencia* as "a vital

instrument in keeping the community informed about the CIW campaigns" and hazards such as the 2005 hurricane (Giagnoni 2011, 15-18). While these statements on *Radio Conciencia's* role in providing important emergency information are indeed true, it is problematic that these studies fully ignore music broadcasting and song dedications as worthy of analysis, despite the fact that they constitute the large majority of airtime content and are the primary reasons farmworkers tune in to *Radio Conciencia*.

In consideration of these major deficiencies in the existing literature on *Radio Conciencia* and in drawing upon Roscigno and Danaher's (2001, 2004) acclaimed study on radio and social movement mobilization, I investigate both the quantitative and qualitative content of the music and discourse on *Radio Conciencia*. As a free and accessible form of communication, it is evident that *Radio Conciencia* helps the CIW overcome the obstacles poverty and literacy pose to mobilizing farmworkers. I therefore focus my assessment of success indicator #1 on *Radio Conciencia's* ability to maintain a cohesive social movement community in light of the obstacles posed by an interethnic and migratory farmworker population. Furthermore, I consider the ways in which the CIW utilized *Radio Conciencia* to address changes in ethnic and gender diversity and combat cases of forced labor in the fields.

Song Dedications: Collective Identity Formation amidst Ethnic Diversity

In this section, I bring together Roscigno and Danaher's (2001) work on radio and textile mills strikes and Jung's (2006) work on interracial labor movements to inform an assessment of *Radio Conciencia* in the maintenance of a collective identity among diverse farmworkers and how discourse of ethnicity is involved in this process.

Roscigno and Danaher (2001) argue that the use of radio in mill towns throughout the South between 1929 and 1934 was crucial in shaping "the collective experience and feelings of 'groupness' across a geographically dispersed population" by highlighting the prevalence of words such as "we, us, our, and fellow workers" and descriptions of mill worker anxieties in the oppositional lyrics of 21 mill-specific songs (Roscigno and Danaher 2001, 36,42). However, Roscigno and Danaher provide very little detail as to how their song data set was selected other than that they limited it to songs "emanating from the South that were recorded, sung, played, or transcribed prior to 1935" (ibid., 27-28). The authors mention that they would have preferred radio playlists, but that radio stations did not maintain records of playlists at that time. While this is understandable given the historical challenges of their research, the project is based upon a number of key assumptions: that the songs they selected for analysis were actually broadcast over the radio, that workers were tuned in when the songs were aired, and that workers wanted to hear these songs.

The contemporary nature of this study on *Radio Conciencia*, however, allowed me to gather data through a variety of methods – including deejay radio logs, audio recordings, computer playlist records, and interviews – that document not only what songs were broadcast, but also the content of deejay and listener discourse and the nature of listener participation through song dedications and requests.

Consider tables 5.1-5.4 in the appendix, which present data gathered from radio log samples. The proportion of requested songs[69] as compared to the total number of

[69] In these samples, confirmed by deejay interview responses, call-in requests are almost exclusively accompanied by a dedication to an individual or group. In my observations, this is likely the result of deejays asking to whom the song is dedicated upon taking a song request. Asterisks indicate the number of requests for each sample that did not include a dedication.

songs played during deejay programs, which represents the degree of listener participation, show that listeners in October requested approximately half of the songs aired on *Radio Conciencia*. Over the course of the season, this number gradually increased. By January, listeners request 90.5 percent of the songs that were played while a deejay was in the studio (which is generally between 5am and 10pm). In April, the level of participation remains a high 87.0 percent. This demonstrates that residents in Immokalee actively tune in to *Radio Conciencia*. Moreover, it reveals that radio is an important medium through which listeners communicate by sharing songs and messages with each other.

The song dedication data reveal that roughly two-thirds of song requests were dedicated to groups while one-third was dedicated to individuals, proportions that remained relatively constant throughout the harvest season. That fact that the majority of these dedications were not made to individuals – which is likely the case in contemporary commercial radio – is of great significance. By dedicating songs to different groups, farmworkers were reifying the community through a heightened recognition of its constituent parts – including its different ethnic groups and female minority. Group song dedications, in other words, can be understood as a means of constructing a collective identity.

In comparing these findings to Roscigno and Danaher's (2001) study, it is important to note that the obstacles to collective identity formation faced by textile mill workers differ from those currently faced by farmworkers in Immokalee. For textile mill workers in the South in the early 1930s, the primary obstacle to collective identity formation and creating a sense of shared experience was a "geographically dispersed

population" (Roscigno and Danaher 2001, 42). In contrast, the challenges to collective identity formation among farmworkers in Florida today are workers' geographically diverse origins and constant migration in and out of Immokalee every harvest season. Therefore, an analysis of *Radio Conciencia* must take into account other shared experiences that would be significant for collective identity formation among diverse, migratory workers. A closer examination of the group recipients specified by callers sheds light on how such a collective identity was formed.

By defining collective identity as a process that involves the activation of relationships, emotional investments, and the signaling of group boundaries, I assessed collective identity formation via *Radio Conciencia* through an analysis of radio listeners' song dedications (Melucci 1989; Taylor and Whittier 1992). I analyzed group song dedications because they clearly involved the activation of relationships between callers and recipients of a dedication, and the act of giving and receiving songs publicly signified the investment of emotions among individuals and groups. Furthermore, by relying on song dedications, I was able to create caller-defined categories of group recipients to analyze the articulation and negotiation of group boundaries, rather than having to engage in the highly problematic design of equating 'ethnic categories' to songs and genres played over the radio.

The group recipients of song dedications fall into four main identity categories, 1) Region, 2) Work, 3) Gender, and 4) Immokalee. Each of these categories includes specific subgroups. Within category 1) Region, I coded dedications that specified "gente de/raza de, los de" [people from, those from] and a country or region within a country. For category 2) Work, I included dedications that specified "trabajadores" [workers], and

further coded the dedications based on mentions of a certain region, on a certain farm, in Immokalee/on a certain street, or in any other occupation. For category 3) Gender, I coded dedications based on articulation of gender in general, such as "hombres" or "mujeres" [men or women] (although there were no cases in which "men" was articulated in a dedication), and articulation of gender specified recipients from a certain region, in a certain occupation, or in Immokalee/on a certain street. Lastly, for category 4) Immokalee, I included dedications to the people of Immokalee or those on a specific street, to everyone listening to the radio, or as is common in early morning programs, to "*los despiertos*" [those that are waking up].

Tables 5.5-5.9 in the appendix present the frequencies of group dedication categories in four sample periods in the 2010 –2011 harvest season. Analysis of these data leads to several important conclusions about group song dedications on *Radio Conciencia* and collective identity formation among farmworkers in Immokalee.

First, the data show that in October, November, and January, dedications relating to workers' ethnic identities and geographic origins are the most prevalent. The distribution of dedications within the "region" category also provides insight into the areas from which workers in Immokalee emigrate. Take, for instance, the "region" column in October. Callers made 24 dedications to people from various states in Mexico, the most common of which were Oaxaca and Chiapas in southern Mexico, as well as Guerrero and Michoacán in the southwest. Interestingly, callers making dedications to people from Guatemala more commonly specified the country name, and not departments or municipalities within Guatemala. In the very few instances when departments within

Guatemala were specified, they were most often Huehuetenango or Quetzaltenango, which are ethnically diverse Mayan areas in the western highlands of Guatemala.

While one could argue that the heightened articulation of workers' different homelands signals division among workers, I discern this emphasis on ethnic and regional identities to be a function of workers' recent displacement and desire to connect to a diasporic community that reminds them of home. Moreover, in observing dedication statements accompanying song requests, I never heard a statement implying or promoting division or proclaiming the superiority of one ethnicity over another. Rather, if ethnic comparisons were made at all, they were consistently used to emphasize friendship across differences. Therefore, the heightened discourse of ethnic identity was a way for new immigrant workers to find and reify ethnic identities based on shared homelands (the Mexican majority articulated different Mexican states, the Guatemalan minority articulated an identity based on the nation-state), and build a foundation on which they could build a deeper level of unity and a more broadly defined collective identity based on shared experiences of transnational migration.

Second, the data also present insight into the relationship between ethnic and class identities. In his study on the formation of an interracial labor movement among agricultural and dock workers in mid-20th-century Hawaii, Jung contends that race did not recede in significance in workers' discourse and practices; rather, interracialism was achieved through a rearticulation, or reworking, of race (Jung 2006, 6-7). In Immokalee, where the obstacle of diversity is based on ethnic differences, the data from the first three sample periods suggest that discourse on ethnic identity was approximately twice as common as discourse of listeners' working-class identity. However, over time, discourse

of ethnicity and geographic origins receded, while discourse of "workers" stayed relatively constant. Considering only the four primary categories, these data seem to contradict Jung's findings that race (or ethnicity) does not recede in significance in the making of a diverse, working-class movement.

However, closer examination of the subgroups within the "worker" category reveals that more than 70 percent of the dedications were made to workers from a certain region. This indicates that as callers began to increase group dedications to workers, implying a heightened sense of membership in the working class, they did so through a rearticulation of ethnicity. In other words, a discourse of regional homelands that was prevalent throughout the harvest season appears to have been reworked into a discourse of workers who shared a common experience of immigration. While a more long-term study across multiple harvest seasons is needed to make more substantive conclusions on the process of reworking ethnic identities, it is significant that the form of collective identity articulated over the airwaves at the end of the 2010-2011 season closely resembles the vision of worker unity represented in the mural hanging in the entrance of the community center: unity based on workers' shared identity as immigrants from different homelands.

Third, what is perhaps more striking than the relationship between ethnicity and class identities is the sharp rise in dedications made to Immokalee-based groups (friends on 7th Street, etc). This indicates that over the course of the harvest season, callers came to identify themselves and others less with where they came from and more with where they currently lived. In other words, *Radio Conciencia* was a means of place making through which farmworkers reified a migrant community in Immokalee. In the first few

months of the harvest season, dedications to "*la gente de Immokalee*" [the people of Immokalee], "*los que escuchan la Radio Conciencia*" [those that listen to *Radio Conciencia*], or the common early morning dedication, "*a todos los que se levantan temprano*" [for everyone who gets up early], made up approximately one fifth of the total group dedications. At that time, the majority of dedications signaled places elsewhere – such as Oaxaca, Chiapas, or Huehuetenango. However, in April, dedications in this category rose dramatically, as dedications to people on specific streets in Immokalee, such as "*para todos en la calle siete*" [for everybody on Seventh Street], became extremely common. The streets articulated in these dedications, without exception, were in reference to the streets in Immokalee lined with trailers housing farmworkers. This indicates that as the season progressed, radio listeners increasingly utilized *Radio Conciencia* to dedicate songs to their neighbors and fellow workers in Immokalee by specifying the location of each other's homes.

For farmworkers who experience constant displacement – both by emigration out of Latin America and migrant work along the East Coast – the practice of creating neighborhoods and establishing roots are necessary tasks in the process of collective identity formation. *Radio Conciencia* figures prominently in this process, and has become an indispensable resource in CIW's maintenance of an interethnic collective identity among farmworkers, even as it faces the challenge of new workers arriving in Immokalee at the commencement of every harvest season.

Song Lyrics: Collective Experience and Consciousness in a Migrant Community

The title *Radio Conciencia* and the jingles that play intermittently throughout its programming, such as the one quoted at the beginning of this chapter, clearly identify

consciousness as a central purpose of the station. However, rather than taking these statements at face value, I investigate if and how the content of *Radio Conciencia* contributes to consciousness-raising in the farmworker community. In particular, using song lyrics from radio playlists and responses from farmworker interviews, I follow the lead of Roscigno and Danaher (2001) and analyze if and to what degree music lyrics raise consciousness and develop a sense of a collective experience. Furthermore, using recordings of radio play and participant listening in the studio, I examine how *Radio Conciencia* currently functions within CIW's larger cultural repertoire and consciousness-raising efforts in Immokalee.

Denisoff's (1972) study on the music of left-wing movements in the United States is considered one of the foundational works in the sociology of music and social movements. Denisoff employs a strict functional perspective of "protest songs," in which the analysis of lyrics is central; music and sound are of secondary importance. Specifically, the level of music's effectiveness in a movement can be determined based on the relative "magnetic" (emphasis on collective participation) or "rhetorical" (emphasis on individual reflection and dissent) qualities of song lyrics (Denisoff 1972). Lyrical analysis also figures prominently in more recent scholarship on music and social movements, such as Roscigno and Danaher's (2001) study of radio and textile worker insurgency. Based on Denisoff's dichotomy, Roscigno and Danaher categorize songs based on lyric content into 1) songs of collective experience and discontent and 2) songs of protest (sung during an active protest) (ibid., 28).[70] With their data set of 21 songs,

[70] It is important to note that Roscigno and Danaher (2001), in part due to the historical limitations of their study, categorize songs into these two groups based on their lyrical content, rather than on evidence that these songs were either played on the radio or performed during active protest. Thus, their categories are

they present two frequency distribution tables: one showing that 16 of the songs' lyrics specified causes of the problems textile workers faced indicating that consciousness was developed and expressed through music lyrics,[71] the other showing that 10 songs expressed concerns for family well-being and 15 songs expressed concern for worker well-being.[72] Roscigno and Danaher argue that their findings indicate that music lyrics helped create a "collective sense of experience" among textile workers across geographically dispersed locations.

Following Roscigno and Danaher (2001), I analyze the songs aired on *Radio Conciencia* employing Roscigno and Danaher's methods and analytic strategy to determine if and to what degree song lyrics on the radio may have contributed to consciousness raising and developing a sense of collective experience among farmworkers in Immokalee. I use two data sets with 21 songs each, representing 1) the songs that were the most frequently played, and 2) the songs that were most frequently requested. The first set is generated from the radio computer and represents the 21 songs that were broadcast with most frequency in 2010.[73] The second data set represents a tally of the 21 most requested songs from the 51 randomly selected radio log samples.

Tables 5.10 and 5.11 show the frequency distributions of causes of farmworkers concerns as expressed in lyrics in the most played and most requested songs on *Radio Conciencia*. The data show that no songs feature lyrics specifying causes – neither the

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based on interpretations of intent in song lyrics, not on records of which songs were played/performed in each context.

[71] Causes were categorized under "work process" and/or actors, in this case "bosses, managers, scabs." See Table 3 in Roscigno and Danaher 2001:38.

[72] See Table 2 in Roscigno and Danaher 2001: 35.

[73] Ideally, this data set would represent songs between September 2010 and April 2011, the months of the harvest season, but due to an unforeseen computer crash at Radio Conciencia in the spring of 2011, the playlist records for the first several months of 2011 were lost. Instead, this list is from the 2010 calendar year.

work process more generally or human or corporate actors – which indicates that songs on *Radio Conciencia* do not contribute to the development of consciousness among listeners in Immokalee. To be sure, I coded the songs along Piven and Cloward's (1979) "necessary cognitions" categories, which include the identification of injustice, the assertion of rights, and a heightened sense of efficacy. Tables 5.12 and 5.13 display the frequency distributions of necessary cognitions signaled in the lyrics of the most played and most requested songs on *Radio Conciencia*. These findings likewise indicate that the lyrics in the songs do not play a role in consciousness-raising among farmworkers.

In order to test if the lyrics help develop a sense of collective experience among farmworkers, I coded the songs based on Roscigno and Danaher's categories of textile workers' concerns – family well-being and worker well-being – as they could reasonably represent the concerns of farmworkers as well. Tables 5.14 and 5.15 show that the lyrics of the most played and most requested songs in Immokalee very rarely, if ever, mention common worker concerns such as family subsistence, low wages, or physical well being. If the song lyrics on *Radio Conciencia* don't identify worker concerns, causes of concerns, or necessary cognitions for mobilization, what do the lyrics represent? Furthermore, how are they significant for the social movement community in Immokalee, if at all?

The titles of some of the most played and requested songs provide some insight: "*Te recordaré*" [I Will Remember You], "*Cuando me enamoró*" [When I Fell in Love with Her], and "*¿A dónde vamos a parar*?" [Where Will We End Up?]. These two data sets, which represent the first in-depth investigation into the music content of *Radio Conciencia*, reveal that the farmworker radio station in Immokalee – unlike those

analyzed by Roscigno and Danaher – does not broadcast overtly political or oppositional "protest songs." Rather, the overwhelming majority of songs aired on *Radio Conciencia* are about love, separation, and nostalgia.

Tables 5.16 an 5.17 present the frequency distribution of songs that address themes of love, as well as three other topics prevalent in the lyrics: 1) separation from loved ones and/or awaiting reunion, 2) loneliness and/or alcohol, and 3) remembering or forgetting. While one could argue there is nothing particularly unique about love songs being played on the radio, I contend that in the context of a migrant worker community of immigrants, song lyrics that address themes of separation, loneliness, and nostalgia are indeed significant, as they develop a recognition of a shared immigration experience. These lyrics signal to the thousands of workers who arrive alone in Immokalee each season that homesickness and other emotions that arise after leaving loved ones are also shared among their fellow workers.

Below are a few selections of lyrics in a few of most played and requested songs on *Radio Conciencia* in the 2010 – 2011 harvest season:

"*Cuando me enamoro*" [When I Fell in Love with Her]
Enrique Iglesias and Juan Luis Guerra, 2010
Latin Pop

Y si en tus sueños escuchas	And if in your dreams you hear me
El llanto de mis lamentos	Sobbing my sorrows
En tus sueños no sigas dormida	Do not remain asleep in your dreams
Que es verdadero	They are true
No es un sueño	It's not a dream

"*La despedida*" [The Farewell]
Daddy Yankee Mundial, 2010
Raggaeton/Merengue

Antes que te vayas dame un beso	Before you leave, give me a kiss
Sé que soñaré con tu regreso	I'll only dream of your return
Mi vida no es igual	My life isn't the same
Ahora que te perdí	Now that I've lost you
¿Cómo te voy a olvidar?	How am I going to forget you?

"*Te recordaré*" [I Will Remember You]
El Trono de Mexico, 2010
Duranguense

Y ahora que no estás	And now that you aren't here
Dime cómo enfrentarme	Tell me how am I supposed to face
al mundo en esta soledad	this world in this solitude

"*Doy la vida por un beso*" [I'll Give Up My Life for a Kiss]
Grupo Bryndis, 2010
Cumbia/Balada

Muero de nostalgia cuando tú te has ido	I die of nostalgia when you've left
Hasta me dan ganas de gritar tu nombre	I get the urge to scream your name
Caso una locura, una obsession	It's almost madness, an obsession

While lyrics alone can signal shared meanings hearing these songs alongside fellow workers' dedications heightens a sense of collective experience among listeners in Immokalee. Moreover, the discourse of individual song dedications reveal that workers associate the themes of separation and loneliness portrayed in many of these songs with the experience of transnational immigration, rather than scenarios of breakups or ordinary farewells. As a participant listener of *Radio Conciencia*, I observed how requested love ballads such as "*Nunca te olvidaré*" [I Will Never Forget You] and "*Como te recuerdo*" [How I Remember You] were often dedicated to "my old girlfriend in Michoacán," "my love back home," or "someone I miss very much." I also observed how songs such as "*Las mañanitas*," a traditional Mexican birthday song (the fourth most requested song in the data sample), that do not contain lyrics that describe loneliness or separation, can

invoke similar meanings when workers dedicate them in honor of mothers, fathers, siblings, and friends they left behind.

In an effort to expand the scope beyond one season's playlist, I asked radio deejays with at least three years of experience to name the song(s) that have been the most frequently requested throughout their time at the station. In addition, I posed follow-up questions in the fall of 2011 to discover the most requested songs at the time of this writing. Overwhelmingly, deejays noted that the most requested songs were by the groups *Los Bukis [Little Kids]*, a Mexican ballad/pop band from Michoacán, and *Los Tigres del Norte [Tigers of the North]*, a norteño band originating from Sinaloa, Mexico.

The most frequently requested song on *Radio Conciencia* throughout the years has been "*La jaula de oro*" [The Cage of Gold] by *Los Tigres del Norte*, which portrays the struggle of an immigrant who comes to the United States to support his family but longs for his native Mexico.

"*La jaula de oro*" [The Cage of Gold]
Los Tigres del Norte, 1984
Norteño

De que me sirve el dinero	What good is money
Si estoy como prisionero	If I'm like a prisoner
Dentro de esta gran nacion	Inside this big nation
Cuando me acuerdo hasta lloro	When I remember I cry
Aunque la jaula sea de oro	Although the jail may be made of gold
No deja de ser prision	It's still a prison

Similarly, at the time of this writing, one of the most frequently requested songs in Immokalee is "La ciudad del olvido" [The City of Forgetfulness] by *El Trono de Mexico*.

"*La ciudad del olvido*" [The City of Forgetfulness]
Trono de Mexico, 2011
Duranguense

Pensé que con el tiempo	I thought that with time
Me olvidaría de ti	I would forget you
Los años han pasado	The years have gone by
y sigo aquí esclavizado	and I'm still here enslaved
Le di vuelta a mi vida para sacarte de mí,	I've wrestled to get you out of me
y en la ciudad del olvido	and in the city of forgetfulness
Recordé que sigo estando contigo	I remembered that I'm still with you

In both of these songs, the lyrics depict individual struggles with feelings of being trapped – a "prisoner" in a "cage of gold" or someone "enslaved" in the "city of forgetfulness." These feelings are shared by many farmworkers in Immokalee. Workers with H-2A visas are legally prohibited from changing employers during their work periods in the United States, meaning there is often no escape or alternatives for workers who find themselves in dangerous or abusive working conditions. For many farmworkers without documentation, they feel they cannot return to their families back home if they are to continue supporting them. Regardless of the nature of their immigration or where they come from, farmworkers in Immokalee face the same difficult reality every day: they endure exploitative conditions and backbreaking labor to help ensure the survival of loved ones they can no longer see.

It is this reality that explains why the lyrics of songs on *Radio Conciencia* differ so greatly from those selected by Roscigno and Danaher (2001) to represent songs listened to by textile workers. Unlike textile mills in the South in the 1930s, where workers generally grew up with each other and lived in stable communities where generations of families lived out there lives (however difficult they may have been), today's farmworkers in the South are often born thousands of miles away and arrive alone in the United States, unable to recognize anyone around them. The demands of migrant labor also discourage farmworkers from building relationships or establishing

roots in any one place. Roscigno and Danaher identify one of initial requirements for the mobilization of textile workers was the development of a recognition of shared experiences in the mills and a consciousness of the causes of injustice, which were both present in the lyrics of their songs. However, for farmworkers in Immokalee, there are much more fundamental tasks at hand. Before farmworkers collectively identify shared concerns and causes of injustice, they must first meet and trust their fellow workers, or "recognize themselves in each other" (Melucci 1989, 35).

The lyrics of the songs frequently broadcast and requested on *Radio Conciencia* are fundamental in this process, especially when they are accompanied by song dedications which signal that there are many workers who share feelings of loneliness, homesickness, and being trapped in an unfamiliar place. The lyrics help lay the foundations for the mobilization of farmworkers in Immokalee, even if they do not contain critiques of exploitative labor systems, assert workers rights, or specify sources of injustice. In the words of Gerardo, the songs and dedications on *Radio Conciencia* "help farmworkers realize that they are in the same boat" (Reyes Chávez 2010, follow-up interview).

While song lyrics played on *Radio Conciencia* create a crucial sense of belonging to a group of people who share in the same struggles and experiences, workers do not tune in to interpret lyrics. Rather, they tune in to *Radio Conciencia* because they want to listen to music and interact with others through giving and receiving songs. Deejays recognize this and consider *Radio Conciencia* to be an important "point of contact." In describing his role as a deejay, Gerardo explained:

> You have to have fun when animating a community; you have to include things that people appreciate. It doesn't matter if everything is completely politicized or

> whether or not you are politically correct at every moment– what matters is including what people can relate to. If you try to start a struggle or try to change the mentality of one person or the community without understanding what the community enjoys, you are going to fail completely. You need to acknowledge what people already appreciate. (Reyes Chávez 2010)

Farmworker deejays understand music broadcasting functions not only as a way for workers to begin to relate to one another, but as a means for the Coalition to make initial contact with workers who tune in because they enjoy listening to music from back home. This helps explain why the lyrics of songs are not overtly political and do not contain interpretations of injustice that would develop consciousness among workers. On *Radio Conciencia*, deejays lay the groundwork for consciousness-raising through discourse accompanying songs, which takes the form of news programming, recorded announcements, and commentary.

For five minutes at the top of each hour between three and seven o'clock pm, deejays air Spanish-language news programming on current events in Latin America and issues such as immigrant rights in the United States through a broadcasting partnership with Radio Bilinguë[74] based in Fresno, California. In between music broadcasts, the radio is also programmed to play pre-recorded announcements and jingles throughout the day. During my participant listening throughout the 2010-2011 harvest season, the most frequently played announcement, which was programmed every 70 minutes, is an invitation to the Wednesday meetings. It features the voices of two Coalition members, one male and one female:

> *Compañeros*! The Coalition of Immokalee Workers invites you to participate in the seasonal meetings every Wednesday at 7pm at the community center located

[74] Radio Bilingüe is a "non-profit radio network with Latino control and leadership, and is the only national distributor of Spanish-language programming in public radio" (see Radio Bilingüe). *Radio Conciencia* first began partnering with the Radio Bilingüe in 2004.

> on 110 South Second Street here in Immokalee. Every Wednesday, we talk about how to defend our human rights in the field, learn about the Campaign for Fair Food, and discuss how to continue to improve our lives as workers more generally. We reflect on these dynamics through drawings, theater, and other methods. For more information or if you need a ride to participate, call us at (213) --- ----. Remember! Every Wednesday at 7pm at night. Unity equals strength![75]

Recorded announcements are the central means through which workers' clearly articulate a need to defend "our human rights in the field" and promote a heightened rights discourse throughout the community. This assertion of rights, which Piven and Cloward (1979) define as a "necessary cognition" for social movement mobilization, is not present in song lyrics in Immokalee, but rather, is articulated as interludes between music broadcasts. Moreover, this discourse of rights is framed within a human rights discourse, indicating that *Radio Conciencia* serves as a mechanism through which human rights ideology in world culture is spread and made meaningful to participants in the local movement context in Immokalee. These assertions of human rights are accompanied by invitations to attend meetings where the Coalition employs participatory forms of popular education, such as theater and drawings, to animate workers to reflect, collectively analyze, and discuss possible solutions to the problems they face and strategies to implement human rights in the fields.

Within CIW's larger cultural repertoire, *Radio Conciencia* replaced less efficient means that Coalition members previously employed to initiate contact and communicate with workers, such as passing out illustrated fliers. As radio is one of few affordable and accessible means of mass communication for a working-class community with a low literacy rate, the CIW recognized that a radio station could take advantage of farmworkers' existing interests in music and dramatically increase its ability to

[75] Transcribed and translated from a field recording.

communicate with new and returning farmworkers. An analysis of the lyrics of frequently played and requested songs on *Radio Conciencia* reveals that consciousness as measured by Piven and Cloward's (1979) "necessary cognitions" is not developed through song lyrics. As a participant listener, however, I heard how extra-musical content such as news programs and pre-recorded announcements heighten a human rights discourse in the community. Even then, *Radio Conciencia* is not a site where farmworkers explicitly discuss and reflect on instances of crew leader abuse, discuss the causes of injustice, or devise plans of action. This is in large part because of the very public nature of radio waves, which can be heard by growers and the police, as well as the farmworkers.

Radio Conciencia is a site where some of the obstacles created by immigration and annual migrations are overcome: lyrics and song dedications enable farmworkers to see themselves in each other and recognize the similarities of their personal struggles. It is here, in this sonic space that brings together people's existing interest in music with a means of strengthening bonds among strangers, where the CIW makes contact with newly arrived workers and extends invitations to events and meetings at the community center.

Within the safe space of the community center, CIW continues to employ variations of its more traditional popular education methods. Popular theater is now the primary repertoire used at weekly meetings, while the use of drawings has declined. Farmworker staff note that as *Radio Conciencia* has become more central in CIW's communication, the theater performances have likewise become better rehearsed and effective in generating critical dialogue among new farmworkers: the significant time farmworker staff members previously dedicated to handing out fliers is now directed

towards preparations for popular education sessions. Moreover, the large majority of newly arrived farmworkers who enter the CIW community center for the first time do so in response to invitations on *Radio Conciencia*. Therefore, it is not surprising that these workers are often familiar with the campaign and more willing to participate in discussions with people they have never talked to before: they have already spent time together sharing music and dedications, and they recognize the voices of their favorite deejays who are now engaging them in dialogue about causes and solutions to their collective struggles.

As *Radio Conciencia* has become one of CIW's most vital elements in its cultural repertoire, it has not replaced CIW's previous popular education methods. In many ways, it has developed out of this tradition: the radio deejay now serves as a kind of animator, a member of the farmworker community who encourages knowledge originating from the workers' experience of migration to guide learning and understanding among listeners. While an analysis based on Roscigno and Danaher's (2001) model has demonstrated that consciousness is not developed through song lyrics on *Radio Conciencia*, extra-musical content and programming emphasize a human rights discourse and invite workers to attend meetings, where theater and more participatory popular education repertoires generate consciousness-raising dialogues and collective analysis in a safe environment.

Soundscapes and Shared Experience: Signaling Home and Syncing Time in Immokalee

Thus far, I have shown that song lyrics and dedications on *Radio Conciencia* develop a sense of collective experience among immigrant farmworkers while announcements heighten a discourse of human rights and contribute to recruitment

efforts. However, consideration of only the lyrical content and discourse disregards the significance of music and sound in themselves, and how they contribute to the maintenance of a social movement community in Immokalee.

Using insights gained through interviews and observations as a participant listener, or "earwitness" in the farmworker community, I demonstrate how the musical soundscape created by *Radio Conciencia* contributes to the maintenance of an interethnic collective identity by signaling workers' shared experience of transnational migration. Moreover, workers tune in to the radio because they recognize that *Radio Conciencia* is also in tune with their lives. By syncing to the rhythms of the harvest season and the patterns of daily life in Immokalee, *Radio Conciencia* restores a sense of time and place to an uprooted, transient community.

Schafer (1977) introduced and elaborated the concept of soundscapes in his landmark work on acoustic ecology, *The Tuning of the World* (Schafer 1977). He defines the soundscape as "any acoustic field of study" (ibid., 7). As such, "We may speak of a musical composition as a soundscape, or a radio program as a soundscape or an acoustic environment as a soundscape. We can isolate an acoustic environment as a field of study just as we can study the characteristics of a given landscape" (ibid.). Even with Schafer's direct example of a "radio program as a soundscape," only a handful of scholarly works have studied this subject, and fewer still have addressed radio soundscapes as they relate to social movements (Westerkamp 1994; Johnson 2009).

To first understand the unique soundscape created by 107.9 FM *Radio Conciencia*, it is helpful to situate it within surrounding radio soundscapes which can also be heard in Immokalee. The sounds of the nearest FM frequency include the music of

Kenny G and smooth jazz favorites on 107.1 WZIZ, broadcasting from nearby Fort Myers. On 98.5 WUSV, 100.1 WCKT, and 101.9 WWGR, top hits from country music charts are broadcast from Fort Myers and Bonita Springs. Contemporary Christian music also fills the airwaves of lower frequencies such as 88.7 WAYJ, 89.5 WSRX, 91.5 WJYO, which are broadcast from Fort Myers and Naples.

For immigrant workers arriving from southern Mexico and the highlands of Guatemala, the sounds of smooth jazz and contemporary country are unfamiliar and the English of fast-speaking deejays is incomprehensible. Besides *Radio Conciencia*, the only other radio station with Spanish-language content that can be heard in Immokalee is 92.1WAFZ, *La Ley* [The Law]. With a logo of a sheriff's badge, *La Ley* is owned by Glades Media Company LLC and broadcasts Mexican top hits throughout southwest Florida. According to its website, Glades Media Group provides professional sales staff that design "customized advertising packages" to help advertisers capitalize on the growing "Hispanic population" in Florida: "Now that the Hispanic population has officially overtaken black Americans as the nation's largest minority group, the Glades Media Group is in the perfect position to help you reach them. Shaping your business to become more "Latin-friendly" is not free and it does not come without effort, but the financial rewards are real…" (Glades Media).

In contrast to all of these stations, farmworkers established *Radio Conciencia* for the benefit of farmworkers themselves, adopting the slogan "*del pueblo para el pueblo*" [of the people, for the people] from the play performed by Sna Jzt'ibajom in the early years of the movement. The fact that *Radio Conciencia* is a community-run station that does not serve commercial interests has shaped both the speech and music content that

constitute the soundmarks of the radio station. A soundmark, as defined by Schafer, refers to "a community sound which is unique or possesses qualities which make it specially regarded or noticed by the people in that community" (Schafer 1977, 10). Moreover, he notes "once a soundmark has been identified, it deserves to be protected, for soundmarks make the acoustic life of the community unique" (ibid.). In his oral history, Gerardo discussed how the non-commercial aspect of *Radio Conciencia* quickly gave the station a unique character in terms of caller discourse and the music that was requested and played.

Oral History: Gerardo Reyes Chávez, Part II (see oral history in appendix)

In previous sections, I demonstrated how the discourse of song dedications enable farmworkers to invoke transnational origins and relationships and how song lyrics about separation from loved ones, and the pain of remembering or forgetting, develop a sense of shared experience among immigrant workers in Immokalee. However, it is clear from Gerardo's testimony of caller comments that the sound of a song, not just its lyrics, that signals workers' transnational origins "back in Mexico" or "back in Guatemala." The expressions "since I was fifteen years old" and "brings back memories" are also significant, as they imply that music can create trajectories of time as well as of place, and serve as powerful means of renewing memories of loved ones, such as a girlfriend or a grandfather. In these ways, the soundscape of music broadcast on *Radio Conciencia* presents a fascinating counterpoint to Roscigno and Danaher's (2001) focus on lyrics and discourse, as it demonstrates how sound alone can generate the same perceptions of shared experience – in this case, of transnational migration and nostalgia – that are communicated through lyrics and dedications.

The music soundscape of *Radio Conciencia* further contributes to the maintenance of the social movement community by creating new shared experiences through the organization of time during the harvest season. To most social movement scholars, the idea that a social movement community requires a collective sense of time is at best assumed, but normally ignored.

I argue, however, that for farmworkers in Immokalee, the challenge in building a social movement community comes not only from workers' sense of physical displacement, but also their removal from their usual sense of time. Individual days become marked by 4 am alarms, short lunch breaks, and long bus rides to and from the fields. Besides work, there is often nothing other than sports bars in Immokalee to occupy their time. The days of the week become indistinguishable as consecutive workdays without rest or long periods of unemployment. The year becomes punctuated with multiple moves across the East Coast, while birthdays and holidays pass without acknowledgement or celebration. Part of the CIW's success in creating and sustaining a social movement community comes from its ability to restore a sense of time and place to the disorienting changes workers experience when they arrive. The CIW accomplishes this through a musical transformation of Immokalee's soundscape, utilizing a combination of broadcasts on *Radio Conciencia*, "remote control" block parties, and music performances at annual celebrations.

As a participant listener, I was surprised by how quickly the radio became a part of my routine and an acoustic means for telling time. I could accurately guess the time of day not only by the familiar sounds of certain deejays' voices during their scheduled time

slots – Cruz at 6 am, Oscar at 9 am, Silvia at 1 pm, or Gerardo at 7 pm, for instance – but also by the type of music that was being broadcast.

The music played between five and seven o'clock in the morning is distinctly upbeat, with genres such as *cumbia*, *raggaeton*, or *duranguense* filling the airwaves. The songs are often recent hits with fast rhythms and cheerful lyrics, reflecting the requests of workers who are waking up, preparing their lunches, and getting ready for work. The song dedications in this period most commonly address groups of people and other workers in Immokalee. During mid-day programming, when most farmworkers are out in the fields, song requests are less frequent and are most commonly made by women who work in the market or local restaurants in Immokalee. In recent years, as prepaid cell phones have become more affordable for low-wage workers, *Radio Conciencia* has started to receive more calls from farmworkers during their brief lunch breaks. The songs played during lunch usually represent a wide variety of Latin American music genres, and are a mix of recent releases and older songs.

In the evenings, between six and nine o'clock, the music is noticeably different. The rhythms of frequently played songs are generally slower and the lyrics more somber, and the most commonly requested genres are *baladas*, *corridos*, *rancheras*, and *norteño* music. These songs are usually older – released in the 1980s and 1990s – and the sounds remind workers of times back home. These songs usually come from the large repertoires of only a few artists and groups such as *Los Bukis*, Marco Antonio Solis, Vicente Fernandez, and *Los Tigres del Norte*.[76] The song dedications, requested during the hours

[76] While these artists are extremely popular in Immokalee, the requested songs are drawn from their large song repertoires, which explains why many of these individual songs do not appear in high positions on the frequency distribution charts of most requested songs.

when workers are resting and preparing to go to sleep, are most commonly made to individual recipients back home. Evenings are times when feelings of nostalgia for home set in, and listening to the radio and making daily dedications to loved ones (which signal shared experiences of migration and displacement among listeners) are important collective experiences in Immokalee.

In addition to syncing to the reality of workers' daily routines, radio deejays also bring the radio to physical locations throughout Immokalee at the end of the week during the first months of the harvest season. Known as "*controles remotos*" [remote controls], these music events are essentially farmworker block parties, where *Radio Conciencia* deejays set up a laptop and speakers in an abandoned parking lot or trailer park and play music for workers. Deejays play an eclectic mix of *cumbia*, *duranguense*, and *marimba*, and even initiate little competitions like musical chairs, dance offs, and potato sack races. During my observations of several of these *controles remotos* in October 2010, I was struck by the transformation of farmworkers' demeanor from when they first arrived to when they left a couple hours later.

Dressed in their work clothes, soiled from dirt and pesticides in the fields, farmworkers arrived either after listening to an announcement on the radio or hearing the music of the *control remoto* from their trailers. The deejays, who played the roles of both announcer and comedian, greeted the workers and gradually got the crowd chuckling. Before long, the farmworkers were laughing hysterically together as they watched contestants compete in different musical games, such as musical chairs and dance-offs (see visual appendix 5.3). The winners were "interviewed" by the deejays in front of the crowd. Here, a heightened discourse of ethnicity and migration was evident; winners

were asked, "Where are you from?" before they were even asked their names. After these brief interviews, which introduced workers to one another outside the tomato fields, the winners were awarded blue stickers and t-shirts bearing the *Radio Conciencia* logo. Toward the end of the block party, deejays announced the different music programs on the radio and extended invitations to attend worker meetings at the community center.

At the beginning of the season, workers often made their first contact with the Coalition at block parties. In our interview, Gerardo explained how *controles remotos* are an important "point of entrance, but not an end in itself."

> The *control remoto*, more than anything, is a way of connecting with the people. In a sense, it's a way to connect a lot of people to the Coalition who, in the beginning, may not have been interested. You can't just say 'here we are, we are right, now lets do this march!" It just doesn't work that way. Immokalee is a community with its challenges, with its own personality. Making contact with the radio is really exciting for people, in part because there is nothing to do in Immokalee – it can be a very sad and lonely place. (Reyes Chávez 2010)

Radio deejays often choose to hold *controles remotos* on Friday nights in order to provide workers with something positive to look forward to at the end of the work week. The first time I observed the block parties, I regarded them as decidedly fun events but perhaps inconsequential for my research. But when I soon found myself, as a new resident of Immokalee, anxiously awaiting the next *control remoto*, I recognized how fun, laughter, and enjoyment with others – which is intimately bound to musical activities – shapes one's sense of being part of a community.

In a format similar to the *controles remotos*, but on a much grander scale, are the CIW's annual celebrations: the *Fiestas Patrias* (Independence Day holiday party) and the *Fiesta del Año del Trabajador* (Year of the Worker Party). In addition to marking the

beginning and near end of the harvest season, respectively, these fiestas also serve as key solidarity rituals in Immokalee.

For Durkehim, the enactment of *ritual*, with its collective representations and totemic emblems, is the fundamental cultural mechanism that constitutes the collective life of a group. While Durkheim set out in *Elementary Forms of Religious Life* to "yield an understanding of the religious nature of man" by studying Aboriginal religion in Australia, other scholars claim that "Durkheim's chief motivation for writing *The Elementary Forms* was an interest in contemporary solidarity, not traditional religion" (Durkheim [1912] 2001, 3; Cladis 2001, xxviii). Drawing from Durkheim's contributions to the understanding of social solidarity, social movement scholars "emphasize the significance of rituals for expressing solidarity and evoking widely shared feelings among dominated groups" (Taylor and Whittier 1995, 164). For example, in drawing on their study of the U.S. women's movement, Taylor and Whittier describe how in movement events such as music festivals, "ritual is used to evoke and express emotion, dramatize inequality and injustice, and emphasize the way that women's individual experiences are connected to their disadvantaged states as a group" (ibid., 178).

Similarly, in Immokalee, the rituals that strengthen bonds of solidarity among large number of farmworkers take the form of music festivals. Durkheim described how "every festival, even one purely secular in origin, has certain features of the religious ceremony, for it always has the effect of bringing individuals together, setting the masses in motion, and so inducing that state of effervescence, sometimes in delirium, that is not unrelated to the religious state" (Durkheim [1912] 2001, 285). This collective

effervescence, this state of heightened emotional connection generated by participation in collective rituals, leads to the strengthening of social solidarity among group members.

While Durkheim himself rarely focused on music, recent scholarly collaborations such as the edited volume *The Origins of Music* shed light on the relationship between ritual and music in early and contemporary human history. Bellah (2005) summarized the contributions of the work as increasing an understanding of music and solidarity:

> While the contributors of *The Origins of Music* are not of one mind about the social function of music that gave it its evolutionary value, several of them emphasize the role of music in the creation of social solidarity. As Freeman puts it, " Here [in music] in its purest form is a human technology for crossing the solipsistic gulf. It is wordless [not necessarily, R.B.], illogical, deeply emotional, and selfless in its actualization of transient and then lasting harmony between individuals… It constructs the sense of trust and predictability in each member of the community on which social interactions are based" (Freeman 2000, 420). (Bellah 2005, 190)

At the annual *Fiestas Patrias* celebrations, nearly a thousand workers gather outside the community center to listen to the music of local and touring bands. Throughout the music event, which is held annually on a Sunday afternoon near September 15 or 16,[77] the energy of the event increases as the heat of the afternoon sun subsides. The fiestas conclude with a rite that evokes particularly emotional responses from workers.

At the 2010 *Fiestas Patrias*, I observed CIW staff members raise the flags of Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador in front of a blue banner featuring the *Radio Conciencia* emblem. The crowd fell silent as workers removed their worn baseball caps, placed their right hands over their hearts, and faced the flags of their home countries. Then, with a laptop connected to a loudspeaker, a radio deejay began playing

[77] September 15th marks the Independence Days of Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador. September 16th marks the Independence Day of Mexico.

the national anthems of the respective countries one after the other. The sound of these national anthems had visible effects on the workers: some sang along wholeheartedly; some were completely still as they straightened their backs and held their heads high; others had tears swell in their eyes as they were overcome with emotion. Standing shoulder to shoulder in a dusty parking lot, I heard one young man behind me whisper to a friend beside him, "That silly song has never sounded more beautiful."

Bellah, in further exploring the relationship between music and ritual, emphasizes how music also contributes to building social solidarity through the "keeping together in time" (Bellah 2005, 203). Bellah (2005) highlights a passage in Anderson's (1991) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* that describes how national anthems contribute to the formation of "unisonance," or the simultaneous feeling of being connected to or in harmony with a group.

> Take national anthems… No matter how banal the words and mediocre the tunes, there is in this singing an experience of simultaneity. At precisely such moments, people wholly unknown to each other utter the same verses to the same melody. The image: unisonance… If we are aware that others are singing these songs precisely when and as we are, we have no idea who they may be, or even where, out of earshot, they are singing. Nothing connects us all but imagined sound. (Anderson [1983]1991, 145)

By playing these anthems, the CIW is syncing workers "together in time" with members of a national "imagined community," and thus reifying workers' sense of ethnic identity rather than their shared position as farworkers in Immokalee. Yet, by playing the national anthems consecutively in the context of diaspora, workers may also experience a unique kind of unisonance: one generated by recognition that while they pay tribute to different flags and anthems, they all share in feelings of nostalgia for home. But why

emphasize the "imagined" communities of nation-states at all if the goal is to create a tangible social movement community in Immokalee?

CIW's first gathering of the season – the *Fiestas Patrias* – emphasizes workers' home countries because it resonates strongly with newly arrived immigrant workers and enables the CIW to establish a connection and a sense of trust with these workers. This first gathering also takes the form of a music festival because it likely enables workers to gather across ethnic lines (before divisions are even able to form), listen and dance to the same music, and collectively experience heightened emotions of celebration as well as nostalgia – developing a first taste of solidarity.

The meaning workers attach to the national and ethnic identities emphasized at the *Fiestas Patrias* is gradually adapted over the harvest season – through radio programs, exposure to art and murals in the community center, dialogues at CIW meetings, and even participation in the marimba ensemble – such that by the time they participate in the *Fiesta del Año del Trabajador* near the end of the season (which I discuss later in the chapter), these identities come to signify membership and solidarity in an interethnic farmworker coalition.

Radio Conciencia deejays' transformation of the Immokalee soundscape through radio broadcasts, block parties, and annual celebrations effectively signal shared experiences of immigration and restore a sense of daily, weekly, and annual time to workers' lives that is often uprooted by the demands of migrant labor. However, just as the CIW utilizes musical sound to maintain a social movement community amidst a migratory workforce, music soundscapes and practices in Immokalee also figure prominently in the Coalition's initiatives to maintain an interethnic coalition, even as

shifting currents in the global political and labor economy transform the ethnic composition of farmworkers over time.

Diversity in Diaspora: Music, Marimba, and the Negotiation of Ethnic Difference

In recent years, the field of ethnomusicology has begun to address the challenge that globalization and the increased movement of individuals and communities around the world has posed to the study of music as culture within a group of people. Reyes (1999) asserts that in the growing ethnomusicological literature that addresses migrant music and the "diffusion of musical ideas across cultural boundaries," two primary themes have developed: "(1) musical identity and the role of tradition in the context of dislocation; and (2) the related issue of studying a musical culture in a contingent world where time and place are no longer the unequivocal anchors that they used to be" (Reyes 1999, 15). In her study of the Vietnamese refugee experience in the United States, one of Reyes's contributions to the study of music in migrant communities is her argument for distinctions between forced migrants and voluntary migrants, which in turn shapes their musical practices (ibid., 171).

Reyes' dichotomy highlights the difficulty of classifying immigrant farmworkers in Immokalee, whose individual migration paths qualify them as voluntary migrants, but whose ambiguous legal status, perception that they are not free to return, and general lack of predictability about their journey or destination, are conditions that resemble those of forced migrants. These less voluntary components of farmworker migration explains why, as in Vietnamese refugee communities, farmworker musical acts often involve a "professed longing to return home" mixed with a preservation of loyalty to the homeland and a complex combination of adaptive strategies to a new place (Reyes 1999, 171). This

is clearly heard in the soundscape of *Radio Conciencia*, where farmworkers make music dedications to their new neighbors in the same acoustic space that brings them music reminiscent of their homelands.

In another study of music in transient communities, Ragland (2003) describes how deejays at social dances in Mexican immigrant communities in New York and New Jersey "reconfigure time and place" and "turn feelings of displacement and marginalization into a collective sense of identity and connectedness, generating what Appadurai (1996) has called a 'diasporic public sphere'" (Ragland 2003, 339). Radio deejays in Immokalee serve a parallel purpose in the migrant farmworker community, reconfiguring time and space through the broadcasting of music that signifies temporal trajectories to the past and geographical trajectories to distant homelands.

Appadurai (1996), who utilizes a macro-anthropological approach to the study of global processes, defines diasporic public spheres as the "crucibles of a postnational political order" whose discourse is generated by "interactive and expressive" mass media and the "movement of refugees, activists, students, and laborers" (Appadurai 1996, 22). But unlike the diaspora of Mexican immigrants in New York, or other transplanted communities that are increasingly studied by ethnomusicologists, the case of immigrant laborers in Immokalee is unique because the diaspora represents a convergence of ethnic diversity.

Earlier in the chapter, I demonstrate how song dedications on *Radio Conciencia*, which indicate a heightened discourse and re-articulation of ethnicity over the period of the harvest season, contribute to the maintenance of an interethnic collective identity among farmworkers. However, in light of significant demographic changes among

farmworkers after the initial mobilization process in the mid-1990s – specifically, the dramatic decrease in the number of Haitian workers coupled with an increase in the number of indigenous workers from Guatemala in the 2001-2011 period – it is also crucial to analyze the musical means through which the CIW has sought to sustain an interethnic farmworker movement across seasons.

More so than any other cultural element the CIW has utilized in the 2001-2011 period, it is through music – both broadcast and performed – that farmworkers articulate and negotiate ethnic difference. The large colorful mural representing workers from different countries still hangs at the entrance of the community center, but the visual art tradition that was prominent in the early years is now rarely used as an animating tool. The popular theater tradition brought to Immokalee by *Sna Jtz'ibajom* in the 1990s is now the primary consciousness-raising tool at weekly meetings, where the themes now focus on issues related to workers' rights in the field, poverty, and corporate targets in the Campaign for Fair Food. Music practices, however, whether they are broadcasts on *Radio Conciencia*, musical ensemble rehearsals, or performances at annual celebrations, are the cultural mechanisms through which ethnic difference is articulated and reworked and an interethnic collective identity is maintained.

Since its inception in 2003, *Radio Conciencia's* music programs are designed by the farmworkers who volunteer to serve as deejays each season. The CIW does not have a set schedule that must be filled; rather, the radio content changes every season according to the interests and diversity of farmworker deejays that volunteer. The radio playlists analyzed earlier document the musical content that is most frequently broadcast on programs on *Radio Conciencia*, which to a large extent, feature genres originating from

or adapted in Mexico, such as Mexican pop ballads, *duranguense*, *norteño*, or *cumbia*.[78] What these frequency playlists do not show are the specialized programs that reflect Immokalee's ethnic diversity.

In the first seasons of *Radio Conciencia*, programs were broadcast in Spanish, Q'anjob'al, and Haitian Kreyòl. In the 2010 – 2011 harvest season that I observed, the large majority of programs were broadcast in Spanish, with the exception of a marimba program that was broadcast every Saturday and Sunday afternoon from four to six o'clock. Rigo, a young farmworker from Huehuetenango, Guatemala, hosts the Sunday afternoon program. Over the airwaves, Rigo speaks interchangeably in both Spanish and M'am,[79] one of the languages spoken by indigenous Mayan workers in Immokalee. During the marimba program, anyone is welcome to call in and make song requests and dedications, but unlike most other programs on *Radio Conciencia* that do not restrict the type of music that is played, the songs broadcast on the marimba program are strictly limited to marimba music.

While the marimba – a long, wooden instrument of the xylophone family – is common throughout Central America and southern Mexico, it is in Guatemala that the marimba makes up a distinctive "part of the 'soundscape' of all of Guatemala's hamlets, villages, towns, and cities" (Navarrete Pellicer 2005, 70). Ethnomusicologists such as Garfias (1983) and Godinez (2002) have traced marimba's origins back to wooden xylophones in Africa. Since the introduction of the marimba in the Americas in the 16th century, Navarrete Pellicer suggests that the marimba music tradition, with its European-

[78] *Cumbia* is a genre originally from the coastal regions of Colombia, with a distinctive 2/4 rhythmic structure. One adaptation is the Mexican *cumbia*, which is commonly regarded as its own sub-genre, having a 2/2 rhythmic structure.

[79] M'am is primarily spoken in the Guatemalan departments of Huehuetenango, Quetzaltenango, and San Marco and in the Mexican state of Chiapas.

derived repertoire, "developed during the colonial era in towns with multiethnic populations—Spanish, Ladino, mulatto, and Indian" (Navarrete Pellicer 2005, 69). Since the early twentieth century to the present, the marimba has been widely regarded by various political interests as a music tradition representative of Guatemalan national identity.

In Immokalee, *Radio Conciencia's* marimba program serves as a crucial site where Guatemalan identity is articulated. Evidence for this is apparent in the program's Guatemalan deejays, the broadcast of music by marimba groups from Guatemala, such as *Marimba Chapinlandia* and *Internacionales Conejos*, and the prevalence of dedications to people from different departments within Guatemala. I invoke the term "Guatemalan identity" not to disregard Guatemala's immense ethnic diversity, both in and between its Ladino[80] and indigenous populations; rather, I use the term to reflect the discourse of deejays and callers that indicates that the program seeks to create a space for people who identify with Guatemala as a homeland more generally. The use of both Spanish and Mayan dialects during the program and the broadcast of a wide selection of marimba music associated with both Mayan and Ladino cultural traditions in Guatemala also suggest that the radio is a place where ethnic diversity among Guatemalans is negotiated.

What is most significant here is that the space where these ethnic identities are articulated is musical, with distinct acoustic boundaries in the *Radio Conciencia* soundscape. As the ethnic composition of farmworkers in Immokalee changed between 2001 and 2011, the CIW did not form distinct groups based on ethnicity or language. It did not create distinct Mexican theater groups or Guatemalan plays. In fact, worker

[80] Non-indigenous, Spanish-speaking population.

meetings and popular theater performances at the CIW community center continue to be held and performed exclusively in Spanish. Rather, CIW's cultural repertoire has been remade over time to feature music practices as a central means of establishing contact with new workers, recruiting workers to the community center, and developing relationships among workers across ethnic divides. In *Radio Conciencia*, this has involved the establishment of distinct programs for ethnic minorities among farmworkers, such as the marimba program.

While one could interpret the presence of programs targeted to listeners from Guatemala as indicative of segregated groups of workers and a lack of interethnic collective identity, I argue that although it may appear counter-intuitive at the surface level, there is another process at work, such that playing different groups' music actually helps bind the community together. In the shared soundscape of *Radio Conciencia*, the broadcast of distinct programs containing music traditions and languages representative of specific homelands enables farmworkers to rework the meaning of music from its geographic origins to the context of a diverse diaspora by emphasizing a shared experience of displacement, which ultimately cultivates an ability to see themselves in each other.

This "reworking" often takes place in the discourse accompanying music broadcasts. For instance, while observing the marimba program, I frequently heard deejays introduce the marimba program in Spanish to address the entire farmworker community, such as the one I transcribed from a broadcast in November 2010:

> For all of us farmworkers in Immokalee, it is important that we value our traditions and where we come from, whether it is Mexico, Guatemala, El Salvador, wherever it may be. For those of us from Guatemala, listening to

> marimba or speaking our native language is an important part of honoring where we come from.[81]

In contrast to listening to marimba in Guatemala, the deejay describes that for Guatemalans in the diasporic context of Immokalee, the practice of listening to marimba music becomes "an important part of honoring where we come from." By itself, such a statement could be interpreted as valorizing a Guatemalan identity over that of other farmworkers, indicating competition or division across ethnic lines. However, the deejay uses this musical practice as a way to connect to an immigrant experience shared by all workers by stating that it is important for "all of us farmworkers" to "value our traditions," regardless of "where we come from."

The content of song dedications also indicate the marimba program contribute to interethnic unity rather than division. For example, on many occasions I heard workers call in, request a song, and say variations of, "I'm from Mexico, but I just wanted to call and say I really enjoy this program. Greetings to all of my *compañeros* from Guatemala!" Statements such as these not only indicate that Mexican workers listen to the program, but that they recognize they are listening to music Guatemalan workers value, and utilize the giving and receiving of songs to make emotional investments and express solidarity across ethnic lines.

Deejay and caller discourse on the marimba program indicate that increased emphasis on ethnic identity through separate programming does not imply ethnic division, and reversely, that interethnic cohesion does not require disregarding difference. Rather, the marimba program provides an acoustic space where a minority Guatemalan

[81] Transcribed and translated from field recording.

identity is reified and reworked into membership in a diverse worker community that is united by a shared experience of transnational migration.

Marimba Soundscapes: Recruitment and Human Rights Consciousness

In addition to serving as an acoustic space where Guatemalan identity is reworked in a diverse diaspora, the marimba program also helps attract Guatemalan workers to the community center. While recorded announcements are regularly broadcast during the marimba program and deejays invite their listeners to attend weekly worker meetings, the sound of the marimba itself often impels workers to first come to the center. Consider the case of Cruz, from Huehuetenango, Guatemala, who was first drawn to the community center after hearing marimba music and his native language on the radio.

Oral History: Cruz Salucio (see oral history in appendix)

For Cruz, hearing marimba music and Q'anjob'al in the soundscape of Immokalee had a profound impact on him, in large part because thought he would never hear marimba music or his native language spoken again once he left Guatemala. These familiar sounds, more than deejay discourse or song lyrics, led him to the CIW community center and a worker meeting. Thus, the establishment of an acoustic space on *Radio Conciencia* dedicated to broadcasting distinct music traditions and languages, rather than serving as a divisive force, helps the CIW successfully attract Guatemalan workers like Cruz and maintain an interethnic coalition even as the diversity of the farm labor force changes over time.

Recognizing the importance of *Radio Conciencia's* marimba program in animating Guatemalan farmworkers to participate with the Coalition, CIW members decided to invest in a marimba instrument that would be housed in the *Radio Conciencia*

studio. The instrument, a forty-key diatonic marimba (also known as *marimba de sones*), was shipped from Guatemala and arrived at the community center on August 18, 2008 (Reyes Chávez 2010, follow-up interview). A group of farmworkers who had previously played marimba in Guatemala welcomed the instrument, and within days, the marimba was tuned and rehearsals commenced.

The ensemble was soon named *Marimba de la Coalición* and continues to practice approximately once a week, usually on a Tuesday or Thursday night. During the rehearsals, which are held in the common room at the entrance to the center, the doors facing the "La Fiesta #3" parking lot are propped open so workers returning from the fields can hear the sounds of the marimba. Thus, many of the workers who come in and listen to the rehearsals often set foot in the community center for the first time not in response to verbal or written invitations but out of interest in the music – an invitation without words.

While the members of *Marimba de la Coalición* change frequently, reflecting the instability of migrant work, the ensemble always consists of at least four members who play traditional *sones* on the marimba. Occasionally (as in 2009-2010) the ensemble will include an electric guitar and drums, depending on who is in Immokalee during a particular season (see visual appendix 5.4). The ensemble made its performance debut outside Immokalee just one year later, at the conclusion of a small CIW march against Publix in Lakeland, Florida in December 2009. However, given the difficulty in transporting the large seven-foot instrument, the ensemble performs primarily in Immokalee at the CIW's *Fiestas Patrias* and *Fiesta del Año del Trabajador* celebrations.

It is evident from listening to callers to the marimba program and observing marimba rehearsals that workers' engagement in these musical practices brings them joy and personal fulfillment. On another level, it is clear from farmworkers' own words that marimba music has a "humanizing" influence. Cruz unknowingly echoed the words of Lucas, who described how listening to a *corrido* in Immokalee ten years before made many Mexican workers "feel human again;" for Cruz, listening to the marimba and speaking one's native language is a part of valuing one's self "as a whole person."

Of course, this is not to imply that music is essentially "humanizing" or "good," as the meaning and social effects of music making and music listening are context-dependent. In considering music in diaspora in particular, one must recognize that "although people and groups may play the exact same music, the meaning and connotations change according to the conditions under which the music is played… music from the homeland immediately signifies and indexes something else in exile or in diaspora" (McAlister 2011, 212). In the context of this immigrant community, whose members experience separation from families, repeated displacement through both transnational and regional migration, and exploitative working conditions, the sound of *corridos* or *marimba* music – which farmworkers may have regarded as commonplace or of little significance in their daily lives back home – take on such profound meanings in Immokalee that farmworkers describe the act of hearing such music as restorative of their essential humanity.

It is in the physical space of the CIW community center, rather than in the lyrics of songs broadcast on the radio, where consciousness is developed and diverse workers engage in a discourse of human rights.

> When people get excited by music, they start to identify with people at the [community] center and establish a relationship where the center is no longer just a space where you go and listen to marimba, but it's also a place where you go and talk about your human rights. It becomes a place where you talk about the struggle for better wages and about what to do if somebody discriminates against you. (Reyes Chávez 2010)

Consider again Cruz's description of the purpose of *Radio Conciencia*:

> The objective here on the radio is for us to maintain those traditions, so they don't die off. It helps us to remember that we don't lose our human rights simply because we have left our country. When you speak your language and practice your traditions – something as simple as listening to music, for example – you are valuing yourself, your identity, as a whole person. And what matters here in Immokalee is that we recognize we are all human beings. It doesn't matter what language we speak or what beliefs we follow, in this community, we all live in the same situation. It doesn't make any difference in the fields either. The ranchers don't differentiate between Salvadorians, Mexicans, Haitians, or Guatemalans – we all get treated badly! (Salucio 2010)

Both Gerardo and Cruz connect interaction with one's music traditions to an increased human rights consciousness. Gerardo stressed the role of the marimba ensemble in first attracting workers to the community center, which becomes a space where workers interact with one another and talk about their human rights. In discussing music broadcast on the radio, Cruz recognizes the act of listening to music, of practicing one's traditions, to be a component of the exercise of human rights itself. After all, the "right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community… to enjoy the arts" is a cultural right articulated in article 27 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (United Nations). By broadcasting music meaningful to Immokalee's diverse ethnic groups, deejays are able to rework discourse of geographic origins and maintaining one's cultural identity into a discourse about "being human" or "human rights." Variations of phrases such as, "we don't lose our human rights simply because we have left our country," are commonly stated on the airwaves, transforming individuals' shared

experiences of immigration into an understanding of workers' shared humanity, regardless of their different countries of origin.

While music on the radio is used as a way to introduce human rights discourse through discussions of ethnic identity and cultural rights, the CIW continues to rely on popular theater performances at weekly meetings to portray human rights violations and generate dialogue about the causes and possible solutions to human rights abuse. In the safe space of the community center, workers' heightened discourse of ethnic identity and humanity developed in interactions with *Radio Conciencia* is reworked into a more comprehensive human rights consciousness and a justification for collective action.

While Chapter Seven provides a more thorough analysis of how a global human rights consciousness has developed and how it currently functions in the farmworker movement, it is through these dialogues that workers come to recognize that, while it is important to maintain their cultural traditions, they must mobilize into collective action as workers who share a common humanity. After all, regardless of their different ethnic identities, they experience the same human rights abuses in the fields – or as Cruz aptly put it, "the ranchers don't differentiate between Mexicans, Guatemalans, Haitians, or Salvadorans – we all get treated badly!"

Musical engagement with the farmworker community has enabled the CIW to maintain an interethnic collective identity, attract diverse workers to the center, and develop a human rights consciousness among farmworkers even as the ethnic composition of the labor force transformed dramatically from the 1993-2000 to the 2001-2011 period. However, in addition to significant changes in the ethnic composition of the farmworker labor force between 1995 and 2005, when Haitian workers began securing

work opportunities in other sectors and were replaced by new waves of indigenous workers from Guatemala, there was also a dramatic increase in the number of women entering the fields and domestic spaces in Immokalee.

Music and Gender Diversity: *Las Voces* and Women's Rights in Immokalee

Since CIW's humble beginning, women have been prominent leaders in the movement. Laura Germino, who helped form the CIW with Greg Asbed, Lucas Benitez, Cristal Pierre and others, has worked with the CIW for nearly 20 years and now coordinates the organization's anti-slavery work. Farmworkers like Alicia Chavez, and many other women like her, were active participants in the early strikes and made up a disproportionate share of strike leaders. My brief survey of newspaper photographs documenting CIW's early strikes show women, and Haitian women in particular, marching in the frontlines of the marches and blocking farmworker transport buses. Later, in the 2001-2011 era, CIW and ally organizations hired staff members such as Julia Perkins (CIW), Melody Gonzalez (SFA), Meghan Cohorst (SFA), Damara Luce (Interfaith Action), and Brigitte Gynther (Interfaith Action), who not only helped coordinate the daily functioning of the farmworker movement in Immokalee, but also develop ally networks on local, national, and global levels with social justice, student, and faith communities.

During the first ten years of the movement, the CIW welcomed the participation of all farmworkers, as general and committee meetings integrated both men and women. However, CIW's goals and campaign during this time were focused squarely on class issues shared by all workers, regardless of ethnicity or gender – dialogue with growers, dignified treatment in the fields, and just wages – and never specifically addressed issues

or rights violations experienced solely by women. While demographic data on farmworkers in Immokalee are either unavailable or unreliable due to the migrant nature of farm labor, long-time residents of Immokalee and CIW staff members recall that around the 2005-2006 season, they began to see a significant rise in the number of women in Immokalee. They suspected that this was the result of maquiladoras in Mexico and Guatemala closing as companies sought cheaper labor elsewhere, particularly in China. Today, women make up roughly 10% of the population in Immokalee. While many of them find work in the fields, women also find work in local food stands, restaurants, or the market.

For many newly arrived women in Immokalee, attending the Wednesday general meetings proved difficult: either their husbands discouraged their attendance or the meetings (made up overwhelmingly of men) did not feel like a place where they could talk openly about experiences unique to women, whether in the fields or at home. As women began discussing these issues amongst themselves, they decided they needed to create a space just for women. In 2007, they established the *junta de mujeres* [women's meeting], a two-hour women's discussion group and English language class held every Sunday afternoon. The women's group also offers free childcare provided by ally staff and volunteers at the community center so the women can dedicate their time and attention to the meeting. But in addition to creating a physical meeting space, the founding of the women's group simultaneously included the establishment of a sonic space just for women: a radio program on *Radio Conciencia* dedicated to broadcasting music performed only by women.

The program, called *Las Voces* [The Voices, a feminine noun], airs every Sunday from 10am to noon, and is hosted by female CIW staff and farmworker volunteers. Reflecting how ethnic difference is asserted and negotiated on the marimba program, *Las Voces* asserts a women's space by drawing musical boundaries around music featuring women's voices, but allows gender and women's issues to be recognized by the entire community through song requests that are open to both women and men. Like the other programs on *Radio Conciencia*, the political significance of the music is not necessarily found in the lyrics of the songs but in the meanings certain musical sounds generate for collective identity formation – in this case, the sound of women's voices broadcast in a diasporic community overwhelmingly populated by men.

Popular female artists requested on *Las Voces* include Selina, Lila Downs, Mercedes Sosa, and Shakira, and the two most requested songs in 2010-2011 on *Las Voces*, which also appear in the data set of most requested songs overall on *Radio Conciencia* were Selina's "*Como la flor*" [Like the flower] and Jenni Rivera's "*Ovarios*" [Ovaries]. "*Como la flor*" touches on *Radio Conciencia's* popular theme of lost love, while "*Ovarios*" subverts the Mexican *corrido*, traditionally sung by men, and humorously declares the power of women's *ovarios* (ovaries) over men's *cojones* (balls).

Music on *Las Voces* is accompanied by song dedications, deejay commentary, and recorded announcements that heighten and rework a discourse of gender among both women and men into a promotion of women's equality as fellow workers (in the house and in the field) and human beings. The group dedication data and caller discourse indicate that *Las Voces* is a sonic space where meanings of gender are negotiated and transformed – where listeners create a gender inclusive collective identity. As with

Mexican workers calling in to the marimba show to express their support and send greetings to their fellow Guatemalan workers, men can often be heard calling in to *Las Voces* thanking women for their contributions and encouraging them to participate in the Coalition.

In addition to caller dedications, women's music on *Las Voces* is also accompanied by deejay discourse and recorded announcements that connect women's rights to a broader human rights framework. For instance, Nelly, one of the current deejays on *Las Voces*, generates news content to read over the airwaves by searching the Internet for "women's human rights news" or by reading news reports on Amnesty International's website about women's human rights worldwide. A women's rights and human rights discourse is also prevalent in the recorded announcement played during *Las Voces* weekly programs inviting women to participate in the women's group:

> Women! You are fundamental to the community. It is time to recognize your work as equal. We invite you to break from your routine and join the women's group. Every Sunday, we meet from 4:00 to 6:00 pm and the Coalition provides free childcare. In the meeting, we touch on themes that focus on the interests of women and the family. We share wisdom from our different places of origin; the value of our traditions; and the challenges that we face living in this country.
>
> There are also basic English classes for us women within the Coalition of Immokalee Workers! In addition to the different activities that they do throughout the season, the Coalition promotes the dignified treatment and the respect of the human rights of farmworkers. They demand a just salary and urge large companies to buy the vegetables cultivated in this area at a fair price, so that agricultural laborers receive fair pay for their hard work. Women! Come and share your efforts next to women who already participate within the coalition so that together, we can make sure that our work outside our home is respected because the woman's hand contributes to the economic betterment of the family, and the social development of the entire community. In collaboration with the women's group and on behalf of the Coalition, we hope to eliminate abuses in the field and the racial discrimination against agricultural workers, because the hard work that we do also contributes to the progress of this nation.

> Without learning, there will not be healthy communities and there will not be equality. Working compañera, come and learn how you can better your families by fighting for your rights.[82]

The meaning of a women's space demarcated by musical boundaries thus becomes closely associated with a notion of rights: that women's rights are part of a human rights struggle shared by everyone in the community. Moreover, deejay discourse and announcements on *Las Voces* encourage women to attend the women's group to learn more about these rights and to join CIW actions, and serve as a critical recruiting tool that has drastically increased women's participation and helped the CIW maintain a cohesive member base even as the farmworker population's gender composition has changed over time.

While an entire study can and should one day focus on women's experiences in Immokalee and within the farmworker movement, that topic is beyond the scope of this project. However, from my general interviews and oral histories with women of the CIW, it is evident that *Las Voces* and the women's group have had a significant impact on gender dynamics and increased female participation in the movement, while substantially transforming individual women's lives.

The women I interviewed emphasize that they have noticed a marked change in how they are treated in both and in the fields since the founding of *Las Voces* and the women's group. They attributed this change to a combination of the impact that discussions of women's rights on *Las Voces* has had on fellow male listeners as well as an increase in their own willingness and ability to assert themselves vis-à-vis men. In addition, improvements in how women are treated by male supervisors in the field

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[82] This selection from an announcement was written and recorded for the radio by Carmen, a member of the CIW women's group. The selection was transcribed and translated from a field recording.

resulted from CIW's inclusion of sexual harassment provisions in the code of conduct agreements reached with growers in the fall of 2010, the need for which came out of women's group dialogues on the human rights violations they experiences in the field.

Women interview participants also pointed to *Las Voces* as an important tool in reaching women the CIW would otherwise have difficulty reaching, and increasing participation in both the women's group and the Coalition's public demonstrations. In October 2010, I sat down with women's group members Margarita and Magdalena on a bench in the shade of a blossoming tree outside their trailer home. They shared with me their stories of coming to Immokalee and their initial shock at the destitution and the loneliness of the town. Magdalena, who is originally from Chiapas, Mexico, sums up her immigration to Immokalee as a "very, very ugly experience I won't ever forget" (Magdalena 2010).

The mood of the conversation brightened when the two best friends (who insisted on being interviewed together) began talking about *Las Voces*. Margarita, who is originally from Guatemala, describes how she had come home from her job – working in orange groves picking up plastic and garbage in the fields – when she first heard about the CIW on the radio. She attended the general meetings "out of curiosity," and after three weeks, she brought Magdalena with her (Margarita 2010). They have both been attending the women's group ever since, and they especially enjoy listening to *Las Voces*. Magdalena makes song dedications on *Las Voces* for her friends' birthdays, to her women's group friends, and to women in general. Magdalena said that when she meets a woman new to Immokalee, she tells her to tune in to 107.9 on the radio the following Sunday morning. When the woman does, she hears Magdalena dedicating a song to her

and female deejays talking about issues and rights relevant to women's lives. Magdalena explains that many women attend their first women's group meeting based on women reaching out to each other over the airwaves of *Radio Conciencia*.

Carmen, from Mexico City, revealed in her oral history that she had listened to the radio every day since its first broadcast in 2003 but was never able to attend the meetings because her husband would not permit it (Carmen 2010). It wasn't until after he left her and their two sons in 2008 that Carmen was able to attend the women's group and the general worker meetings. She chuckled retelling the story about the first meetings she attended. People were shocked by how much she already knew about the campaign – they had not realized that she had been listening to *Radio Conciencia* and following the CIW for almost five years! Feeling grateful for the education she was able to receive in Mexico City, and being self-disciplined in continuing her own education, Carmen shared how she enjoys learning about women's and workers' rights. In recent years, Carmen has become an unofficial scribe of the Coalition, writing CIW announcements and women's group statements in a lined notebook and reading them over the radio and at public demonstrations.

In addition to reaching out to women in Immokalee and encouraging them to attend the women's group at the community center, *Las Voces* is also effective in mobilizing women to join CIW's public demonstrations. Hermalinda, for example, shared in her interview how *Las Voces* reminds and animates her to participate in upcoming marches and public actions (Hermalinda 2010). Furthermore, Hermalinda explained that because many women listen to *Las Voces* with their kids, children become excited and help persuade their mothers to participate in the demonstrations. Hermalinda

recalled an instance when she was considering not attending a demonstration because she was exhausted and had a lot of work to do. Her eldest child, who was seven, asked her to go, but she lied to him and said, "That picket isn't for several weeks!" Laughing to herself, Hermalinda explained that he had been listening to the radio and replied sternly to her, "No, mom, it's in six days, and the deejay on *Las Voces* says it's important for women to come. That's *you*! We have to go!" (Hermalinda 2010). In addition to encouraging their mothers to participate, children in Immokalee also appear to generate their own recruitment networks based on information provided on the radio.

> The oldest one informs the other children about the invitations to upcoming protests he hears on the radio… and when the CIW is handing out fliers about any protest, the oldest one takes them to his little friends at school and they give it to their moms to see if they can participate. He also hands them out to the people in our neighborhood and tells them that there's going to be free food and free cookies! [laughs] (Hermalinda 2010)

Nearly every interview participant who was present at the recent 2010 *Farmworker Freedom March*, a 25-mile march from Tampa to Lakeland, and the public theater performance at the conclusion of the 2011 *Do the Right Thing Tour* in Tampa – both targeting the grocery giant Publix – emphasize the significant presence of women and the abundance of baby strollers at the events. This noticeable increase of female farmworkers and women from Immokalee at CIW's public demonstrations cannot be attributed simply to an increase in the number of women immigrating to Immokalee. Rather, the increased participation of women at these public demonstrations is a result of CIW's successful efforts to reach and mobilize women through *Las Voces* and the women's group.

In addition to the impact *Las Voces* and the women's group have had on gender dynamics and female participation in the movement, they have also transformed the

course of women's individual biographies. Consider the oral history of Nely, who first arrived in Immokalee in 2002 under difficult circumstances and eventually became one of the female farmworker staff members of the CIW, where she now organizes the women's group and serves as a deejay on *Las Voces*.

Oral History: Nely Rodriguez (see oral history appendix)

In her oral history, Nely provides a first-hand account of *Las Voces* and the women's group, and how they have helped recruit women to the movement and change men's behavior towards women in the Coalition. Additionally, Nely's own story traces her transformation from isolation, fear, and bitterness as a newly arrived farmworker in Michigan to a bold farmworker leader and educator in Immokalee. Nely described her personal transformation in terms of her individual voice, "I too have changed. Before, I was really quiet but now I'm completely involved and find myself chanting and shouting for hours!" (Rodriguez 2010). This change emerged through her work with *Las Voces*, where she lost her "fear of talking" (ibid.). Moreover, in reflecting upon the changes among other women in Immokalee, Nely also describes their transformations in terms of their voices, from being afraid to speak in the women's group to having the confidence to confront corporate executives in public demonstrations.

Beyond considerations of changes in men's treatment of women in Immokalee or increases in the number of women in the CIW, these transformations of how women perceive and value themselves are significant in and of themselves. They are indicative of the achievement of success indicator #3 – the creation of a social movement community where farmworkers are able to experiment in building desired social realities and living alternatives to dominant forms of oppression. In this case, through the creation of

women-only spaces – sonically through *Las Voces* and physically through the women's group meeting – women are able to examine oppressive practices and ideas, imposed on them either by others or themselves, and exercise an alternative to feeling "ashamed of being a woman," knowing that "they are important, that they count for something, that they have rights, that they can do it" (ibid.).

In many ways, these women-only spaces in Immokalee reflect the findings about the negotiation and inclusion of ethnic diversity in the movement. A heightened articulation of gender and the establishment of acoustic boundaries around women have been central to the process of maintaining a cohesive movement inclusive of gender diversity. Specifically, in mirroring the acoustic boundaries of the marimba program, the boundaries of *Las Voces* strengthened by music selection rules that allow women to develop a sense of self-respect regarding a minority identity that is normally a basis of discrimination. At the same time, the boundaries are permeable to "reworking" processes through song dedications in which women and men develop an increased respect for gender equality in the social movement community.

Moreover, like the discourse of cultural rights on the marimba program, the assertion of women's rights prevalent in *Las Voces* programming and in the women's group discussions are framed within a human rights framework, which enables both women and men to understand women's rights as part of the farmworker community's collective struggle for human rights.

Radio Conciencia **and Modern Day Slavery: Educating Workers and Reaching Victims of Forced Labor**

The soundscape created by *Radio Conciencia* has also enabled the CIW to raise workers' consciousness of rights related to forced labor and increase contact with victims of human trafficking. CIW's investigations and assistance in the federal prosecutions of slavery cases in South Florida have been featured in numerous reports and scholarly works (see Ramirez 2001; Anti-Slavery International 2002; Bowe 2003, 2007; Free the Slaves 2004; National Economic and Social Rights Initiative 2005; Bales and Trodd 2008; Soodalter and Bales 2009; U.S. State Department 2010), yet little attention has been paid to CIW's efforts in raising consciousness about modern slavery, both among farmworkers and the general public, and how cultural repertoires and popular education contribute to these efforts.

This section briefly examines CIW's anti-slavery education and outreach, focusing specifically on *Radio Conciencia*. Chapter Seven considers the Anti-Slavery Campaign in relation to CIW's global engagement and popular education with the public with the Florida Modern-Day Slavery Museum.

By the time *Radio Conciencia* debuted in December, 2003, CIW members had already discovered and investigated several farmworker slavery rings and assisted the U.S. Department of Justice in the successful prosecution of the defendants in *U.S. v. Flores* (1997), *U.S. v. Cuello* (1999), *U.S. v. Tecum* (2001), and *U.S. v. Lee* (2001). The previous year, the CIW had initiated an undercover investigation at the Ramos labor camp, in which several enslaved workers were given popular education fliers with information on how to contact the CIW and arrange an escape. The investigation

eventually led to the release of more than 700 workers from forced labor and the 2004 conviction of Ramiro and Juan Ramos in *U.S. v. Ramos* (2004). Also in 2003, the CIW began investigating a case of debt servitude in which black U.S. citizens were recruited from homeless shelters to work at the Evans labor camp, where they became "perpetually indebted" to Ronald and Jequita Evans, who deducted the cost of food, alcohol, and crack cocaine from their pay (U.S. Department of Justice 2007).

During the course of its slavery investigations, the CIW began to recognize that large corporate buyers in the food system and the lack of accountability in their supply chains perpetuate the abusive labor conditions where slavery takes root. Thus, the CIW included a zero-tolerance policy of "modern-day slavery" in its demands against corporate buyers in the Campaign for Fair Food. This demand attempts to create, for the first time in U.S. farm labor history, enforceable market consequences for slavery by contractually binding corporate buyers to cut business with growers who are found to employ slave labor anywhere in their operations.

While case-by-case prosecutions and gaining corporate adherence to the Fair Food Agreements are important mechanisms for the punishment and deterrence of the practice of forced labor, the CIW also recognized that the success of both are dependent upon workers' consciousness of their rights and their ability to defend them. As the CIW explains:

> Both aspects of the Anti-Slavery Campaign – the day-to-day investigative efforts and the longer-term work to eliminate the market conditions that allow modern-day slavery to flourish – operate on the common principle that the most effective weapon against forced labor is an aware worker community engaged in the defense of its own labor rights. (Coalition of Immokalee Workers)[83]

[83] See reference Coalition of Immokalee Workers, Anti-Slavery Campaign.

In practical terms, this means that workers must be educated about their rights and have accessible avenues for reporting violations of those rights. Prior to *Radio Conciencia*, the CIW relied primarily on fliers and weekly worker meetings to educate workers about their rights, about how to recognize situations of forced labor, and about coming to the CIW community center to report abuses. However, since the founding of *Radio Conciencia*, the CIW has been able to greatly amplify its message, provide more comprehensive explanations in its human rights and U.S. labor rights education programs, and reach vulnerable individuals who would otherwise be inaccessible through physical contact alone. In fact, the slavery case in which Chief Assistant U.S. Attorney Doug Molloy would call one of Southwest Florida's "biggest, ugliest slavery cases ever," was in part detected after enslaved workers came to the CIW center after hearing the voices of *Radio Conciencia* deejays (Bennett Williams 2008).

On Thanksgiving Day, 2007, Lucas Benitez was in London accepting the annual Anti-Slavery Award on behalf of the CIW, which was presented by the world's oldest human rights organization, Anti-Slavery International. A couple of days later in Immokalee, two CIW staff members were in the community center preparing for a national demonstration at the Burger King corporate headquarters in Miami the following week. Two male workers entered the community center asking where they could sign up to attend the Burger King march. Realizing that the workers were new to the CIW, the staff member casually asked how they had heard about the march. The workers' response was startling: they had heard music and announcements about the march from their work camp and wanted to join the march to "get away from their boss" (Germino 2012). The CIW staff then asked the two men why they wanted to leave their boss. They raised their

hands, covered with bruises and open wounds, and replied, “Because they chain us up at night” (ibid.).

The CIW had been alerted several days before by the Collier County Sheriff’s Office of an incident on November 19, 2007, in which where workers reported having escaped from a truck where they had been held captive, and the CIW staff began putting the pieces together: these men were from the same camp. The CIW immediately notified the U.S. Department of Justice and collaborated with local police in a year-long investigation that ultimately led to the prosecution and conviction of Cesar and Geovanni Navarrete, who were sentenced to 12 years in prison in December, 2008, for “beating, threatening, restraining and locking workers in trucks to force them to work as agricultural laborers, in addition to other related crimes” (U.S. Department of Justice 2008). In responding to the case, U.S. Attorney for the Middle District of Florida, A. Brian Albritton, commented, “This case shows that human slavery is not a thing of the past, but an ugly crime that still continues to afflict our communities” (ibid.).

The Navarrete family’s labor camp – where farmworkers were regularly beaten, driven into debt, and chained inside trucks at night – was less than five blocks away from the CIW community center. Although the farmworkers knew employers should not beat or chain their employees, they kept silent not only because of fear, but also because they felt obligated to pay off their “debts” to the Navarretes, who had created the debts by failing to pay workers while advancing credit for “food, shelter, alcohol, and personal expenses” (*U.S. v Navarrete* 2008). When the enslaved workers heard *Radio Conciencia* deejays holding a *control remoto* across the street – and, between songs, inviting workers to the CIW community center to learn about their rights and sign up for the upcoming

Burger King march – they recognized an opportunity for escape and identified the community center as a place they could go for help.

The *U.S. v Navarrete* case, which was in part discovered as a result of CIW's musical community outreach and popular education initiative, would come to inspire CIW's "Florida Modern-Day Slavery Museum."[84] The mobile museum, designed inside a replica of the produce truck from which the enslaved workers escaped, has traveled up and down the East Coast and serves as CIW's primary popular education tool for informing the general public about the history of slavery in the South, the cases of modern farmworker slavery cases in Florida, and proposed solutions to help eliminate slavery.

Through *Radio Conciencia* programming and *control remoto* block parties, the CIW transformed its previous methods of popular education (such as illustrations on fliers) to effectively educate a broad audience of workers about their labor rights and increase awareness that everyone, regardless of where they are from or the conditions of their employment, has the right to freedom from slavery and servitude. The transmission of verbal messages in the soundscape of Immokalee not only continues to ensure accessibility to a poor worker population with high rates of illiteracy, it further enables the CIW to make contact with victims of forced labor – such as the workers held captive at the Ramos camp – who would otherwise be difficult to reach.

Farmworker deejays also utilize annual celebrations such as the *Fiesta del Año del Trabajador* as opportunities to raise consciousness about forced labor and workers'

[84] See Chapter Seven for a more detailed discussion of the Florida Modern-Day Slavery museum.

rights, build solidarity among diverse workers, and recruit participants for CIW public demonstrations.

***2011 Fiesta del Año del Trabajador*: Mayan Rock, Transcultural Networks, and Performing Solidarity in Immokalee**

Through analysis of the diverse programming on *Radio Conciencia*, the marimba ensemble, and *controles remotos*, I have shown how music and discourse contribute to the formation of a collective identity inclusive of ethnic and gender diversity, the development of human rights consciousness, and the recruitment of workers to the CIW community center despite obstacles that diversity, migration, illiteracy, poverty, and even slavery pose to the formation of a cohesive movement. While I have discussed public music performances such as *Fiestas Patrias* and the *Fiesta del Año del Trabajador* in terms of marking times of celebration during the harvest season, these annual rituals are also sites that generate heightened emotional responses from workers and strengthen bonds of solidarity.

Participant observations of the *Fiesta del Año del Trabajador* in February 2011, and the radio interview and performance of the Mayan rock band *Sobrevivencia* in particular, illustrate how the musical interactions of the fiestas in Immokalee 1) connect the CIW to musical transcultural advocacy networks, 2) enable the performance of solidarity in an interethnic community that embraces gender diversity, combats forced labor, and unites farmworkers under a discourse of a shared humanity, and 3) recruit farmworker participants to public demonstrations against corporate targets in the Campaign for Fair Food.

Sobrevivencia: Music and Ethnic Diversity in Transcultural Advocacy Networks

When members of *Sobrevivencia* confirmed their performance several weeks before the *Fiesta del Año del Trabajador,*[85] a new energy of anticipation filled the community center. Leonel Perez, a CIW staff member and radio deejay, was so excited that he couldn't keep from smiling in the days leading up to the fiesta. He had seen the group perform years earlier when he was a teenager in Guatemala, and the band had made a strong impression on him because it had performed songs in M'am (Leonel's native language), a rarity in Guatemalan popular music (Perez 2010). On February 13, the morning of the fiesta, Cruz and Leonel sat down to interview the members of *Sobrevivencia* in the *Radio Conciencia* studio, broadcasting live to the farmworkers of Immokalee.

The interview, in Spanish and M'am,[86] introduced the members of *Sobrevivencia* to the community and educated the audience about the band's music, history, and purpose. The broadcast was also an advertisement for the *Fiesta del Año del Trabajador*, where *Sobrevivencia* and other bands would perform outside the CIW community center. *Sobrevivencia's* interview and performance at the fiesta that day can also be understood as music engagement in what Appadurai describes as "new conversations" in diasporic public spheres "between those who move and those who stay" in global labor migrations (Appadurai 1996, 22). The conversations between *Sobrevivencia* and farmworkers demonstrate, however, that Appadurai's view of such discourse as fueled by "mass media" and the movement of "refugees, activists, students, and laborers" can be

[85] The 2011 *Fiesta del Año del Trabajador* was not the first time *Sobrevivencia* performed for the CIW. In 2005, the band came to Immokalee on a weekday while the group was on tour in Florida, but few farmworkers were able to attend the performance because of work early the next morning.
[86] The parts of the interview spoken in M'am were immediately translated into Spanish on the program. The English translation in this text is derived from the Spanish translation provided on the radio.

expanded: in Immokalee, the medium of low-power community radio and the transnational movement of musicians are also engines that generate new conversations in the diasporic public sphere.

As an ensemble that traveled from Huehuetenango, Guatemala to Immokalee, Florida multiple times[87] to share musical skills and perspectives of cultural survival amidst political marginalization, *Sobrevivencia's* relationship with the CIW can be understood as another example of the farmworker movement's collaboration within a transcultural advocacy network (TCAN). In a broader consideration of CIW's movement history, *Sobrevivencia's* collaboration with the CIW is in many ways similar to the visits of Chavannes Jean-Baptiste, founder of the Peasant Movement of Papaye (MPP) in Haiti, and *Sna Jtz'ibajom*, the theater troupe from Chiapas, Mexico, to Immokalee in the mid-1990s.

Like the MPP and *Sna Jtz'ibajom*, *Sobrevivencia's* relationship with the CIW is not based on the achievement of a single policy change or even specific campaign goals. Rather, the collaboration is based on dialogues and the sharing of cultural repertoires (music performance, in this case) among members situated on opposite points along the arc of transnational migration. Moreover, as was with the case of the animateur leadership model of the MPP and the thematic content of theater productions of *Sna Jtz'ibajom*, CIW members (deejays and MCs) highlighted select parts of *Sobrevivencia's* musical repertoire and adapted the performance context at the fiesta to more effectively address obstacles faced by the farmworker movement community, particularly those of migration and diversity.

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[87] In addition to the 2011 *Fiesta del Año del Trabajador* visit and the 2005 performance, *Sobrevivencia* returned to Immokalee to perform at the *Fiestas Patrias* in September 2011.

In the radio interview,[88] the members of *Sobrevivencia* explained the meaning of the group's name – *survival* – and the political significance of the "revaloriz[ation] of the identity of indigenous peoples" that the band represents:

> Cruz: Why the name "Sobrevivencia"?
>
> Sobrevivencia member: … What [the band] was proposing was very new for Guatemala, nobody was doing it, and it was very important in the moment [the band] was unfolding, given that the revalorization of the identity of indigenous peoples is very important, right. But this is a double-edged sword because while it promotes identity, the governments in power are not interested because it strengthens the indigenous community organizations around the entire country…

Later in the interview, Cruz connected *Sobrevivencia's* discussion about the importance of music and maintaining cultural traditions for indigenous peoples in Guatemala to immigrant farmworkers in Immokalee.

> Cruz: I think that it's interesting for the [farmworker] community to hear this, it's important because often when one leaves one's country, one is afraid of arriving in a new country. One thinks, am I going to speak in my language or do what I do in Guatemala or in my country? What will happen if someone says or does something bad to me because of it? But it's not like that, one has to keep moving forward, not leaving our culture behind, not leaving our roots to the side. Rather, we can learn from everything around us in a new country but not leave everything behind. And that, more than anything, animates the community… those who are in this country can continue honoring our culture.
>
> We'd also like to know, where are some places you have been to play? Because we see here on your website that you have had interviews in Guatemala too, with big television networks and all that. You have focused on this, and you have also gone to communities like Ixcán – one of the communities greatly affected by the armed conflict in the country. All of that, people see that, and it's something that's animating, and we see all the movement that you are bringing, people even cry with the music you bring. I think it brings a feeling, it speaks to something inside of you, and that's something that must be valued a lot. I don't know if you have anything to share about that, or how did you decide to take the time to leave Guatemala and come here to the community as well to share all this?
>
> *Sobrevivencia* member: Well, I think we travel to share this because we all have different situations. But what unites us is that eagerness to continue with the

[88] The interview was broadcast live on *Radio Conciencia* on February 13, 2011. The author was present in the studio, audio recording with the oral consent of the deejays and *Sobrevivencia* band members.

> group and visit different places, and we have the good fortune, the opportunity that people have afforded us – because without them we couldn't go play. They cover all of our costs. It is because of them that I personally am able to eat, because I have no other work. I was a teacher but I quit because of this group and also because I wasn't a very good teacher – poor kids, I'd just made them sing all the time, so I thought it better that I dedicate myself to singing [band mates laugh]. We have been to many different places throughout Guatemala: Cobán, Quiché, Baja de La Paz, Talamá and Rabinal, Chimaltenango, the capital, in tons of events. All in all, in many, many places throughout Guatemala. And recently in Mexico – the year before last, we were in the first indigenous rock festival that was held in San Cristóbal de las Casas. That was the beginning of a movement that was started in San Cristóbal, and we had the opportunity to participate in the first festival of Bats'i Fest. The project they have is called "*La propuesta*," and last year we were there twice in the second Maya rock festival and in a festival of more traditional music. They also took us to Tecpatán, as well as San Cristóbal de las Casas, in Chiapas. The truth is, we've been sharing because one of the things we value is not to totally lose the essence of our traditional music, and to always keep it alive, like our language, and also to mix with other rhythms, like rock, other modern rhythms, even *cumbia*.
>
> Cruz: There are many people that may not speak a Mayan language that are from Mexico, like you said. There are many songs – there's one song that's called "*Sobrevivencia*" [Survival] there's another one that's called "*La distancia*" [Distance] that people (in Immokalee) like quite a lot. Let me tell you that many people from Mexico, and different countries, call in to request those songs. You bring a little bit of everything and connect them, and that's what's important in bringing this music here to the community.

Cruz then selected the song "*Guate caricia*" [Caress for Guate(mala)] from *Sobrevivencia's* most recent album "*Qxq'antz'unil*" [Umbilical Cord] to broadcast on *Radio Conciencia* to highlight themes that were most relevant and meaningful to the farmworkers in Immokalee. The song's lyrics address the desire to remember one's native land and the nostalgia that accompanies displacement – themes that are also prevalent in farmworkers' song requests on *Radio Conciencia*. In the chorus line, the lyrics emphasize different ethnic identities to promote a message of interethnic unity.

"*Guate caricia*" is a rock fusion song that features voice, electric guitar, marimba, bass, drums, and harmonica, with instrumental solos and *a capella* chorus lines. In the

interview, a band member explained how the song was originally called "Gautemaya" (Guatemala + Maya) but the group didn't like the name because "Guate" (short form of Guatemala) is also comprised of Garífuna (West African/Caribbean) culture, Xinca (non-Mayan indigenous) culture, and Mestizo (mixed European and indigenous) culture. Furthermore, he described how in rehearsals of the song, the little nephew of a former member would sing the chorus of the song "Guate Maya… Guate Xinca… Guate Garífuna" incorrectly as "Guate Maya… Guate Xinca… Guate Caricia…" The group loved the boy's mistaken interpretation, so *caricia* [caress/hug], was added to the official song title to represent what *Sobrevivencia* believes is needed in Guatemala after a 36-year long armed conflict.

"*Guate caricia*" [Caress for Guate(mala)]
Sobrevivencia 2011

Aún no sé por qué,	I still don't know why
Tal vez porque fue	Perhaps because it was
La primera imagen en mis ojos	The first image in my eyes
Tal vez por la magia sonora	Or perhaps the sonorous magic
De tu marimba,	Of your marimba,
O tal vez por la voz ancestral	Or perhaps the ancestral voice
de tu gente	of your people
Es que cuando estoy lejos	It's just that when I'm far away
La nostalgia me consume	Nostalgia takes over me
y es por ti, sólo por ti!	and it's for you, only for you!
Coro:	Chorus:
Guate Maya, Guate Xinca,	Guate Maya, Guate Xinca,
Guate Garífuna, Guate la Vida!	Guate Garífuna, Guate Life!
Este lugar donde los cerros alimentan	This place where the mountains feed
Mi corazón	My heart
Tengo tantos amigos y una madre	I have so many friends and a mother
Que me platica	Who talks with me
Siento como muchos	I feel, like many
que mi vida se apaga	that my life will fade
Sin compartir con nuestra esencia	If we don't share our essence

(Coro)	(Chorus)
*[Verso en M'am]**	[Verse in M'am]
El pueblo ha sufrido mucho	The people have suffered so much
Demasiada pobreza y mucha maldad	Too much poverty and abuse
Mas unidos trabajando fuerte	But united together we are working
Para supercar las debilidades	To overcome our weaknesses
Y asi estar major	And live a better day
(Coro)	(Chorus)
Guate Maya, lararararará!	Guate Maya, lararararará!
Sos un canto de pueblo	You are a people's song
Sos el nido que	You are the nest that
tejen nuestros sueños	our dreams weave
Y la luz para un nuevo sol.	And the light for a new sun
¡Nos urge creer en vos!	It's vital that we believe in you!
¡Ésta es mi tierra,	This is my land,
A quien quiero,	Which I care for,
A quien amo,	Which I love,
A quien jamás jamás jamás	Which I will never never never
jamás jamás olvidaré!	Never never forget!
(Coro)	(Chorus)

*Verse in M'am translated into Spanish by *Sobrevivencia* member (Grupo Sobrevivencia 2012)[89]

The themes of cultural survival and the coming together of different ethnic groups presented in the lyrics of "*Guate caricia*" are also reflected in the band's history and choice of instrumentation and musical style. In the interview, *Sobrevivencia* members described how they were originally from different departments in Guatemala and spoke five different languages among themselves – Spanish, M'am, Kaqchikel, Achi', and K'iche' – but joined together based on a shared desire to preserve the languages and

[89] Members of *Grupo Sobrevivencia* granted author permission to include the full lyrics of the song "Guate Caricia" and to translate them into English in an e-mail communication on November 6, 2012.

cultural identities of different ethnic groups within Guatemala, whose common struggle is represented in their name, *"Survival*."

Members of *Sobrevivencia* explained that this convergence of ethnic and linguistic difference is reflected in their decision to fuse the musical style and instrumentation of traditional marimba music with electric guitar, bass, and drums in rock and *cumbia* rhythms. The resulting hybridized instrumental and stylistic music form thus reflects the band's desire to keep traditional music "alive" while they embrace modern styles and diverse audiences in and outside Guatemala. *Sobrevivencia's* fusion of languages and different music instruments and styles, however, is not simply a tribute to an apolitical multicultural ideal. Rather, as is evident in the "*Guate caricia*" chorus line, where "Guatemala" is inverted and recombined with different ethnic identities – Maya, Xinca, and Garífuna – and in the verse in M'am that encourages "unity" among them, *Sobrevivencia* is promoting the solidarity of diverse ethnic groups who share a history of political marginalization, "poverty," and "abuse," so that they may "live a better day."

The radio interview with *Sobrevivencia* ended with the following exchange, which demonstrates how musicians and low-power community radio are carriers and transmitters of a transnational discourse "humanity" and "human dignity" in diasporic public spheres:

> *Sobrevivencia* Member: We know that the situation is difficult, but [farmworkers] are here giving it their all. So, a big hug to all our friends from here, and to all the workers, like I was saying, Guatemalans and Central Americans, and Latin Americans that are here struggling to improve their conditions. And to you for that very important work that you are doing, the work of this Coalition that has had its repercussions at the national and international levels, to ensure the dignity that every worker has as a human being.
>
> Cruz: …To all our listeners, thank you! This was an interview with the group Sobrevivencia, coming from Guatemala, to perform … for the first time in the

> *Gran Fiesta del Año del Trabajador*, an entirely free event, where you will be able to enjoy their music. Also, if you want to take home a souvenir of *Sobrevivencia* with you, be sure to go talk to them. They'll tell you what it's all about. So, thank you very much - have an excellent day! We're going to continue here at *Radio Conciencia*, spreading more music, more joy, for all of you. (applause)

Performing Solidarity: Music, Emotion, and Social Movement Community

Soon after the conclusion of the radio broadcast, hundreds of farmworkers began gathering on the south side of the CIW community center, where the gravel parking lot transforms into an outside concert venue twice each harvest season. The entire event lasts approximately eight hours, starting at noon, and brings together music performances by *Marimba de la Coalición* and visiting music ensembles, commentary of *Radio Conciencia* deejays who serve as MCs, and the comedic and interactive aspects of *controles remotos*. The interplay of music, discourse, and laughter at the *Fiesta del Año del Trabajador* comprises an annual ritual that strengthens bonds of solidarity among diverse farmworkers and enables them to enact a desired social movement community that resists ethnic divisions, sexism, and forced labor.

The *Fiesta del Año del Trabajador [Year of the Worker Party]* has been celebrated since 2001,[90] when farmworkers decided they wanted to throw themselves an "official" celebration party every year. The term "Year of the Worker" was jokingly given to the party, as it pokes fun at the fact that because Immokalee has been a labor town for as far back as anyone can remember, every year must be the year of the worker! The CIW had held music-filled celebrations for the farmworker community every year since its inception, and the music at these public celebrations in Immokalee consistently

[90] Two interview participants who have been involved with the Coalition since its inception told me that the name "*Fiesta del Año del Trabajador*," was adopted around 2001, although neither of the participants was absolutely certain.

reflects CIW members' diversity and serves to negotiate ethnic differences. For example, Mathieu Beaucicot described the celebrations at the original CIW space in the mid-1990s as a "mixing up" of music from Haiti and Mexico (Beaucicot 2010). Between 2001 and 2008, the music played at the celebrations largely represented music traditions from Mexico or genres popular among Mexican-American communities in the United States. It was partly out of the recognition that these events did not include music familiar to the growing Guatemalan farmworker population that CIW members made efforts to initiate the ensemble *Marimba de la Coalición* and invite Guatemalan music ensembles to perform at the fiestas.

During my fieldwork in Immokalee, I attended the *2011 Fiesta del Año del Trabajador* as a participant observer. With its live music performances, prominent totems and emblems, MC statements, and call and response chants, the fiesta served as a celebratory ritual that generated collective states of effervescence and strengthened solidarity among diverse farmworkers.

Central to Durkheim's study of social solidarity was the totem, the emblem or sacred object that "designates the group collectively" (Durkheim [1912] 2001, 88). The totem of the group "is also that of each of its members" (ibid.) and is the sustaining force behind the cohesiveness of the group: "Without the totem the clan could not exist… the totem provides members of the clan with their name, that is, their identity and hence unity" (Cladis 2001, xviii). The Coalition's principal totem is an emblem fixed on a blue flag: the initials C-I-W are embroidered in white in a triangle with the three empty spaces filled with white stars, inspired by the design of the Industrial Workers of the World's emblem (see visual appendix 5.5). The large 5x5' flag is permanently displayed on a wall

in the community center, adjacent to the wall bearing the colorful mural depicting a unity of diverse workers.

At the fiesta, this emblem was featured prominently on a white, ten-foot banner draped across the front of the stage (see visual appendix 5.6). Above and below the CIW emblem is the name "Coalition of Immokalee Workers"; on the left, "From The People, For The People"; on the right, "We Are All Leaders," with each phrase inscribed in English, Spanish, and Kreyòl. Surrounded by the group's mottos in these languages, the emblem explicitly expressed and reified an interethnic collective identity. Moreover, by being placed prominently in front of the stage, the emblem took on greater significance in the ritual as each ensemble played behind this visual focus and workers experienced a shared emotion evoked by the sounds of familiar music from their homelands.

However, the music performances were much more than accompaniments to the ritual and the group emblem. In many ways, music was the primary element of the ritual, as it attracted participants to the celebration via *Radio Conciencia* and generated collective effervescence. Moreover, the ritual's totemic object is a musical instrument – the marimba. For Durkheim, the unity or solidarity of a group is strengthened through rituals that revolve around a sacred object, or totem. An object is sanctified, by definition, through its being "set apart" from daily life and reserved for sacred use.[91] At the CIW community center, the marimba is stored in a dark, narrow room behind the *Radio Conciencia* studio, set apart from the main area where everyday business takes place. It is brought out only for rehearsals for its annual performance at the *Fiesta del Año del Trabajador*.

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[91] *Merriam-Webster* online., s.v. "Sanctify," http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/sanctify (accessed April 14, 2012).

In the hour prior to the performance in 2011, I watched as radio deejays and members of *Marimba de la Coalición* greeted members of *Sobrevivencia* and then introduced them to the marimba. I observed the body language of those present: they stood with their hands clasped in front, walking slowly around the marimba in admiration. It was clear that CIW's invitation to *Sobrevivencia* musicians to perform on the same marimba at the celebration was a very special honor for both groups: it was the sharing of a sacred object between those who left Guatemala and those who stayed.

While the last balloons were being tied on the stage and the bags of ice were being poured into the barrel filled with sodas, members from both ensembles played the marimba together on stage during the final mic check. Farmworkers of the *Marimba de la Coalición* opened the fiesta with a set of three traditional *sones*, and were followed by *Sobrevivencia*. The marimba and the music it produced evoked particularly emotional responses among workers from Guatemala, animating many to dance the accompanying *baile folklorica*. Between the marimba performances, Cruz, acting as MC, addressed the audience:

> How many of you have heard the music of *Sobrevivencia* on *Radio Conciencia*? Let's see how many, raise your hands! (Cheers from crowd) How many of you listen to *La Tuya*? (Cheers) How many of you heard the interview today? How many of you want to see *Sobrevivencia*? These guys are coming directly from Guatemala, and they bring us their music. They sing in various languages – in five languages! They sing in M'am, how many of you speak M'am? Raise your hands! (Cheers) Do you want to hear a song in M'am? Those that speak K'iche', are there people who speak K'iche'? (Cheers) Kaqchikel? A lot of music in different languages!
>
> It makes us proud to have them here in this great fiesta we do once a year. We not only bring any kind of music but we also share our culture, which is what you always need to carry with yourself no matter where you are. It doesn't matter if you go to any part of the world, we must never, never forget our roots. We speak in a certain language, and we communicate how we should. We need to do that wherever we go. But we can also learn. We need to go forward, and [*Sobrevivencia*] shows us that and they want people to get excited about it. Don't

> you see that we're already in this place? Are we going to say, well, "My friend is going to say this, the other is going to tell me that, why am I going to speak my language?" No way señores, let's do this! They've come to share that with us. Here we have *Sobrevivencia* all the way from Huehuetenango, Guatemala! How many people are from Huehue, let's see? (Cheers) And how many people like rock music? Let's see, how many, how many? Come, on, jump around! (Entire crowd cheers) Alright, let's leave the show in the good hands of the guys who come to share their music.[92]

While Cruz emphasized Guatemala's different ethnic and linguistic groups and the challenges of migration, he connected *Sobreviviencia's* performance to themes that all workers could relate to: remembering one's roots and learning from others in the context of a diverse diaspora. Moreover, by closing with a call and response that prompted those from Huehuetenango to cheer and then those who liked rock music to join them, *Sobrevivencia* and the marimba they played on became collective representations of the entire group, not just those from Guatemala. The cheers of excitement that erupted throughout the crowd signaled that feelings of oneness and solidarity were being formed among workers.

Sobrevivencia proceeded to play a set of five songs in Spanish, featuring verses in M'am, Kaqchikel, and Achi' (see visual appendix 5.7). The instrumentation and rhythmic fusion of traditional marimba with rock, the combining of Spanish with Mayan languages, and lyrics such as those in "*Guate caricia*" exemplified *Sobrevivencia's* effort to bring together different ethnic identities in Guatemala through its music. I observed how MCs attempted to strategically adapt the theme of interethnic unity in Guatemala to the diversity in Immokalee, where workers associate their ethnic identities with different countries in Latin America – primarily Mexico or Guatemala. After the fourth song,

[92] Transcribed and translated from field recording.

Lucas Benitez, who frequently serves as MC at CIW fiestas and *controles remotos*, addressed the audience and encouraged cheers for an encore:

> Let's hear applause for the group *Sobrevivencia*! Do you all want another song? (Cheers) Let's hear it, do you want another?!? (Crowd cheers, "¡sí!") Let's see, where are the Guatemalans? Let's hear it from all those who are from Guatemala!!! (Guatemalans in the crowd cheer and raise their hands) Those from Guatemala, let's see it! And where are the Mexicans? (Mexicans cheer and raise their hands) And where are those who like rock music? (All workers cheer) And thanks to *Radio Conciencia 107.9 La Tuya,* where you can listen to this music. You all can call in to the *Radio Conciencia* studio and we'll be happy to play the music of *Sobrevivencia*. Another huge thanks to all of the guys who have taken time from their tour to be here today. When we presented them with the idea to come here, they told us "Of course we'll come- we'll come to be with our fellow countrymen."[93] So, let's hear a loud applause for the guys of *Sobrevivencia*!

Here, in a variation of Cruz's earlier statement that heightened a discourse of ethnicity by calling out different Mayan languages or regions within Guatemala, Lucas calls out to workers from different countries – Guatemala and Mexico – and evoked a unified response by calling out to those who enjoy rock music.

In addition to adapting the meaning of interethnic unity in Guatemala to the context of Immokalee through MC statements, the CIW also accomplished this through alterations of performance contexts. Rather than featuring only music familiar to workers from Guatemala, the CIW had *Sobrevivencia* perform alongside and in conversation with ensembles playing sounds familiar to workers from various regions in Mexico. Performing after *Sobrevivencia* at the *Fiesta del Año del Trabajador* were the ensembles *Obscuridad de la Sierra, Coalición Norteña*, and *La Huella de México* – who performed the Mexican genres of *duranguense*, *norteño*, and *cumbia norteña*, respectively.

[93] From the phrase "vamos a estar con los paisanos" in which "paisanos" translates to "countrymen," although the masculine form in Spanish could also imply countrywomen as well.

While the performance of diverse music genres is not indicative in itself of the achievement of unity, the accompanying social practices I observed demonstrated that the *Fiesta del Año del Trabajador* is not simply a site where ethnic identities are articulated; rather, it is a site where ritualized practices adapt the meanings workers attach to their ethnic identities to signify membership in and solidarity with an interethnic coalition. Near the end of the fiesta, an MC called out, one by one, the names of workers home countries: Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador. Workers scattered throughout the crowd shouted and waved their hands in the air when their home country was called. Then, after the country had been called out, a designated worker[94] exclaimed as loud as he could, "*¿Coalición?*" [Coalition?] Workers who had already attended meetings, and were familiar with the correct response, shouted in unison, "*¡Presente!*" [Present!] The MC then jokingly scolded the crowd for its lack of enthusiasm. Workers who had not yet been actively involved with the CIW were then given a second chance to join in. The second attempt at the group response "*¡PRESENTE!*" was deafening and workers burst out in laughter and cheers.

This call and response technique originated in CIW's early years and became a tradition that recognized the achievement of interethnic cohesion captured by the term "coalition." At CIW fiestas, which are marked by an apparent discourse of difference in country shout-outs and performances by music ensembles from different regions in Mexico and Guatemala, the call and response serves as a means through which workers' feelings of pride and loyalty towards their ethnic identities – which are often heightened

[94] This worker is usually an older farmworker named Emilio, who has a booming voice. Emilio participated in an interview with the author, where he expressed great pride in his job of leading the Coalición-Presente call-and-response chant (Emilio 2010).

in the diaspora – can be expressed, but also used to signify membership in a farmworker movement through the triggering of an even more emotional response to the call, "*¿Coalición?*" Through this call and response practice, which generated enthusiastic responses of celebration and jubilation – or heightened emotional states Durkheim ([1912] 2001) called "collective effervescence" – bonds of solidarity were forged as workers recognized that it was the presence and contribution of each group that produced such a powerful sound.

In addition to generating solidarity among diverse farmworkers, the annual fiesta also enabled participants to enact a desired social movement community that resists sexism and forced labor. Situated between music performances were spoken statements that increased consciousness of gender oppression and modern slavery through the assertion of women's and workers' human rights. These statements were made in presentations by two groups: representatives from the CIW women's group and Detective Charlie Frost and Marisol Schloendorn of the Collier County Sheriff's Department's Human Trafficking Unit.[95]

Standing in front of a crowd of several hundred farmworkers, the large majority of whom were men, members of the women's group began their presentation while the band members behind them quietly tuned their instruments. Nely called out to the women in the audience, and the handful that was present cheered loudly in response. She described how women contribute much to the community, yet face discrimination and abuse either from their supervisors in the fields or from men in the home. For this to end,

[95] In response to multiple cases of farmworker slavery and other types of human trafficking in South Florida in the 1990s, the Collier County Sheriff's Office was able to dedicate a full-time investigator to address cases of human trafficking, with a grant from the Bureau of Justice Administration, in December 2004. Detective Charlie Frost was appointed to the Human Trafficking Unit in 2006. See (U.S. Senate 2008).

she explained, men and women must recognize that women have the same human rights as everyone else. Another woman took the microphone and encouraged women to listen to *Las Voces* and attend the women's group meeting on Sunday afternoons, where women can learn about their rights in a safe environment while their kids are provided free childcare at the center. The presentation concluded with other women sharing what the women's group meant to them and why they enjoyed participating with the CIW. The women exited the stage to applause and cheers from the audience, while the band following them began to play.

Later in the afternoon, as the ensemble *Coalicion Norteña* was preparing to take the stage, Lucas introduced Charlie and Marisol of the Human Trafficking Unit, who made a brief presentation to the audience:

> Lucas: How is your Spanish, Charlie?
>
> Charlie: *Poquito*! [A little!] (Crowd laughs)
>
> Lucas: Charlie only speaks a little Spanish, so Marisol is here to speak.
>
> Marisol: How are you?
>
> Crowd: Good!
>
> Marisol: We are here to help you. You don't have to be enslaved, or if there are abuses in the fields, wherever, we have brought a flier with information so you can call us. You don't have to be afraid, there is help, and we are here to help you. Thank you! (Crowd applauses)
>
> Lucas: There it is. That's it. It is very important to know that. When one arrives in this country, well, often one arrives in debt. But being in debt doesn't mean that you're sold to the person who brought you here. You have the right to freedom. It's an inalienable right. You have the right to be free. So it is very important that if you know or have heard of people being abused, forced to work, threatened by their bosses, by the coyote that brought him or her, that doesn't need to occur! You come here, come to the Coalition. If you don't want to go directly to the police department, come here to the Coalition, we know exactly where to direct you, who to call – in this case Charlie or Marisol, so that they can eliminate this

> problem. That's it. Also, with the new sheriff we have now in Immokalee, we hope to work more closely in order to protect the rights of all of you as [male and female workers][96] in Immokalee.
>
> Lucas: *¿Coalición?*
>
> Crowd: *¡Presente!*
>
> Lucas: *¿Coalición?*
>
> Crowd: *¡Presente!* [louder]
>
> Lucas: What is the station you listen to in Immokalee?
>
> Crowd: *La Tuya*!!!
>
> Lucas: Yes, *Radio Conciencia 107.9 La Tuya*! Let's hear it for *Coalición Norteña*!

As an annual ritual, the *Fiesta del Año del Trabajador* dramatizes the farmworker community as supportive of the human rights of all workers – immigrants from different homelands, women, victims of human trafficking, and so on. It is thus indicative of the achievement of success indicator #3, or the creation of a desired social movement community where farmworkers are able to implement a human rights ideology and counter the power of growers and corporations.

In contrast, the *Fiestas Patrias* celebration held at the beginning of the season has a different atmosphere: workers are noticeably more reserved and hesitant to participate. Due to the high turnover of farmworkers every season, the primary purpose of the *Fiestas Patrias* is to introduce workers to each other, to the deejays of *Radio Conciencia*, and to the Coalition. Throughout the harvest season, the meaning of farmworkers' different ethnic and gender identities and sense of displacement are remade into a collective

[96] Here, Lucas says "como trabajadores, como trabajadoras, en Immokalee" which translates into the gender inclusive "as male workers, as female workers, in Immokalee."

identity through musical interactions with the CIW (via *Radio Conciencia, Marimba,* and *Controles Remotos*). Also, their consciousness is gradually developed through human rights discourse on the radio and participation in dialogues about abuses, rights, and collective solutions in spaces at the CIW community center. And finally, the annual *Fiesta del Año del Trabajador*, filled with live music performances, emblems, totemic objects, and emotion-filled call and response chants, is a celebratory ritual that generates and strengthens solidarity among workers.

In these ways, the establishment of *Radio Conciencia* and its related musical outreach initiatives have contributed to the achievement of success indicator #1, the maintenance of a cohesive social movement with a collective identity, consciousness, and solidarity.

Fiestas **as Recruitment Tools for Public Demonstrations**

Since the commencement of the Campaign for Fair Food in 2001, when CIW's strategy shifted drastically from targeting crew leaders and growers in Immokalee to targeting corporations in public demonstrations, collective actions such as strikes and marches in Immokalee no longer take place. Instead, the CIW has replaced these actions – which previously developed bonds of solidarity among workers and featured spontaneous music making (such as the *rara* bands of the 1995 strike) – with community-wide celebrations such as the *Fiesta del Año del Trabajador*. Recognizing the feelings of solidarity and excitement such celebrations generate among workers, the CIW has consistently utilized the *Fiesta del Año del Trabajador* to recruit farmworkers to major public demonstrations. Thus, the *Fiesta del Año del Trabajador* is strategically scheduled

approximately two weeks[97] prior to mass actions against corporate targets, where the CIW is joined by its diverse social movement ally community, including students, people of faith, and human rights and food justice activists.

At the 2011 *Fiesta del Año del Trabajador* celebration, banners were hung, fliers were distributed, and MCs made numerous announcements inviting workers to attend the "Do the Right Thing Tour." The nine-day, 3,000 mile bus tour would embark two weeks later and travel along the East Coast, reaching Boston and New York City, and culminate in a march and public theater performance involving one thousand participants outside a Publix grocery store in Tampa, Florida. Like nearly every CIW public demonstration held throughout its ten-year Campaign for Fair Food, music would figure prominently in the event. An examination of music and culture in public demonstrations and the maintenance of solidarity with a diverse ally community is the subject of the following chapter.

Conclusion

This chapter responds the three research questions by presenting an exploration and analysis of how the music and discourse of *Radio Conciencia*, as well as its related musical ensembles and events, contribute to the maintenance of a cohesive farmworker social movement with a collective identity, consciousness, and solidarity.

In contributing to the formation of collective identity, song dedications on *Radio Conciencia* allow farmworkers to express emotional commitments to other workers, while hearing fellow listeners make dedications to loved ones back home enable them to "see themselves in each other" (Melucci 1989). A collective identity inclusive of ethnic

[97] As was the case in the spring of 2007, 2009 (theater demonstration in Tallahassee, Florida), 2010, 2011, and 2012.

and gender minorities is achieved through musical boundary-making on specialized programs – the marimba program and *Las Voces*, respectively – which, in addition to broadcasting music that heightens and validates their presence in Immokalee, provides sonic spaces for minority workers to discuss issues relevant to their lives and connect their struggles to that of the larger farmworker community through a human rights framework.

My analysis of lyrics in the most played and most requested songs on *Radio Conciencia* also indicates that themes of separation, nostalgia, and love enable farmworkers to recognize a shared experience of immigration and loneliness in Immokalee, further contributing to workers' ability to see themselves in each other. However, the song lyrics do not contribute to consciousness-raising: neither the causes of their troubles (Roscigno and Danaher 2001) nor the "necessary cognitions" (Piven and Cloward 1979) are evident in *Radio Conciencia* songs. Rather, consciousness is developed primarily through the assertion of rights and the identification of corporate targets in deejay discourse, announcements, and news programming that accompany the music on *Radio Conciencia*. Moreover, the music and discourse of *Radio Conciencia*, the *controles remotos*, the fiestas, and even the sound of the marimba rehearsals, attract farmworkers to the safe space of the community center, where they engage in more intensive consciousness-raising dialogues through participatory forms of popular education – such as popular theater – that have been maintained since the early years of the CIW.

In addition to maintaining a cohesive social movement, *Radio Conciencia* and music practices in Immokalee also transmit discourses legitimated in world culture, such

as human rights and ideas about humanity, making them known and meaningful to farmworkers in the local movement context. In particular, *Radio Conciencia* serves as a point of contact between the CIW and groups in a transcultural advocacy network who share not only technical expertise or cultural repertoires, but also "ways to define the global situation" through expressions of their global consciousness (Lechner and Boli 2005, 51). The birth of *Radio Conciencia*, for example, was a result of an intensive three-day collaboration with Prometheus, who shared with the CIW their "envisioning of a world" in which "the media is not a means to limit democratic participation, but a way for communities and movements to express themselves and struggle for justice" (Prometheus Radio Project).

Much of the transmission of human rights discourse to the farmworker community is done by deejays, who access human rights-related news on the Internet, write and record announcements that feature human rights principles, and interpret interviews and discussions through a human rights lens. The prevalence of human rights discourse on *Radio Conciencia* is also significant for the research question concerning the organization and maintenance of a cohesive movement despite obstacles to mobilization. As a community that is excluded from most federal labor and citizenship protections, faces internal obstacles such as ethnic and gender diversity, and suffers from high rates of forced labor, this human rights framework allows the CIW to negotiate difference and reframe multiple struggles in the community into a unifying discourse based on the cultural rights of indigenous workers, the rights of women, and the right to be free from slavery, couched in universalist terms and stressing the shared humanity of everyone in Immokalee.

Radio Conciencia also enables "conversations between those who move and those who stay" in a diasporic public sphere through collaborations with musical groups like *Sobrevivencia*, who participate in a transcultural advocacy network (Appadurai 1996, 22). But like its previous interactions with groups within this network, the CIW reshapes and modifies cultural elements to make them relevant to the needs of the local farmworker movement. This was evident in Cruz's broadcast of "*Guate caricia*" and the strategic adaptation of performance context at the *Fiesta del Año del Trabajador* to feature *Sobrevivencia* alongside ensembles playing music originating from farmworkers' diverse homelands.

While I present a more thorough discussion of global processes in Chapter Seven, here I note that the flow of meaning through *Radio Conciencia* and music practices in Immokalee is overwhelmingly in the direction of global to local. With the exception of song dedications, where farmworkers send songs to loved ones back home, *Radio Conciencia* absorbs the flows of world culture, modifying their meanings and reconstituting them through a "movement framework" grounded in the culture of the local farmworker community (Hannerz 1997). The human rights discourse of world culture is absorbed and made relevant to the multiple struggles faced by farmworkers – as immigrants, as workers excluded from federal labor protections, as ethnic minorities, as women, as victims of forced labor – thereby helping to maintain unity and develop a global consciousness among farmworkers in the local movement context.

In the following chapter, I explore the sounds, forms, lyrics, and social movement functions of the music performed in CIW's public demonstrations throughout the era of the Campaign for Fair Food (2001-2011). The music in these demonstrations, however,

sound drastically different from the music broadcast on *Radio Conciencia* and performed at the fiestas in Immokalee: the love ballads frequently requested on *Radio Conciencia* and the sounds of *norteño*, *duranguense*, or *marimba* music are rarely heard. Instead, the sounds of Mexican *son jarocho*, Puerto Rican *bomba*, and Chicano and Afro-Cuban *hip-hop* – the sounds of CIW's ally communities – resonate in the soundscapes of CIW's public demonstrations.

CHAPTER SIX

Performing Solidarity: Music, Ritual, and Theater in Public Demonstrations 2001-2011
A *Son Jarocho* Case Study

Señor Presidente	Mr. President
Yo vengo a decir	I come to tell you
Derechos humanos	I've come to claim
Vengo a conseguir	My human rights
Me gusta la vida	I love life
Me gusta trabajo	I love work
En frente de Publix	In the face of Publix
Yo no me rebajo	I won't back down

Modified lyrics of *son jarocho* verses of the traditional *son,* "*El presidente*." Performed during the popular theater pageant in front of a Publix grocery store in Tampa, Florida at the conclusion of the Do The Right Thing Tour. March 5, 2011.

At the break of dawn on February 25, 2011, just two weeks after the annual Year of the Worker Party, sixty farmworkers boarded a bus to embark on a nine-day, 3,000-mile tour along the East Coast. The "Do the Right Thing Tour" – whose name was inspired by Publix founder George Jenkins' motto "Don't let making a profit get in the way of doing the right thing" – took aim at the supermarket industry, and Florida-based Publix in particular. The tour took the farmworkers from Immokalee up to the snowy streets of Boston and New York City to protest grocery chains Stop and Shop and Trader Joe's, back through Atlanta, and finally to a Publix store in Tampa, Florida. The tour concluded on a sunny Saturday afternoon in Tampa, where farmworkers and more than

one thousand of their allies from around the country converged in front of a major Publix grocery store to partake in a vibrant popular theater pageant.

The pageant was a culmination of months of planning, weeks of art and puppet making, hours of music rehearsals, and an elaborate dress rehearsal the night before. The performance itself was a spectacular display of music, art, and dance, as farmworkers and their diverse ally groups – faith leaders, food justice and community activists, and students – walked in procession down a center isle to the sound of different songs and call-and-response chants. Once on stage, representatives from each ally group gave emotional speeches that explained their reasons for aligning themselves with the farmworker movement and proclaimed their continued solidarity with the campaign. The height of the performance came when an actor portraying a Publix executive announced he was reversing his stance and pledged to "do the right thing" by signing the CIW's Fair Food Agreement. The performance ended with farmworkers' children running down to the stage in celebration. The *son jarocho* ensemble started playing the joyous "*La bamba*" with lyrics modified for the occasion, the crowd erupted in cheers and the dance party began.

In this chapter, I examine CIW's public demonstrations as ritualized performances where solidarity between the CIW and its ally groups are developed and maintained, power is expressed in confrontation with adversaries, and flows of meanings in world culture are enacted, adapted, and projected. By analyzing the music, art, totems, discourse, as well as observable behavior of participants and bystanders in these public demonstrations, I respond to specific components of the primary research questions:

> Research question #1: How is a cohesive movement with a collective identity, consciousness, and solidarity developed and maintained among the movement's diverse ally participants?
>
> Research question #2: What is music's role in building and sustaining the farmworker movement? More specifically, what is the relationship between musical form and function in social movement mobilization?
>
> Research question #3: How is world culture enacted, adapted, or contested in public demonstrations?

In responding to these research questions, I aim not only to document and describe the expressive symbols of these public rituals, but to move "beyond the descriptive study of aspects of movement culture" by relating them to issues of social movement organization, power, resources, and success or failure (Johnston and Klandermans 1995, 21; Taylor and Whittier 1995, 187). I demonstrate that CIW's ritualized protests contribute to various indicators of success, in that they 1) build and maintain a collective identity, consciousness, and solidarity among diverse ally participants, 2) communicate legitimacy to movement adversaries and broaden the field of contention through public shaming and disruption (thus influencing political opportunities for material concessions from campaign targets), and 3) provide a space where participants are able to collectively enact a desired social movement community and express their vision of what "another world" could be.

By focusing on music performances in these rituals, I also contribute to a greater understanding of the relationship between music and social movements. Specifically, I examine the decade-long collaboration between the CIW and the California-based *son jarocho* ensemble *Son del Centro* as a case study. While many movement participants

and observers identify *son jarocho* as "the soundtrack of the CIW,"[98] I explain why and how this particular music tradition, which is neither practiced by farmworkers in Immokalee nor requested on *Radio Conciencia*,[99] has become so prevalent in CIW's public demonstrations. Moreover, in mirroring how the soundscape created by *Radio Conciencia* helps build a cohesive movement among farmworkers in Immokalee, I argue that the performance of *son jarocho*, alongside the totems and emblems of demonstrations, serves key functions in CIW's engagement in the public sphere: namely, it builds solidarity among diverse ally participants, attracts bystanders and intimidates adversaries, and connects the movement to world culture by making human rights discourse meaningful to participants and expressing challenges to neoliberal globalization.

These insights provide promising paths for further research and shed light on the reciprocal relationship between music and movements. In drawing on the work of Baker (1987), Eyerman and Jamison describe this relationship eloquently: "Musical traditions have been given new life through social movements at the same time as social movements have often expressed their meaning and gained coherence through music" (Eyerman and Jamison 1998, 14).

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[98] In casual conversations and in interviews, this phrase is frequently used to describe *son jarocho* music in the CIW's history. See also Student Farmworker Alliance 2010, pg. 69.

[99] Throughout the 2010-2011 harvest season in Immokalee, in which I listened to more than 200 hours of *Radio Conciencia* broadcasts, I did not hear one request for *son jarocho* music. However, on one occasion, on November 10, 2010, the *son*, "La Caña" from Son del Centro's album "Mi jarana es mi fusil" [My jarana is my weapon] was played and documented in one of the collected radio logs.

Campaign for Fair Food: Building an Ally Network Beyond Immokalee

In 2000, the CIW underwent a major shift in strategy.[100] Between 1993 and 2000, the CIW engaged in work stoppages, pickets, a one-month hunger strike, and even a 234-mile march[101] from Ft. Myers to Orlando, which primarily took aim at growers, grower associations, and elected officials. These efforts led to wage increases of approximately 13-25% that ended more than two decades of declining wages in the tomato industry and brought the piece rate up to the pre-1980 levels (Asbed 2008; Coalition of Immokalee Workers[102]). However, these wages were still far below the poverty level, and growers and crew leaders still maintained immense power over workers: wages were frequently withheld or miscalculated,[103] sexual harassment was commonplace for female workers,[104] and those who spoke up against abuses risked losing their jobs.

This combination of farmworker poverty, powerlessness, and absence of reporting mechanisms made conditions ripe for extreme forms of abuse. While CIW members were successful in uncovering and investigating slavery cases, they recognized that the prosecution of individual crew leaders was not addressing the underlying conditions that allowed slavery to take root. Even if slave labor was discovered in their operations, growers did not face criminal or market consequences and were able to carry on business

[100] For a timeline of major events during the immediate lead-up to and the entirety of the Campaign for Fair Food, refer to Figure 6.1.
[101] This march, named the "March for Dignity, Dialogue, and a Fair Wage," took place February 19 – March 4, 2000, and can be understood as the last major action before the Campaign for Fair Food strategy targeting corporate buyers went into full force. For a more detailed analysis of the march, refer to Payne (2000).
[102] See reference Coalition of Immokalee Workers, Website, About the CIW.
[103] Until the 2011-2012 season, farmworkers had to overflow the buckets, meaning they were picking approximately 36 pounds of tomatoes per bucket, but were getting paid for 32 pounds. This is the equivalent of paying workers for only ten out of every eleven buckets they pick. Workers also did not have time cards and were not compensated for as many as four hours each day, spent traveling to and from the fields or waiting for dew to dry or storms to pass while in the fields.
[104] As testified by both female and male farmworkers in interviews. See also Human Rights Watch (2012).

as usual. They claimed, after all, that they were neither aware nor responsible for how employees of contracted crew leaders were treated.

In the fall of 1999, after years of appealing to growers for dialogue and fair wages, the CIW had, in the words of Greg Asbed, hit a "brick wall" in their movement efforts (Asbed 2010). Members of the CIW realized they would need to develop a new strategy if they were to secure long-term material gains, increase farmworker power in relation to growers and crew leaders, and eliminate forced labor in the fields.

The idea that eventually developed into the model for the Campaign for Fair Food originated in part from a suggestion from a single worker. In December 1999, following a five-day work stoppage in Immokalee, fifty-three farmworkers held a protest outside the Florida State Capitol (Peltier 1999). Marching behind the white banner bearing the CIW emblem, wearing large papier-mâché masks in the shape of tomatoes and peppers, and holding signs that demanded a piece rate of 75 cents per bucket, farmworkers sought to pressure Governor Jeb Bush to bring growers into dialogue with the CIW. However, the governor was "out of town," forcing CIW representatives to deliver a message to Bush's aide Frank Jimenez (ibid.). Exhausted and with little hope of winning Bush's support, the workers boarded the bus back to Immokalee. Along the way, Laura Germino came across and read aloud an article in *The Packer*, an agriculture industry journal, which highlighted a contract between Six L's Packing Company (a major grower in Immokalee) and Taco Bell (Roselle 1999).

Upon returning to Immokalee, workers gathered in the CIW office to reflect on the march. According to Gerardo Reyes Chavez, workers began asking themselves "What would make the [growers] unable to ignore us any longer?" (Reyes Chavez 2010). The

article in *The Packer* was brought up and discussed. One worker[105] then stated simply, "So now we know where the tomatoes go. Let's tell Taco Bell!" (Asbed 2010). In recalling the discussion that followed, Greg Asbed described how fellow workers supported the idea of focusing on Taco Bell because the restaurant chain ridiculed Mexican culture to sell their food (ibid.). The discussion initiated a process in which members brainstormed and collectively analyzed what a strategy targeting Taco Bell would require. Just two weeks before, on November 30, 1999, a non-violent uprising of thousands of puppeteers, social justice activists, students, and union members blockaded and effectively shut down the World Trade Organization's ministerial conference in downtown Seattle. The "Battle of Seattle," as it became known, signaled the first coordinated mass direct action in the U.S. against the globalization of corporate capitalism. Three thousand miles away, in Immokalee, Florida, farmworkers took notice. As Lucas Benitez explained in a 2010 interview,

> The Seattle protests showed us that there were large numbers of religious and union activists, youth and community people who were deeply committed to a vision of economic and social justice around the country. That news came at the same time that we were beginning to look beyond the confines of Immokalee, both in understanding the broader food industry and in finding new support – allies – for what would soon after become the Campaign for Fair Food. (Solnit 2010)

On January 12, 2000, inspired by the Battle of Seattle's analysis of corporate globalization and the emerging Global Justice Movement in the United States, the CIW sent a letter to Thomas Davin, the chief operating officer of Taco Bell in Irvine, California, urging him to help bring Six L's into dialogue with the CIW. The following

[105] Interviews with CIW members who were at the discussion do not remember the name of the worker, although he is believed to be the brother of Antonio Ramas, one of the hunger strike participants of the 30-day hunger strike in December 1997.

week, on January 17, 2000, Martin Luther King Day, farmworkers held a small protest at a Taco Bell on U.S. Highway 41 in south Fort Myers (Hogan 2000).[106] Although the protest attracted scant media attention and did little to threaten executives at Taco Bell, it marked the first public demonstration in what would become a five-year battle against Taco Bell and the birth of the Campaign for Fair Food.

With this new strategy, the CIW refocused its efforts from targeting growers to targeting the buyers of the tomatoes – such as fast food corporations. In contrast to tomato suppliers such as Six L's, the brand image of a fast food chain such as Taco Bell, with its ringing bell logo and Chihuahua mascot, is recognized by millions and serves as one of the company's greatest assets. However, this same brand image could also become its greatest liability if consumers began associating the Taco Bell brand with things like slave labor and farmworker poverty instead of cheap *chalupas* and a cute Spanish-speaking dog. The CIW reasoned that if fast food corporations were more vulnerable to public shaming than the corporate farms in Immokalee, they could be pressured to use their influence over growers to help improve conditions for farmworkers. After all, as Lucas Benitez pointed out in an interview with *The Guardian*, "Taco Bell has a policy that it will not buy food from contractors that mistreat animals… All we are asking is that they have the same policy for humans" (Campbell 2003).

For this new strategy to work, the CIW would have to develop an ally network beyond Immokalee, educate and build solidarity with Taco Bell's consumers, and project a new image of Taco Bell reflective of farmworkers' reality. Having received no response

[106] In his master's thesis, Sellers mentions that the first protest was held on January 22, 2001 on Martin Luther King Day (Sellers 2009, 90). However, a newspaper article confirms it was Martin Luther King Day 2000. See Hogan (2000).

from Taco Bell after sending multiple letters requesting dialogue, the CIW announced a national boycott of Taco Bell on April 1, 2001.[107] Working with the small number of allies it had developed during its years of mobilizing in Florida, particularly during the 234-mile march in 2000, the CIW encouraged the formation of separate student and faith-based organizations that could operate in solidarity with the farmworker movement. The Student Farmworker Alliance (SFA) and Interfaith Action (IA), under the leadership of Brian Payne and Damara Luce, respectively, were formed in the summer of 2001.

With a boycott called on a widely recognized target and an ally mobilizing structure in place, the CIW set out to engage a general public far beyond Immokalee. In doing so, the CIW continued to employ the same philosophy of "Consciousness + Commitment = Change," but modified the popular education sessions and ritual celebrations used among farmworkers to resonate with a wider audience. Between 2001 and 2009, popular education with the public took the form of "Truth Tours": CIW members and staff, along with IA and SFA staff, would travel extensively throughout a targeted region and give numerous presentations at colleges, churches, labor unions, and social justice organizations, employing variations of the popular theater, videos, and dialogue model used in Immokalee. Later, from 2010 to the time of this writing, the CIW engaged in popular education with the general public through the mobile Modern Day Slavery Museum, which showcased the history of forced labor in Florida as well as the federally-prosecuted slavery cases the CIW helped uncover and investigate.

[107] Secondary boycotts are prohibited under the 1947 Taft Hartley Amendments to the National Labor Relations Act of 1935, see 29 U.S.C §158(b)(4)(A) (1947). However, agricultural workers continue to be excluded from the provisions of the NLRA and its amendments. Furthermore, section 2(2) of 29 U.S.C. § 152 (2000) maintains that agricultural employers are excluded from its definition of an employer.

The presentations at the Truth Tours and Slavery Museum tours were adapted for specific audiences and raised consciousness about how consumers of tomatoes in a highly corporatized food system were connected to farmworker exploitation. Moreover, consumers were encouraged to move beyond awareness by coordinating with a CIW ally organization (Student Farmworker Alliance, Interfaith Action, or the Alliance for Fair Food[108]) and participating in an upcoming demonstration. The tours were thus strategically scheduled directly before major public demonstrations so that individuals recently exposed to conscientization could strengthen their commitment to the movement by joining farmworkers and their allies in a protest atmosphere filled with music, art, emotive speeches, and dance.

Reminiscent of the *Fiesta del Año del Trabajador*, these demonstrations are also festive, ritualized events where music performances and call-and-response chants generate heightened emotional responses and strengthen feelings of solidarity among participants. But the sounds, genres, and lyrics of the music in these demonstrations are very different from the music played on *Radio Conciencia*, at block parties, and at fiestas in Immokalee. While music in Immokalee helps form a collective identity across farmworkers' ethnic and gender differences, provide a sense of time and place for a displaced population, and recruit newly arrived workers to the community center, music performances in active public protest must respond to very different contexts and needs of mobilization.

[108] The Alliance for Fair Food was established on March 8, 2006, one year after the Taco Bell victory, and serves as a network that coordinates CIW's numerous ally organizations, including human rights, religious, food justice, labor, environmental, and community organizations.

For one, the participants in demonstrations include farmworkers as well as students and people of faith who differ in age, race, language, and religion, among other things. Second, in contrast to farmworkers listening to the radio in their trailers or watching performances at the community center, music performances in demonstrations are often made across long distances for extended periods of time among participants who are likely experiencing states of physical and emotional exhaustion. Third, unlike the farmworker audiences of *Radio Conciencia* or the annual fiestas, music in public demonstrations is also heard by bystanders on the street, in their houses, at school, or at work, who are unfamiliar with the movement and the terms of the conflict. Lastly, CIW demonstrations at corporate headquarters also mean that the listening audience includes powerful corporate executives.

Although many music ensembles have performed with the CIW over the course of the Campaign for Fair Food, no other group has developed such deep bonds with the CIW, consistently performed at their public demonstrations, or communicated the meaning of the movement as *Son del Centro*, a *son jarocho* ensemble housed in *El Centro Cultural de México* (the *Centro*) in Santa Ana, California. In many ways, the *son jarocho* tradition has become prevalent in CIW demonstrations because *Son del Centro* strategically adapted the instrumentation and musical form of the tradition to various performance contexts, which enabled them to better animate and energize participants in prolonged marches and improvise lyrics to intimidate campaign targets.

However, apart from these more functional aspects of *son jarocho*, the group *Son del Centro* has also become intimately connected with the movement because its history, philosophy, and collective values share much in common with the CIW. While *Son del*

Centro's musicians are primarily students and youth with no direct experience in farm labor, an exploration of the birth of the ensemble, its growth within the *Centro*, and the practice of the *son jarocho* tradition in Santa Ana sheds light on why *Son del Centro* and the CIW were able to build and sustain a lasting relationship that has spanned the history of the Campaign for Fair Food.

Setting the Stage: *El Centro Cultural de México*, *Son del Centro*, and the Taco Bell Boycott

The story of how the paths of the CIW and *Son del Centro* first converged originates in CIW's decision to bring the campaign to the steps of Taco Bell's corporate headquarters in Irvine, California. After having appealed to Taco Bell for nearly two years, the CIW planned to embark on a "Taco Bell Truth Tour" and travel across the United States to build an ally network from the grassroots and increase pressure on Taco Bell.

In August, the CIW invited puppeteer David Solnit, who had helped coordinate the street theater actions of the Seattle protests, to come to Immokalee to collaborate with farmworker members to help the movement communicate its message through art and theater (Solnit 2012). Walking through the streets of Immokalee, CIW members shared the history of the struggle with David, and through dialogues and brainstorming sessions with farmworkers, they decided that the image of the tomato bucket best symbolized farmworkers' hard labor in the fields and could clearly communicate messages in public spaces (ibid.). For the next several weeks, David and a team of farmworkers mass produced tomato-bucket-shaped picket signs with various slogans that expressed farmworkers' consciousness and what they were fighting for: among other phrases,

"*nuestro sudor no es gratis*" [our sweat is not free] and "*otro mundo es posible*" [another world is possible] – the motto developed by the first World Social Forum held in January 2001 – were inscribed on the bucket-shaped signs as well as others in the shape of bells that co-opted Taco Bell's logo (see visual appendix 6.1).

Just two days before the tour was set to depart on September 13, 2001, as workers were painting the finishing touches on their brightly colored picket signs, they received news of the terrorist attacks at the World Trade Center and Pentagon. The CIW immediately suspended the tour and released the following statement:

> Out of respect for the thousands of innocent people who lost their lives so horribly in the tragic events of September 11, the Coalition of Immokalee workers, the Student Farmworker Alliance, and our friends and colleagues across the country have decided to postpone the Taco Bell Truth Tour, originally planned for September 13-30. (*Faith Works* 2001)

Reporting on the cancellation of the tour, the OC Weekly wrote:

> Meanwhile, however, it has been business as usual at Taco Bell. The company hasn't stopped selling chalupas and burrito supremes and mega-layered whatchamacallits out of respect for the victims. More to the point, it is not taking any action in response to Bush's call to "unite in our resolve for justice and peace" by improving the tomato pickers' wages and desperate standard of living. (Wielenga 2001)

As the CIW remained in Immokalee and reassessed a drastically altered political landscape that had become extremely hostile to both immigrants and social protest in the wake of 9/11, a new community space dedicated to the promotion of Mexican culture was taking shape in Santa Ana, California – just ten miles away from the Taco Bell headquarters.

El *Centro* Cultural de México and the Birth of *Son del Centro*

El *Centro* Cultural de México was originally founded by a small group of immigrant women from Mexico in 1993. Carolina Sarmiento, a daughter of one of the

founders, explained that the women formed the *Centro* in response to growing anti-immigrant sentiments in California, as reflected in Proposition 187 – a ballot initiative to prohibit illegal aliens from education, health care, and other social services in California – and the birth of the Minute Men in Orange County, a "citizens' vigilance operation" whose mission is to heighten "national awareness to the illegal alien invasion" (Sarmiento 2012; Minute Men website). "In the middle of all this," Carolina said, "they came together to form the *Centro* as a space, not a physical space, but an organization that could promote and teach a more dignified perspective of Mexican culture and history" (Sarmiento 2012). For nine years, the women organized events and held classes throughout Orange County, in whatever spaces they could find.

In early 2001, Carolina was collaborating with Quetzal Flores and Martha Gonzalez[109] of *Quetzal*, an "East LA Chican@ rock group,"[110] and friends Marco and Rubí, a renowned bailadora of *zapateado*,[111] on various community and cultural projects in East Los Angeles. Inspired by a recent visit and workshop with *Mono Blanco*, a *son jarocho* ensemble from Veracruz, Mexico, Marco suggested to Carolina that they begin teaching *son jarocho* at the *Centro*. Excited about the project, Marco went to Veracruz and purchased six *jaranas*, the eight-stringed folk guitar of the *son jarocho* tradition, including several made by Gilberto Gutierrez of *Mono Blanco*. Upon returning to Santa Ana, Marco began giving *son jarocho* classes in the living room of Carolina's parents'

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[109] For more on the current work – particularly the *Seattle Fandango Project* – of Quetzal Flores and Martha Gonzalez, see Stoller (2012) and Dudley and Gonzalez (2012).

[110] *East LA*, *East Los Angeles*, or *the Eastside* are terms used in Los Angeles to refer to the parts of the city that are primarily inhabited by people of Mexican ancestry. The term Chican@ is used to refer both to Chicano and Chicana, the masculine and feminine form of the word that gained significance particularly during the Chicano movement of the 1960s and 1970s that generally referred to people who had Mexican parents but were born in the United States.

[111] *Zapateado* is the dance form of the *son jarocho* tradition that provides the rhythmic foundation of the music. In many ways, *zapateado* is often understood as an instrument, rather than an accompanying dance.

house, and her youngest brother Luis was one of his first students (Sarmiento 2012). In the fall of 2001, a physical space was secured for the *Centro* on South Main Street. Once open, the *son jarocho* classes quickly became one of the strongest programs at the *Centro*, and the ensemble was soon named *Son del Centro*. Before long, Carolina explained, "all of the volunteers at the center were *jaraneros*… so everybody was organizing in the space and playing or dancing *son jarocho*" (Sarmiento 2012).

Although the new physical space of the *Centro* was still grounded in the Mexican immigrant experience, it began to take on a different meaning after the formation of *Son del Centro*: that of the second-generation and immigrant youth experience. The *Centro*, in Carolina's words, became a safe space for young *Mexicanos*, who began to use "*son jarocho* as a way to voice their experiences in Santa Ana." Santa Ana, despite being the seat of affluent Orange County, CA, was and continues to be an epicenter of urban poverty: a study by the Nelson A. Rockefeller Institute of Government ranked Santa Ana #1 among U.S. cities for having the "highest urban hardship" in the year 2000 (Montiel et al. 2004, 4, 11, 48).[112]

By 2002, second-generation and immigrant youth came to replace the older Mexican immigrant women who had founded the *Centro* (Sarmiento 2012). From its beginning, the *Centro* had important similarities with the CIW: in addition to being founded during the same year, both groups shared a commitment to draw from the knowledge and experiences of members of working-class immigrant communities – whether it be comprised of settled families in urban California or migrant workers in rural Florida – to improve their lives through collective struggle. Moreover, with its new

[112] Ranking based on study weighing variables of "unemployment, dependency, education, income level, crowded housing, and poverty" See Montiel et al. (2004).

physical home in Santa Ana, its growing youth membership base, and its formation of *Son del Centro*, the *Centro* would come to share key organizational values with the CIW. Specifically, such changes led to the establishment of a collective space maintained by the community, the development of a horizontal leadership structure, and the use of music in efforts to preserve cultural identity and build interethnic unity in a diverse diasporic context. These values were captured in the *Centro*'s mottos: "*El Centro es de quien lo trabaja*" [The Center belongs to those who work it], "*Un Centro sin fronteras*" [A Center without borders], and "*Cuando la cultura muere, la gente muere*" [When the culture dies, the people die], which was painted on *Son del Centro's tarima*.

Perhaps not coincidentally, these three factors – the *Centro*'s youth-based membership, its group *Son del Centro*, and its physical space near the Taco Bell headquarters – would also contribute to the *Centro*'s first encounter with the CIW.

2002 Taco Bell Truth Tour

On March 1, 2002, the CIW finally embarked on its first nationwide Taco Bell Truth Tour. During the six months following the postponement of the original tour, the CIW and its ally staff had been hard at work, coordinating dozens of presentations along its rescheduled 14-city tour. While Taco Bell continued to deny responsibility for farmworkers' conditions, maintaining that they did not "get involved in the labor disputes of other companies," the CIW was educating and building a broad base of consumer allies (Wielenga 2001). Moreover, the CIW and the SFA were reaching out and engaging in dialogues with students and youth, Taco Bell's target market (Taco Bell 1999).[113] Through these dialogues, farmworkers and students were developing a consciousness of

[113] Since 1986, the company had been "monitoring" 18 to 24 year olds, who they labeled as "self indulgent" consumers belonging to a "New Hedonism Generation." See Taco Bell (1999)

their shared exploitation in a corporatized, global food system and the foundation of an alliance based on solidarity, rather than charity. Throughout the tour and the early years of the Taco Bell campaign, the philosophy of the SFA began to take shape:

> Our struggles are not the same but they converge. Both farmworkers and young consumers are objectified by the corporate food industry: farmworkers are seen as tractors that harvest raw materials cheaply while youth are seen as mouths that obediently consume branded, unsustainable products. In an increasingly polarized global economy—where the growing concentration of wealth and corporate power threatens nearly everyone—it is imperative that we unite in common struggles and create meaningful solidarity with one another. (Student Farmworker Alliance website)

The highlight of the tour was a rally scheduled for March 11 outside Taco Bell's headquarters in Irvine. Six weeks prior to the event, Damara Luce arrived in Los Angeles to help coordinate logistics. In addition to arranging speakers, the CIW also gave Damara the task of organizing music for the event. In her interview, Damara recalled,

> The CIW had told me, "Why don't you try to get some local musicians because we don't want it to be too boring!" It wasn't a ton of thought, like "how we want to shape this and how we have to have music to reach out to young people," it wasn't like that. It was kind of like "We want to have this be a big march and a big protest and we want great speeches and we want multicultural stuff and we want music, we want it to be fun, we want it to be meaningful."
>
> With that basic mandate, we also discovered that as allies were coming out of the woodwork in southern California, some of them were musicians. So it just happens naturally, it's often like that anyway, like "Hey, I play the whatever," or "I'm in this band." So that year, it became sort of an organizing tactic in and of itself because, like *Costa Nostra*, I'm looking at [my notes from the event] – *Los Jornaleros del Norte,* a day laborer band we met in LA, and they were excited. They were excited about getting the word out about the protest, but then they also wanted to perform, so we were like, "Yeah, you can perform!" [Reading from her list] Over the Counter Intelligence, *Mezklah*, the *Cuauhtémoc Aztec Dancers*, *Chomiha*, I mean I don't even remember this stuff – Rawskills, the Factory Rejects with Erik Rez, and *Tazumal* – a heavy metal group – I mean, these are all these bands and people who were playing at this first action. They all had political messages or human rights messages in their music, and they also turned out to be the ones organizing to get people out to the action. (Luce 2010)

In this first nationwide action in the Campaign for Fair Food, music figured prominently in the event. However, as expressed in the directions given to Damara, CIW did not specify genres or the kinds of sounds they wanted in the music. Rather, they wanted music for its emotional effects so the event would be "fun" and "meaningful" for participants – and decidedly not "boring." To Damara's surprise, she ended up finding musical ensembles from within the community groups she was already organizing, who also ended up being those who attracted and actively recruited people to the demonstration. Thus, in mirroring the music at the fiestas in Immokalee, music performances were not only intended to create heightened emotional states among the audience, but they also ended up serving as "an organizing tactic in and of itself" because they attract large crowds to CIW events. However, unlike the music at the CIW fiestas that signal farmworkers' homelands and immigrant experience, the music at public demonstrations in the Campaign for Fair Food represented the experiences of ally communities and expressed their solidarity with the farmworker movement.

While the first Truth Tour and demonstration outside Taco Bell's headquarters were successful in that they projected the CIW onto the national stage and built the foundations of a broad consumer-based ally network, Taco Bell continued to ignore CIW's demands. The CIW vowed to continue the boycott and return the following year. By the time CIW returned to Taco Bell's headquarters in the spring of 2003, the boycott had gained significant momentum and strength, particularly among students. In addition to Cal State University Los Angeles' decision not to renew its contract with Taco Bell in the fall of 2001, between the spring of 2002 and the spring of 2003, student campaigns at six other colleges and universities around the country successfully removed Taco Bell

from their campuses.[114] CIW members, encouraged by the groundswell of support from their allies, decided to escalate the campaign through a collective action that expressed the intensity and urgency of their struggle.

2003 Taco Bell Truth Tour

On Monday, February 24, 2003, after three long days traveling from Immokalee to Irvine on the second Taco Bell Truth Tour, one hundred farmworkers and supporters began a hunger strike at the steps of Taco Bell's headquarters. For ten straight days, the strikers endured hunger in the cold and rain, as well as constant harassment by the local Irvine police. Every morning and afternoon, Taco Bell executives and employees drove by a hundred farmworkers refusing food and growing weaker by the day, huddled below a banner that said "Taco Bell Profits from Farmworker Poverty." Some of the Taco Bell employees snickered at the workers, others flicked them off, but most of them simply turned their heads the other way as they drove past.

Prior to the commencement of the hunger strike, five CIW and ally staff had spent two months in several locations throughout Orange County building community support and preparing for the event. Their hard work paid off. On the fifth day of the hunger strike, more than 1,500 community supporters joined the strikers in a mass rally filled with speakers[115] and music performances. The music performances featured primarily hip-hop artists from Los Angeles. One group was *JG & Haviken Hayes*, who premiered a

[114] In the spring of 2002, University of San Francisco and Samford University removed Taco Bell from their campuses in response to student protests. In the fall of 2002, the University of Chicago, Middle Tennessee State University, and San Diego City College followed suit. In the spring of 2003, the University of Memphis became the seventh school to remove Taco Bell from their campus as part of the nationwide Taco Bell boycott (and the fourteenth school to either remove a Taco Bell or prevent one from opening on campus).

[115] Speakers included Lucas Benitez of the CIW, Eric Schlosser, author of "Fast Food Nation," Tanis Ybarra of the United Farm Workers, Stephen Bartlett of Agricultural Missions, Mike Moon of Family Farm Defenders, Anuradha Mittal of Food First. The program's MC was Jaribu Hill of the Mississippi Workers Center.

song dedicated to the strikers called "Hunger Days" whose chorus line "*Yo no quiero* Taco Bell!" [I don't want Taco Bell!], an adaptation of the Taco Bell slogan, was enthusiastically echoed throughout the crowd. Another East-LA hip-hop group, *Slowrider,* rallied the crowd with their set. A moment many audience members recall is when the lead singer (who later became known as the artist *Olmeca*) looked up at the tall Taco Bell skyscraper and repeated the lyrics "You can't hide from this!" to the hundreds of Taco Bell corporate employees who, watching above from their windows, stepped back suddenly in response (Luce 2010).

Just as the rally was winding to a close, a group of young musicians carrying *jaranas* and a *tarima* – a small, wooden dancing platform – climbed upon the makeshift stage on the back of the flat-bed truck. Brian Payne of the SFA had been coordinating with Salvador, the brother of Carolina and Luis and a student at UC Irvine, who suggested that the CIW get in touch with his brother and the newly formed *Son del Centro*. Damara Luce recalled the coordination with the group and their first performance at a CIW action:

> Luis from *Son del Centro* was in high school and he called me up and said, "You guys are having your action from 12:00 to 4:00, but we don't get out of school until 3:00!" And I was like, oh my god, they're in high school! I said, "Could you guys come after school? We still might have people here." And they were like, "Okay, okay!" So then at the very end of the day, the crowd had really left, but the workers were all there. So then these little kids show up – I mean they're not little kids, but really, they were so young! And they got up on the stage with their *tarima* and their music, and we were in heaven. They just played and played, and they played even after the police ordered us to turn the sound system off. They played and sang in Spanish, and the workers loved it! Everyone began dancing and we were like, "Who are these people?" (Luce 2010)

After a hunger strike that lasted a total of ten days and a mass rally filled with more than a thousand people at Taco Bell's doorstep, Taco Bell refused to budge. The

workers vowed to return again the following year, and the year after that, for however long it would take. Damara recalled the feelings behind CIW's persistence:

> It was very fascinating to be inside [the movement], maybe it was my age, or maybe not, it was really just the spirit of things. The workers would always be quoting Martin Luther King, even though they're largely an immigrant community, they'd done a lot of education around him and were always reflecting on his quotes, like "Unarmed truth and unconditional love will have the final word." Simply, we just felt that the truth would prevail – which is why we did the "Truth Tours." We were just going to do what's right. And what's honest, and what's authentic. And it's sort of funny, but you know, we knew that ultimately, we were going to win. It may take forever, but we were going to win. (Luce 2010)

Back in Immokalee, the CIW, SFA, and Interfaith Action continued to reach out to groups around the country, making hundreds of presentations and attending numerous conferences and marches throughout the following 2003-2004 harvest season. In September, 400 members of the CIW marched through Immokalee in solidarity with participants traveling from Miami to DC as part of the national Immigrant Workers Freedom Ride (inspired by the Freedom Riders of the 1960s). To their surprise, members of the local Ku Klux Klan of Collier County also attended, holding signs that read "illegal immigrants = terrorists" and "stop non-white immigration" (Fullerton 2003). In November, the CIW participated in a 34-mile "Root Cause March" against the Free Trade Area of the Americans (FTAA) ministerial meeting in Miami, and later in the week, three CIW members accepted the prestigious Robert F. Kennedy Human Rights Award in Washington DC. The CIW continued to mobilize the local farmworker community, a task that was aided greatly by the establishment of *Radio Conciencia* in December. In the spring, the CIW embarked on its third Truth Tour across the United States, arriving in Irvine on March 4, 2004 for another national demonstration – this time, a 44-mile march from East Los Angeles to Taco Bell's headquarters.

2004 Taco Bell Truth Tour

Prior to the action, several CIW and ally staff members were again sent to California to coordinate the logistics of a march that spanned 17 police jurisdictions. As their luck would have it, the *Centro* was only several miles away from the Taco Bell headquarters. Carolina Sarmiento recalled:

> Damara and Julia were walking around Main Street in Santa Ana, and I bumped into them! They tell me about the action at Taco Bell and how they're coming all the way from Florida and want to find a really cheap rent deal, and I was like, "Just use the back!" And so we let them use the back of the *Centro*. They were awesome – everybody was organizing around the Taco Bell boycott, all the schools, a lot of the students that were using the space at the *Centro* were also involved through UC-Irvine, so it was a lot of overlapping networks within that space – but they inspired us, their work ethic was so hard core. So just by cleaning, the way they transformed the space, the way they would work, like this center of communication and activism was really taking shape. Yeah, they were there, we were having punk bands and shows, and they were in the back working, they would clean the space all the time, so we were sharing, sharing a space together. (Sarmiento 2012)

The 44-mile march was a spectacular display of color and sound, a parade of public shaming against Taco Bell. More so than any previous year, the CIW implemented a design for effective visual communication that would become a staple in the campaign's future public demonstrations. At the front of the march were several CIW members, who carried the white banner with the CIW emblem and the group's motto in English, Spanish, and Kreyòl (see visual appendix 6.2). Behind them, every marcher wore matching t-shirts co-opting the colors of the Taco Bell brand (see visual appendix 6.3), held pickets signs in the shape of tomato buckets and taco "bells," and farmworkers scattered throughout the march carried the actual red tomato buckets used in the fields on their shoulders (see visual appendix 6.4).

The CIW also began to solidify its sonic rituals for transforming the soundscapes of their demonstrations. Participants were given chant sheets[116] of call-and-response lyrics that had been developed throughout the boycott, *Son del Centro* sang and improvised verses along the way, and the closing rally at Taco Bell's headquarters featured an exchange of speeches and music performances. The rally included speakers such as farmworkers Francisca Cortez and Gerardo Reyes Chávez, author Eric Schlosser, Reverend Noelle Damico, and California State Senator Joe Dunn, whose speeches alternated with music performances by Boots Riley of *The Coup* and Tom Morello of *Audioslave* and formerly *Rage Against the Machine*, Mexican singer-songwriter Lila Downs, and the young members of *Son del Centro* (see visual appendix 6.5).

For the third year in a row, Taco Bell executives rejected CIW's demands and refused to meet with the farmworkers – even after they had traveled 3,000 miles by bus and 44 miles by foot in hopes of victory. While most observers considered this a defeat, the CIW chose to celebrate anyway. The CIW gathered with their closest supporters at the *Centro* to commemorate another year of "truth-telling" and building relationships across the food chain based on mutual solidarity and respect. Recalling the celebration, a *Son del Centro* member wrote:

> The room was filled to capacity with CIW workers and SFA student allies dancing and laughing, strumming along to the syncopated rhythms of *son jarocho*, a traditional music of Veracruz, México. The gathering was in Santa Ana, California, in the middle of conservative Orange County, but the space, *El Centro Cultural de México*, was full of people with a vision for a better world. Most of the crowd just finished a forty-four-mile march from East Los Angeles to Irvine, home to fast food giant Taco Bell. Everyone in the room was glowing from the long day and positive energy that only comes from marching alongside hundreds of people exploding in enthusiasm with music, inspired chants, enormous tomato signs, and even larger puppets. The whole day, we marched,

[116] See figure 6.2 in appendix.

> played, and danced on call, improvising melodic verses as *Centro* volunteers helped with the Spanish-English translation. It was refreshing; when some of the organizers got tired, the music pumped them up; when we got tired, the example of the Immokalee workers pushed us too. It was the first of many celebrations between the CIW and their allies in Santa Ana. (Student Farmworker Alliance 2010, 68)

CIW member Gerardo Reyes Chávez similarly recalled the celebration at the *Centro* with great fondness:

> I remember when I first went to *El Centro*. We got there and there was a lot of food, which is really important! The honest truth! (laughs) Somebody told us what the *Centro* was about. It is where you start to play *jarana* and do cultural activities. They focused on the history more than anything and after interacting with different people – it was something quite beautiful listening to their music. I think that's when I first really heard *Son del Centro* play. It was a moment that changed many things. I was like, "All right, these are my people!" (Reyes Chávez 2010)

While the *Centro*'s physical proximity to the Taco Bell headquarters and the youth-based membership of *Son del Centro* explain the factors that led to its initial collaboration with the CIW, these participant statements make clear that there was something about *Son del Centro's* performance of *son jarocho* that helped create a collective identity among members of both groups, enabling them to see themselves in each other. Gerardo, after all, upon interacting with students he barely knew and hearing them play music unfamiliar to him, was somehow moved to think, "These are my people" (ibid.).

The *Son Jarocho* Tradition: From Veracruz to Santa Ana

The *son jarocho* tradition has its origins in the southern region of the state of Veracruz, Mexico. Loza (1992) asserts that *son jarocho* dates back three centuries and incorporates an "amalgam of influences derived from the Spanish colonizers of Mexico, from Africans taken to New Spain as slaves, and from the indigenous population of the

southeastern region of Mexico" (Loza 1992, 179). Loza also explains how the term *son jarocho* combines the word *son*, which means "a sound which is agreeable to the ear" and *jarocho*, which meant "somewhat insolent" in early Spanish vernacular (Loza 1992, 179-90). From the tradition's earliest years, *sones* were recognized for their "politically oppositional texts," and were thus officially condemned by representatives of the Inquisition during the 18th century (ibid.,180).

Son jarocho, as it is practiced in Veracruz, is comprised of distinct "musical, literary, and choreographic" aspects (Standford 1972, 68). The music aspect includes small five-course folk guitars in various sizes, known as *jaranas*, and the harp, provide both the harmony and the rhythmic foundation, or the *sesquialtera*, of the music, and the melody is featured in the four-stringed *requinto*, the violin, and vocals.[117] The literary aspect resembles the *copla* poetic form, which provides the structure for the improvised text. Lastly, the dance form is the *zapateado*, a rhythmic and resonant dance performed by both women and men on a wooden *tarima*, or raised platform (Stanford 1972).

Until the mid/late-20th century, *son jarocho* was practiced almost exclusively on local ranches and in rural communities within southern Veracruz. *La bamba*, a popular *son* originally from Veracruz, was adapted and made popular among audiences in the United States with Richie Valens' 1958 hit of the same name. *Son jarocho* re-emerged in East Los Angeles in the 1970s at the height of the Chicano movement, and the group *Los Lobos* incorporated elements of the music tradition into their Latin-rock repertoire as part

[117] Stanford also notes, "the voices involved should be male" (Stanford 1972, 68). *Son del Centro* is also a fascinating case study because the majority of the members are women, and nearly all of them sing in the ensemble. My interviews with women in the group highlighted the opportunity and need for future feminist ethnomusicological research of *son jarocho*, and the group *Son del Centro* in particular. To date, very little scholarship on women in *son jarocho* exists. However, the work of Martha Gonzalez, a graduate student in Gender, Women, and Sexuality Studies at the University of Washington, is beginning to address this gap in the literature.

of an effort to affirm their ethnic identity and "promote it as a viable art form in an urban and, in many respects, a culturally hostile environment" (Loza 1992, 188). After several decades of decline in the U.S., s*on jarocho* again experienced resurgence in East L.A. in the 1990s with the rock group *Quetzal*. In his essay on the cultural politics of Chicana/o music in East L.A. in the late 1990s, Viesca profiled the group and its founder Quetzal Flores, a son of United Farm Workers organizers, to demonstrate the complex ways in which *son jarocho* stylistic markers are used in East L.A. to both "reaffirm an ethnic origin and identity that precedes the nation-state," and promote "interethnic identification and unity through culture rather than nationality or color" in the context of the city's immense diversity (Viesca 2004, 726-27).

In other words, the expansion of *son jarocho* out of Veracruz into the United States gave way to reinterpretation of the tradition, in which traditional forms originally developed and maintained in rural communities in eastern Mexico were ascribed with new values and different cultural significance in the diaspora (Loza 1992, 192). In East L.A. in particular, *son jarocho* became a "strategic site for the production and negotiation of emergent national, racial, class and gendered identities" (Viesca 2004, 726). For example, Viesca describes how *Quetzal's* music and political work in East L.A. was greatly influenced by the Zapatista rebellion in 1994, how the group emphasizes *son jarocho's* African roots to build bridges with the black community in the U.S., and even how Chicana feminism informs dancer Martha Gonzalez' interpretation of *zapateado*.

This was the context of *son jarocho* expansion and reinterpretation in the Mexican diaspora in southern California when *Son del Centro* was formed in 2002. But unlike many other musicians or groups, *Son del Centro* was grounded in the space and

community of the *Centro*. Through the *Centro*'s ongoing translocal and transcultural collaborations with *son jarocho* groups and *jaraneros/as*[118] in Veracruz, *Son del Centro* developed a unique and heightened awareness of the opportunities – as well as the pitfalls – that arise in the spread of *son jarocho* out of its original geographic and cultural context. By hosting teachers from Veracruz at the *Centro* and traveling every year to different *son jarocho* festivals and gatherings such as the annual *seminario* at Rancho Luna Negra in Jáltipan, Veracruz, *Son del Centro* members have learned *son jarocho* in a way that has made them mindful of the responsibilities of carrying on a tradition beyond its home context where elders, oral transmission from teacher to student, and constant community exchange had maintained a balance of preservation and change for centuries.

Son del Centro members consistently expressed to me that respecting the *son jarocho* tradition is as much about upholding the culture and social values of *son jarocho* communities in Veracruz as it is about mastering the techniques and variations of the musical, lyrical, and dance components. Roxana Guajardo, a member of *Son del Centro* since 2004, emphasized this in her interview:

> *Son del Centro* is very self-reflective, as well as critical. We're always evaluating ourselves as a group, and each other as people – with the intention of staying true to our core values, or the values of *Son del Centro* as a project. One of the values is just having that respect for the culture and the music. We are borrowing it, you know – no one from *Son del Centro* is from Veracruz, so really, we have no right. [*Jaraneros* in Veracruz] lend it to us, and always say, "Yes, please play it. You guys give us strength, but please be careful, please understand that we all have to respect it, and we all have to respect its origins, and not make it into this crazy thing," you know? There are other bands like *Las Cafeteras*, who are like, "Yes, this is *son jarocho*, but we're going to make it ours. And now we're going to incorporate hip-hop into it, and we're going to create our own Chicano versos,

[118] *Jaranero/jaranera* is a term that refers to individuals who play the stringed instrument *jarana* in the *son jarocho* tradition, or more generally to individuals who participate in a growing transnational son jarocho network to support community development efforts. In the interest of clarity, from here on the word will be referred to as *jaranero*, but with full acknowledgement that female *jaraneras* are included in the term and play an equally valid role in *son jarocho*.

> and our own Chicano rhythms," which is perfectly fine and it adds to it, but I think *Son del Centro's* line of thinking has been more committed to sticking to the traditional.
>
> A few times we have tried to experiment, and to come up with new things, but I would say we try and stick to the traditional versions. And I think something that has helped is that we have a close relationship with a lot of people from Veracruz. We go every time we can – right now, there are three of us in Chacalapas! As much as we can, we go to Veracruz, and we also invite groups to Santa Ana, so they can come and give *talleres*[119] first hand. They tell our students about Veracruz in a way that respects and fosters those relationships. If you have those relationships, you're not going to want to screw over your friends' music or culture or traditions. So then, you try to be as respectful as possible. The culture itself has also been very respectable to us, as well, it's just full of humanity, you know? It's a culture that fosters those kinds of things – justice, respect, humanity, community – things that inevitably lead to social justice, to want to fight for a better world. It's helped us, not only as musicians, but also as people. It fosters different sides of us, like inviting a stranger to your house to stay, offering water to someone… I don't know, just being able to share, a key part of *son jarocho* culture. So you feel how it changes your life for the better.
>
> But we also hear from our friends in Veracruz about how they are worried about this whole *son jarocho* movement going crazy. Not just in the United States, but in Mexico. Like in Mexico City, there is a big concern, even within Veracruz, about the *son jarocho* music growing fast but not solidly and not respectfully. So we hear this all the time, constantly, and we go and we see it, and musicians come and tell us about it, so then we try to make sure, as much as possible, to take on that responsible mindset, and play *son jarocho* in a way that is respectful. We try – not to say we are perfectly good about it, but at least we try. (Guajardo 2010)

Roxana makes clear that *Son del Centro* – as both music ensemble and cultural/political project – is conscious about the respectful representation of *son jarocho* in the context of the United States. This is reflected in the group's desire to perform in the traditional music style (with adaptations limited to lyrical changes and instrumental omissions of the harp and violin) and carry on cultural values shared with them by *son jarocho* groups in Veracruz. Neither of these two components of *son jarocho* – the traditional style and community values – are necessarily abided by all groups who perform the music tradition: *Las Cafeteras*, for example, fuses *son jarocho* music styles

[119] Translation: workshops/lessons.

with hip-hop, and Richie Valens' "La bamba" was certainly not interpreted as seeking to cultivate community values or respect for elders. Rather, the specific manner in which *Son del Centro* practices the *son jarocho* tradition is indicative of the way its members have been taught by teachers and groups from southern Veracruz. Central to maintaining these relationships, which may be understood as musical collaboration in a transcultural network, and sustaining the tradition in Santa Ana is the *son jarocho* community ritual known as the *fandango*.

A *fandango* is a celebratory, music-filled ritual that involves an entire *son jarocho* community – from elders to children, from experts to novices. Commonly held after dusk, the *fandango* is physically situated around the *tarima*, and can include as few as a handful of *jaraneros* to as many as a hundred. Filled with the rhythmic sounds of *jaranas* and *zapateado*, and the resonant melodies of improvised verses of singing poets, the *fandango* creates a ritualized space that invigorates the tradition and strengthens bonds of solidarity within a community. In a presentation given at the *Centro*, a visiting *son jarocho* teacher from Veracruz described the *fandango* in this way:

> The fandango is much more than a party; it is a ritual, a symbolic act, a solemn community ceremony that we have inherited from past generations. It is full of nuances, meanings, and summonings of a very distinct character that we make our own as we engage in the celebration with the respect and conviction necessary in practicing a ritual. In the fandango, the bonds of friendship, the celebration of life, the principles of solidarity and tolerance – of community, of group sharing and living – are all cultivated and renewed. It represents the most important space for enriching our personal growth, strengthening of our identity, and recreating Tradition. (Rebolledo Kloques 2009)

When *Son del Centro* holds *fandangos* in Santa Ana, it is recreating and calling into being a ritualized community space as taught to them through collaborations with teachers from Veracruz in a music-based variation of a transcultural advocacy network.

Through this network, teachers and groups in Veracruz do not share cultural traditions with the intention of collaborating in specific political efforts or campaigns. Rather, they seek to provide members of *Son del Centro* with cultural skills, community values, and new ways of communicating and documenting their story to help them strengthen their own social struggles. Carolina Sarmiento explained,

> *Son jarocho* comes from a history of resistance, a history of struggle, specifically the way it was taught in Santa Ana – using your voice as a form of telling your story, as a way of representing our community, all of those things were really, really emphasized. I don't know if *son jarocho* is always like that, but it does represent the way we play at the *Centro*, the teachers that we've had have always talked about how this is music from *el campo*, this is about people from the fields, people who work every day, it's a *campesino* song. It's not a recording. This is something that's alive, that exists within the community.
>
> So all of those things have been transferred over to us, and so when we play it, we have those same values. But it's not *son jarocho* all the time – there is a different type of *son jarocho*. So I think it has everything to do with the connection to the teachers we've had in Veracruz and the values they place on the music. And then of course, the *fandango*, which is central to the way we express and teach *son jarocho*, the whole concept of it being around a community event, and not something that is just on stage or just performance. But this is actually a part of a community celebration. (Sarmiento 2012)

When dozens of farmworkers from Florida entered *Son del Centro's* home at the *Centro* after the 44-mile march to Taco Bell, they were expecting a nice celebration with new friends. What they experienced instead was a vibrant *fandango* filled with music, dance, laughter, and food. Members of *Son del Centro* gave a brief statement explaining *son jarocho's* diverse history and its roots in the fields of rural Mexico. They described how they learned from and maintained relationships with *jaraneros* in Veracruz and the ways the music tradition helped them build community in Santa Ana and express

themselves as first- and second-generation immigrants from different regions in Mexico and Latin America.[120]

As the *fandango* commenced, a process of collective identity formation had also begun: farmworkers like Gerardo were overcome with emotion as they began to recognize themselves in this community of young musicians who, despite facing different challenges than those they faced in Immokalee, also used music and creativity to animate their community, engage in transcultural collaborations with groups "back home," and renew a sense of dignity in the immigrant experience. Likewise, the young members of *Son del Centro* saw in farmworkers the values of cooperation, humility, and determination cultivated by life in the fields – the same values instilled in them by their teachers and fellow *jaraneros* in Veracruz.

Son del Centro members filled the room with music and invited farmworkers and other allies on the *tarima* one by one, teaching them the basic "café con pan" *zapateado* step to roaring laughter and applause (see visual appendix 6.6). In singing and dancing together in the celebratory *fandango* ritual, a deep sense of solidarity was generated among members of *Son del Centro* and the CIW – a solidarity that would be renewed the following year as they confronted "Yum! Brands" (Taco Bell's parent company) in Louisville, Kentucky, and would endure throughout the victories, struggles, and transformations of the Campaign for Fair Food.

[120] Most *Son del Centro* members are first- or second-generation immigrants from central or northern states in Mexico, as well as Guerrero on the western coast. Several other members are from Colombia and Chile.

Taking the Stage: Victories against Taco Bell and McDonald's

2005 Taco Bell Truth Tour and Victory

In the spring of 2005, more than five years after the CIW sent its first letter to Taco Bell, the CIW remained undeterred as it prepared to embark on its fourth Taco Bell Truth Tour. The previous year, Taco Bell had attempted to appease the CIW by sending them a check for $110,000 to call off the boycott, but the CIW refused: they wanted "systemic change," not a bribe (Squire 2005). Besides, the groundswell of nationwide support, particularly from students, was extraordinary. In January, Portland State University became the twenty-fourth university or school to "Boot the Bell," as it removed Taco Bell from its campus in response to student protests.

The 2005 Taco Bell Truth Tour represented CIW's shift of focus to Taco Bell's parent company, "Yum! Brands" (Yum) based in Louisville, Kentucky. In addition to Taco Bell, Yum also owns Pizza Hut, KFC, Long John Silvers, and A&W Restaurants, making it the largest restaurant company in the world. With Yum's annual sales of $8.2 billion and net profits of $762 million in 2005, the CIW thought that paying an extra penny per pound for its tomatoes seemed like a reasonable request (Yum Brands 2005). More importantly, thousands of Yum's costumers agreed.

The CIW mobilized its nationwide consumer-based ally network and planned a 12-city Truth Tour through the Midwest, culminating in a week of "education and action" in Louisville with a "Conference on Global Justice" to be held on March 11 with a mass rally at Yum's corporate headquarters the following day. The CIW invited human rights activists Kerry Kennedy and Martin Sheen, local social justice legend Anne Braden, and *Son del Centro* to join them in Louisville. In addition to honoring the relationship they

had built in California, the CIW recognized the importance of *Son del Centro* as a resource that could energize and connect with diverse participants, and thus sponsored the cost of flying seven members of *Son del Centro* to Louisville as they took on Yum Brands.

On March 8, 2005, while farmworkers were painting their protest props – satirical "Yuk!" picket signs (subverting the Yum! logo), tomatoes, and sun-shaped crowns – Yum Brands and Taco Bell executives finally caved: with the threat of a mass rally at its global headquarters only four days away, they announced they would sign the Fair Food Agreement with the CIW. At a press conference later that day, under a banner that read "Working Together for Social Responsibility" (see visual appendix 6.7), Yum Vice President Jonathan Blum shook hands with CIW member Lucas Benitez and signed an agreement to "work with the CIW to improve working and pay conditions for farmworkers in the Florida tomato fields" (Coalition of Immokalee Workers).[121] In exchange, the CIW ended its boycott of Taco Bell. The details of the agreement established several key precedents in the agricultural industry, including:

> 1) The first-ever direct, ongoing payment by a fast-food industry leader to farmworkers in its supply chain to address sub-standard farm labor wages. Taco Bell agreed to pay 1 cent more per pound for all tomatoes it buys from Florida growers, amounting to an increase of roughly 75% for workers picking tomatoes for Taco Bell.
>
> 2) Market incentives for agricultural suppliers willing to respect their workers' human rights, even when those rights are not guaranteed by law. Taco Bell agreed to a zero-tolerance policy for indentured servitude in its supply chain.
>
> 3) The first-ever enforceable Code of Conduct for agricultural suppliers, which includes the CIW as part of the investigative body for monitoring worker complaints. (Coalition of Immokalee Workers)[122]

[121] See reference for Coalition of Immokalee Workers 2005 Taco Bell Truth Tour website.
[122] See reference for Coalition of Immokalee Workers, Victory at Taco Bell Agreement Analysis.

Although the agreement was groundbreaking in many ways, the CIW fully recognized that Taco Bell, while buying roughly 10 million pounds of Florida tomatoes per year, was only buyer one among many. Therefore, the penny more per pound would only reach a small proportion of workers. However, the agreement with Taco Bell set a standard for the rest of the food and agricultural industry, empowering the CIW as it set its sight on other fast food, food service, and supermarket corporations. At the press conference, Lucas Benitez made this point clear as he challenged other fast food leaders to follow Taco Bell's example of "social responsibility" by helping to secure "universal human rights" for farmworkers:

> Human rights are universal, and if we as farmworkers are to one day indeed enjoy equal rights, the same rights all other workers in this country are guaranteed, this agreement must only be a beginning. To make those rights truly universal, other leaders of the fast-food industry and the supermarket industry must join us on this path toward social responsibility. With a broad coalition of industry leaders committed to these principles, we can finally dream of a day when Florida's farmworkers will enjoy the kind of wages and working conditions we deserve. And when that day comes, the restaurants and markets of this country will truly be able to stand behind their food, from the fields to America's tables. (Coalition of Immokalee Workers)[123]

The CIW members and ally staff were overjoyed by the unexpected victory, but they now had two days to transform a conference and mass march that had taken months to plan into a celebration, as hundreds of allies from around the country were set to arrive in Louisville on March 11. Despite several sleepless nights and many frayed nerves, everything came together in the end: "*Victoria*" [victory] was painted on dozens of new picket signs in the shape of bright yellow suns (see visual appendix 6.8), the "Our World,

[123] See reference for Coalition of Immokalee Workers, Announcing Settlement of the CIW's Taco Bell Boycott.

Our Rights" conference[124] was updated with strategy sessions for the next campaign target, and the march on Taco Bell was revamped into a festive victory celebration.

Resounding throughout the weekend were the melodies and improvised verses of *son jarocho*, as members of *Son del Centro* played joyously whenever they were needed: to get people out of their sleeping bags in the morning, to close a group meal, or to make late night visits to cheer up and encourage exhausted staff members. In addition, *Son del Centro* took the stage at the conference and the victory celebration, where they gave rehearsed, formal performances around the *tarima* and explained the history of *son jarocho* to the audience (see visual appendix 6.9).

In spending more time with the CIW and being exposed to presentations explaining the organization's interethnic roots and work to eliminate modern-day slavery, *Son del Centro* began to emphasize certain aspects of *son jarocho* history to promote a process of "interethnic identification and unity," or collective identity, between their members and the CIW (Viesca 2004, 726). In doing so, *Son del Centro's* performance of *son jarocho* became a "strategic site for the production and negotiation of emergent… identities" (ibid.). Specifically, in an effort to align themselves – a music ensemble made up of Latina/o youth – with CIW's interethnic history and its efforts to end modern slavery, *Son del Centro* members introduced their performance on stage by stressing how *son jarocho* represented the coming together of enslaved Africans and indigenous peoples in Mexico. This narrative resonated strongly with the CIW, who in documenting the Taco Bell celebration on their website, described *Son del Centro's* performance as follows:

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[124] According to Damara Luce, CIW ally Reverend Noelle Damico developed the name "Our World, Our Rights" for the conference (Luce 2010).

> As the CIW's agreement with Taco Bell represents a huge advance in the fight to eliminate slavery from the fast-food industry's supply chain, it was only fitting that the celebration be filled with music from Son del *Centro*… Son del *Centro*, a group of Southern California youth dedicated to keeping their cultural roots alive in the perfomance of Son Jarocho, traditional music and dance derived from the struggle for freedom by enslaved people in Mexico, led the festivities until nightfall. (Coalition of Immokalee Workers)[125]

Son del Centro's emphasis on select aspects of *son jarocho's* past can be understood as an effort to "reinterpret the past in terms of present needs for mobilization," a process Alberoni (1984) calls "historicization" (Eyerman and Jamison 1998, 20). However, this specific reinterpretation of *son jarocho*, which is still maintained in *Son del Centro's* interactions with the CIW, is not without critique from some of the group's members. In an interview, one *Son del Centro* member explained:

> When I first started playing in *Son del Centro*, some people in the group would say, "*Son jarocho* is a mixture of the black, slave music, and Aztec music." And I'd be like, "interesting, why?" And they would say, "Well, if you look at the *tarima*, the women dance on the *tarima* and go to the four cardinal points, and the four cardinal points were important to the Aztecs, or the indigenous people." So, I guess my point in saying this is that they super-elevated any influence indigenous music might have had and the slave one, the music from Africa. And the music from Africa one is valid, but they totally unappreciated the Spanish influence, you know? And as any good Mexican, I hate the Spanish as much as the next person for what they did to Mexico, but you can't deny that the majority of *son jarocho* is from Spain.
>
> I went to Mexico with those ideas and talked to some *jaraneros* who are ethnomusicologists, who don't put up with any BS, and I'm like, "Hey guys, how Aztec is this music?" And they're like, "What the hell are you talking about?" And they told me, "No, everything from the *coplas*, the verses are super Spanish, um… duh, we're speaking Spanish, duh we're playing Spanish instruments, this is like 90% Spanish." The whole thing about the *tarima*, they told me, "If anything, that's from the Moors, from the gypsies of Spain, so I don't know what your friend was telling you, but it's totally way off. The slave music, sure, rhythmic aspects, the titles of the music like '*La bamba*,' and the use of the *marimbol* – but the majority of it is Spanish."
>
> I think that's a very clear example of people in *Son del Centro* not being historically accurate, and super elevating things that they feel are important, and

[125] See reference for Coalition of Immokalee Workers, CIW, Allies Celebrate Decisive Victory for Human Rights.

> depreciating elements they feel are not important. And again, I don't think that's cool, because it's not accurate. And I don't know why people have to do that, but I see that in *son jarocho* a lot… I felt cheated, you know, I was running around thinking the Mexicas[126] were playing "*Parajo cú*" way before and that wasn't the case! (Interview with *Son del Centro* member, June 2010).[127]

Regardless of the merits of its historical accuracy, *Son del Centro's* historicization of emphasizing African and indigenous roots was significant in that it legitimated *son jarocho* as the music of movement and addressed a "present need of mobilization": that of expanding the bounds of collective identity beyond an interethnic farmworker coalition to include its diverse allies. To the farmworkers from Mexico, Guatemala, and Haiti, to the black, Asian, Latino, and white students and people of faith, and to the members of *Son del Centro* themselves, *son jarocho* was constructed into a collective representation of the movement's ethnic diversity and the human struggle to be free from slavery. From this moment on in the campaign, as the CIW set its sight on McDonald's and other major corporations in the fast-food industry, the CIW would strategically incorporate *son jarocho* into every national demonstration and call on *Son del Centro* to help invigorate and expand its student ally network.

Student Farmworker Alliance *Encuentros* and the Spread of *Son Jarocho*

In the wake of the landmark Taco Bell victory, the CIW and the SFA worked together to organize the first annual SFA *encuentro*, or gathering, in Immokalee. The first *encuentro*, the name of which former SFA staff member Sellers (2009) describes as "an obvious tip of the hat to the Zapatistas,"[128] was held in early August, 2005, and brought together more than 60 students from around the country who had participated in the Taco

[126] Also known as Aztecs, or indigenous Nahua people of Mexico.
[127] The interview participant asked that the statement not be attributed to a name. As such, I also withhold the specific date of the interview.
[128] See Sellers 2009, 188.

Bell boycott "to share stories, skills, and songs while strategizing for the next phase in the struggle for farmworker justice: taking on the rest of the fast-food industry" (Student Farmworker Alliance).[129]

The *encuentros*, which were held annually between 2005 and 2012,[130] are four-day gatherings that introduce students to the farmworker community in Immokalee, develop their critical consciousness and organizing skills, and set forth plans of action that the national student network will follow the upcoming year.[131] Throughout the *encuentros*, between "brand-busting" strategy workshops, tours of Immokalee and the CIW community center, and presentations by activists involved in related food sovereignty, indigenous rights, and other immigrant or worker-based movements, were numerous musical performances and the sounds of *son jarocho*. Present at the first *encuentro* were members of *Son del Centro*, who not only gave a special "Music as Resistance" workshop, but also played *sones* during breaks to energize participants, performed over the airwaves of *Radio Conciencia*, and played alongside other student acts as part of the music-filled "*Cafe Cultura*," a talent-show/dance party of students and farmworkers that closed the *encuentro* (Torres 2012).

In so doing, *Son del Centro* members developed personal relationships with farmworkers and CIW staff in Immokalee and introduced *son jarocho* to students in the SFA national network. This set two important and intersecting trends in motion. First,

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[129] See reference for Student Farmworker Alliance Timeline. http://www.sfalliance.org/resources/SFAtimeline2010.pdf, accessed June 2012.

[130] The first *encuentro* was a week-long meeting in August, but following *encuentros* were usually held for four days in mid-September. In 2011, the CIW, SFA, and Interfaith Action held an experimental "Fair Food Summit" in place of an *encuentro* that was open to student and non-student allies. The *encuentro* model was reinstituted in the fall of 2012. I observed and participated in the *encuentros* in 2008, 2009, 2010, and 2012, and the Fair Food Summit in 2011.

[131] For more on the structure and philosophy of the Student Farmworker Alliance, see Sellers (2009, 117-121).

beyond acting as musicians, *Son del Centro* members became integrated into ally leadership positions and helped coordinate actions with the CIW: one member, Natasha Noriega-Goodwin, served on the first SFA steering committee, and at least one *jaranero* has served on every SFA administrative or steering committee ever since. Second, inspired by the music of *Son del Centro*, the movement's future *encuentros* and demonstrations increasingly featured new generations of *jaraneros* as *son jarocho* expanded throughout the SFA network.

For example, John-Michael Torres, a student leader of UT-Austin's Taco Bell campaign, described to me how he was "blown away" by *Son del Centro* when he saw them perform at the first CIW action he attended at the 2005 Taco Bell victory celebration in Louisville (Torres 2012). He was thrilled to see them again at the first SFA *encuentro*, and took every moment he could throughout the week to interact with *Son del Centro* members and learn the basics of *son jarocho*. As a guitarist in bands in high school and college, music and politics had been two separate parts of his life. But as John-Michael watched *Son del Centro* play throughout the *encuentro*, actively teaching and sharing their instruments, and using traditional music not only to energize the audience, but to also initiate otherwise difficult conversations about things like cultural identity, gentrification, and community survival, something "clicked" for him (ibid.). John-Michael described how, for the first time, he saw traditional music not as a sterile performance removed from an audience, but something that was "participatory" and "alive" (ibid.).

As a musician, he was able to learn chords and techniques on the *jarana* rather quickly, and when he returned to Texas, he sought out fellow *jaraneros* and began

attending *son jarocho seminarios* at Rancho Luna Negra in Veracruz. By the end of 2006, he had begun teaching Alexis and Rodolfo (who had both been inspired to play by *Son del Centro* at SFA *encuentros*), Peter, and later, Marina Sáenz Luna.[132] John-Michael, Alexis, and Rodolfo would later serve on the SFA Steering Committee or as SFA staff, and by 2010, all five of them would join *Son del Centro* members as part of the collaborative, multi-group ensemble *Son Solidario* in CIW demonstrations.

Thus, through relationships grounded in the performance and exchange of *son jarocho* at annual SFA *enuentros* and CIW demonstrations, *Son del Centro* members helped build and sustain the student arm of the farmworker movement.

McDonald's: 2006 Truth Tour, Victory, and 2007 Concert for Fair Food

After the success of the Taco Bell agreement, the CIW continued its "Truth Tour + Demonstration" model to build consciousness and solidarity among allies through its expanding ally network.[133] On April 1, 2006, at the height of a 17-city Truth Tour of the South and Midwest, farmworkers and more than 400 allies marched to McDonald's flagship "Rock n' Roll" restaurant in downtown Chicago, while fifteen solidarity actions took place at McDonald's restaurants across the country. Dancing and cheering in the cold rain, marchers listened as members of *Son del Centro* and the hip-hop artist *Olmeca* – both music allies from the Taco Bell boycott – performed on the makeshift stage.

While McDonald's executives thought they had weathered the storm, they were in for a year of surprises: managers at McDonald's restaurants and campus locations throughout the U.S., and as far away as Mexico and Argentina, received hand-delivered

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[132] Full names are provided for those who have consented to the use of full names.

[133] The "Alliance for Fair Food" was founded on March 8, 2006, on the one-year anniversary of the Taco Bell victory. Founding organizational members included the Student Farmworker Alliance, Interfaith Action, the Robert F. Kennedy Center for Justice and Human Rights, Presbyterian Church USA, and the National Economic and Social Rights Initiative.

letters from consumers urging them to sign CIW's Fair Food Agreement; Hector Luis Rivera, a new CIW ally (and Puerto Rican *bomba* and *plena* musician), dressed up as "Rolando the Clown" – Ronald McDonald's justice-loving half-brother – and made repeated appearances at Chicago area restaurants, and even crashed Chicago's McDonald's-sponsored Thanksgiving Day Parade,[134] handing out balloons and fliers to the crowd. Late in the year, CIW announced on its website plans for the biggest action yet – a giant *carnaval* through the streets of Chicago on April 14, 2007.

At the time, Melody Gonzalez was a new SFA staff member who joined the crew in Immokalee after participating in the Taco Bell boycott as a student at Notre Dame. Melody had spent several months on the ground in Chicago animating local schools, community groups, and musicians in preparation for the *carnaval*. In her oral history, Melody explained,

> The idea came up of doing a *carnaval*. We really wanted to do something in the streets, something very colorful, something with a lot of music. So those were really exciting times, organizing that, and being in contact with so many musicians. Of course, everything took a crazy turn when we won the campaign before we actually did this amazing *carnaval* we had planned! (Gonzalez 2010)

On April 9, 2007, with the threat of CIW's major *carnaval* of public shaming through the streets of Chicago looming only days away, McDonald's agreed to all of CIW demands. McDonald's and the CIW held a press conference at the Carter Center in Atlanta, where representatives of the Carter Center's Conflict Resolution Program had helped facilitate the agreement. Back in Chicago, in a repeat of the Taco Bell victory two years before, CIW and ally staff scrapped the street *carnaval* that had taken five months

[134] In his interview, Hector recalled how he had telephoned in to *Radio Conciencia* as "Rolando the Clown" during the middle of the parade. During a live radio broadcast, "Rolando" gave farmworkers in Immokalee an update on solidarity actions in Chicago and encouraged them to continue fighting because he believed his half-brother Ronald would come around. A farmworker deejay told me how exciting and hilarious it was to hear Hector as Rolando the Clown on the radio calling in all the way from Chicago.

to organize, and now had five days to organize an entirely new event for the 1,200 allies that were expected.

While the CIW could have easily moved forward only with the "Our World, Our Rights" on April 13 and cancelled the *carnaval* on April 14. However, at this point in the campaign, music had become a key resource and organizing tool for growing CIW's ally base, so for staff members, hosting an event without music was out of the question. Far from vague music suggestions the CIW had given to Damara Luce at the beginning of the Taco Bell campaign, public demonstrations and annual actions were now being strategically organized around music, and the musicians who were invited to perform were "not only musicians," says Damara, "but people who were involved in their community who could organize around the [Campaign for Fair Food]" (Luce 2010). Thus, beyond its sound, lyrics, or content, music was helping to build and expand the ally network of the farmworker movement by linking the CIW to already organized communities.

With a forecast of sleet and snow expected to descend upon Chicago on April 14, Damara frantically drove to the House of Blues and somehow managed to convince its owners to rent the venue to the CIW free of charge (Luce 2010). It was confirmed: in place of the *carnaval*, the CIW would host a celebratory "Concert for Fair Food." In a frenzy of logistical planning, all of the musicians who had committed to perform in the *carnaval* were rescheduled to perform at the House of Blues, and the art and banners that had been painted in the colors of McDonald's iconic golden arches or decorated with CIW's blue emblem were placed prominently on stage.

Music groups and artists included the female Afro-Cuban hip-hop trio *Las Krudas*, the Bronx-based Chilean hip-hop group *Rebel Diaz*, the New Orleans-based *Hot 8 Brass Band*, the Chicago-based Puerto Rican *bomba/plena*[135] group *Nuestro Tambo*, and *Son del Centro*, among others. Two days before the planned Concert for Fair Food, Tom Morello and Zack de la Rocha, who had planned on performing as solo acts at the *carnaval*, called to tell the CIW that they were reuniting after seven years as the famed rock group *Rage Against the Machine* at the Concert for Fair Food. On the afternoon of April 14, 2007, CIW's longtime allies from around the country, community members in Chicago who had mobilized around the McDonald's campaign, and fans of *Rage Against the Machine*, *Rebel Diaz*, and others, lined up outside the House of Blues in Chicago to attend CIW's Concert for Fair Food.

As the concert was about to begin, farmworkers looked out from the stage and saw more than two thousand of their friends in the audience, packing the venue from floor to ceiling (see visual appendix 6.10). Over the next three and a half hours, energetic and emotion-filled music performances alternated with passionate speeches, which together reified a diverse and cohesive ally movement with a collective identity, consciousness, and solidarity.

Just as music performances signaling workers' homelands had helped create an interethnic collective identity among Haitian and Mexican farmworkers in celebrations and street demonstrations in Immokalee during 1990s, and among Latino and indigenous

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[135] *Bomba* is a traditional folk music style from Puerto Rico with influences from African, Taino, and Spanish cultures. It features rhythmic, dance, and vocal components, with the rhythm being played on barrel drums that interact with the dancers, and the vocals featuring a lead singer and an echoing chorus. *Plena* is a traditional folk music style from Puerto Rico with rhythmic and vocal components. The rhythm is performed on hand drums and the lyrics are generally octosyllabic and feature social commentary. The style is often referred to as *periodico cantado* [sung newspaper] for its widespread use in spreading information among working class communities in Puerto Rico.

Mayan workers through annual fiestas and *Radio Conciencia* in the 2000s, the music performances at the Concert for Fair Food encouraged interethnic collective identity building among CIW's diverse ally communities. All of the musicians who performed, as well as the three MCs of the event,[136] were people of color whose lives had been shaped by migration, displacement, or exile. In their music and spoken introductions, they heightened a discourse of race and ethnicity, and shared their respective histories of immigration, discrimination, and political struggle. By recalling movements in the past, musicians contributed to coalition-building needs of the present by enabling diverse allies to see themselves in each other and claim membership in an interethnic ally identity united in support of an equally diverse farmworker coalition.

The first half of the concert featured first, second, and third generation immigrants from Latin America and the Caribbean: the Afro-Cuban women of *Las Krudas*[137] and the Chilean brothers of *Rebel Diaz*[138] performed in hip-hop styles while groups such as *Nuestro Tambo* and *Son del Centro* played traditional music from Puerto Rico and Mexico. Each music group engaged in a process of historicization, connecting past and current struggles to the present farmworker movement around which they had all gathered. For example, as Melody Gonzalez explains,

> *Nuestro Tambo* performed a beautiful song that Hector wrote about Filiberto Ojeda Ríos, who was assassinated by the FBI in his home in Puerto Rico for being a part of the *macheteros*, the pro-independence group in Puerto Rico. That was a song that was performed at the House of Blues – it was making the connections

[136] The MCs were Ken Brown, an African-American Minister for Youth and Young Adult Empowerment at the United Church of Christ, Jose Oliva of Interfaith Worker Justice, and Carolina Gaete of Solidarity Not Charity.
[137] The members of *Las Krudas* are based in Austin, Texas.
[138] Brothers Rodrigo and Gonzalo often describe during their performances how their father survived torture under the Pinochet military regime following the 1973 coup of Socialist president Salvador Allende and fled into exile. They identify themselves as part of the worldwide Chilean exile community, and are based in the Bronx, New York.

> between struggles, and how this group of guys of Puerto Rican descent was here supporting farmworkers struggles. In Chicago – where there isn't as much contact with farmworkers because of its urban environment – people immediately saw the connection and why it was important to be involved in this movement. (Gonzalez 2010)

Similarly, when *Son del Centro* took the stage (see visual appendix 6.11), one of its members, Natasha Noriega-Goodwin, sang a *décima* that recalled former Chilean President Salvador Allende and the influence of *Nueva Canción* [New Song] singer Violeta Parra. By invoking the CIA-backed military coup of 1973 and its repression of the *Nueva Canción* music movement and the Popular Unity political movement it accompanied, Natasha connected another emotional moment in the history of Latin American freedom struggles to the present farmworker movement and built a bridge between *Son del Centro* and their fellow performers of *Rebel Diaz*. Like the brothers of *Rebel Diaz*, Natasha is a child of a Chilean torture survivor and identifies as part of the Chilean exile community in the United States. As she would later discover, both of their fathers were detained in Villa Grimaldi, an infamous torture center in Chile where thousands of dissidents of the military regime were tortured, killed, or "disappeared" (Noriega-Goodwin 2012). To recognize this history and express hope for the future, she was compelled to write and sing the following *décima*:

> *Décima* sung by Natasha Noriega-Goodwin[139]
> Concert for Fair Food, April 14, 2007
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | *Dijó yo vengo de Chile* | He said I come from Chile |
> | *Allende el presidente* | Allende the president |
> | *Rojo pintado en la frente* | His forehead painted red |
> | *Igual que mucho civiles* | Like many civilians |
> | *Por eso mataron miles* | For that, they killed thousands |
> | *En el país que yo amo* | In the country that I love |
> | *Ahora hijos cantamos* | Now their children sing |

[139] Natasha Noriega-Goodwin shared this *décima* with the author by e-mail communication.

Los versos de ese tiempo	The verses of that time
Igual que Violeta siento	And just like Violeta, I feel
Con nuestras voces ganamos	With our voices we will win

Music performances such as these, in which children and grandchildren of immigrants recalled the struggles of ancestors in distant homelands, exemplify what Eyerman and Jamison describe as the power of mobilizing traditions: they served to "inspire new movements," such as the one led by Immokalee farmworkers, "by helping to keep the older movements alive in the collective memory" (Eyerman and Jamison 1998, 12).

In addition to connecting the farmworker movement to past movements in Latin America and the Caribbean, the Concert for Fair Food also emphasized connections between farmworkers and contemporary struggles in the African American community. This was demonstrated by the performance of the *Hot 8 Brass Band*, a marching jazz/funk band from New Orleans. The group had gained national recognition after appearing in Spike Lee's 2006 documentary "When the Levees Broke," and had come to represent the struggle and resilience of the Black community in the wake of Hurricane Katrina, which devastated the city in August, 2005.

The inclusion of the *Hot 8 Brass Band* at the Concert for Fair Food was far from a superficial display of apolitical multiculturalism. Rather, their performance was an expression of unity between two communities marked by poverty, racism, marginalization, and displacement: one made up of African-American citizens, the other of Latin American and Caribbean immigrants. This powerful message of black-brown unity was further emphasized by Carolina Gaete, one of the MCs of the concert, who described her work with *Solidarity, Not Charity*, an initiative that brought together Black

and Latino youth in Chicago with Black youth in New Orleans in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, stressing the importance of building solidarity across ethnic and racial divides.

In the first three hours of the concert, through music performances and speeches, CIW's ally community engaged in a process of interethnic collective identity building by invoking past social movements and histories of collective struggle through song. This message of interethnic unity was further emphasized when thirty farmworkers of the CIW took the stage. Even though the large majority of the workers on stage spoke Spanish, the first two farmworkers the CIW chose to address the crowd were longtime members Domingo Jacinto, who participated in the 30-day hunger strike in 1997, and Mathieu Beaucicot, who thanked the crowd in both Q'anjob'al and Kreyòl, for standing in solidarity with the farmworkers' struggle. Lucas Benitez closed CIW's presentation with a captivating speech in Spanish[140] that further historicized the movement by connecting the farmworkers' struggle to the U.S. Civil Rights Movement and to "the shared vision of a promised land where fundamental human rights are universally guaranteed to all" (Coalition of Immokalee Workers).[141]

By invoking a discourse of universal human rights, Lucas attempted to unify the many separate struggles expressed throughout the concert, and ground them in the idea of a shared "promised land" in the United States. In other words, Lucas was strategically framing the farmworker movement in the human rights framework, rather than the dominant civil rights framework used in the United States, so that everyone – including

[140] Melody Gonzalez, an SFA staff member, simultaneously translated Lucas' speech into English. Throughout the event, bilingual speakers often translated for themselves, or were aided by Melody Gonzalez or Carolina Sarmiento of *Son del Centro*.
[141] See reference Coalition of Immokalee Workers, 2007 Truth Tour, Day 7, Concert for Fair Food.

Latino and Mayan immigrants, Haitian or Chilean exiles, or U.S. citizens of any ethnicity or color – could participate as a farmworker or ally in the struggle.

Through interplay of music performances and speeches, the CIW and its allies increased a discourse of ethnic identities and histories of social struggle in various homelands – in Chile, Puerto Rico, Mexico, and the United States. However, instead of creating divisions between groups, the sharing of music that represented different cultural diasporas and CIW's emphasis on universal human rights worked to unite diverse participants in a shared interethnic collective identity.

In addition to helping shape an interethnic collective identity, the music at the Concert for Fair Food also expressed and developed consciousness among those in attendance. Unlike the music played on *Radio Conciencia* in Immokalee, the lyrics of the songs performed at the concert included components that are seen as crucial to McAdam's (1982) "cognitive liberation" and Piven and Cloward's (1979) "necessary cognitions." Take, for instance, a verse from the song "C-I-W Why?" that Zack de la Rocha wrote and performed with Tom Morello as part of their *Rage Against Machine* reunion at CIW's victory celebration (de la Rocha and Morello 2007).

> "C-I-W Why?"
> *Zack de la Rocha* and *Tom Morello*
> Concert for Fair Food, April 14, 2007
>
> These hands are not tools
> For profit and slavery, but for dignity
> Any company that disagrees
> Is turned into an international mockery!
>
> Crowd: C-I-W, why?
> They walk the talk, and the word becomes the weapon!
> Crowd: C-I-W, why?
> Justice in the fields and the clown gets steppin'

(Selected verse and chorus)

In just one verse, the song identifies the source of injustice by naming the "company" that buys tomatoes and making a demand for change by stating that farmworkers should be treated with dignity, and not be used for profit and slavery. Moreover, the song expresses a global consciousness and sense of efficacy in the strategy of turning the company into an "international mockery."

Similarly, music performed by *Son del Centro* also expressed and reinforced a critical consciousness. One of the *sones* that the group performed was "*El presidente*." Performed in Veracruz, "*El presidente*" has long served as a political *son* whose pointed lyrics take aim at corrupt "presidents" or government officials. Sung in the context of the Concert for Fair Food, members of *Son del Centro* modified the lyrics for the farmworker movement, and instead sang to the "president" of Burger King, the next target in the campaign.

"*El presidente*"
Traditional *son* modified and performed by *Son del Centro*

Señor Presidente	Mr. President
Le voy avisando	I am warning you
Que ya nuestro pueblo	That our people are
Esta organizando	Already organizing
Me gusta la leche	I love milk
Me gusta limón	I love lime
Pero no me gusta	But I don't like
Tanta explotación	All this exploitation

(Selected lyrics)

The lyrics of these songs are very different from those performed in Immokalee and played on *Radio Conciencia*, where music lyrics reflected workers' longing for homelands and loved ones they left behind, helping them recognize a shared experience

of migration and nostalgia. Rather, in the context of active confrontation with movement adversaries, the lyrics of songs performed by CIW ally musicians were quite different: they served to intimidate ("I am warning you" that we're "already organizing") and make fun of specific targets ("the clown gets steppin'"). Not only did these songs communicate consciousness of the source of farmworker exploitation and the efficacy of continued organizing and "international mockery," but as energetic and highly emotional musical performances by farmworker allies,[142] they were also powerful expressions of solidarity with farmworkers and reinforced participants' feelings of commitment to the movement.

In my interviews with farmworkers, staff, musicians, and allies who were at the concert, every one of them recalled the event with visible joy, describing the immense energy of the event and the profound impact it had on their sense of devotion to fellow participants and their commitment to the campaign. Thus, in many ways, the Concert for Fair Food resembled CIW's annual *Fiesta del Año del Trabajador* in Immokalee. Instead of inviting *norteño*, ***duranguense***, and *Mayan rock* bands to perform in an effort to build solidarity among diverse farmworkers, however, the CIW strategically invited groups such as *Son del Centro*, Hot 8 Brass Band, *Nuestro Tambo*, and Rage Against the Machine to help build solidarity among diverse ally participants and musicians. Like the fiestas in Immokalee, the Concert for Fair Food (and the concerts that would close every future demonstration) generated states of collective effervescence, featured call-and-response chants, and was filled with emblems and totems that represented the farmworker struggle, which formed deep bonds of friendship and solidarity among the participants.

[142] Every musician at the Concert for Fair Food was a movement ally. Not one farmworker performed music at the event.

In recalling the event, Hector Luis Rivera, who performed with the group *Nuestro Tambo*, described:

> We darted on stage and the energy was *so* strong, and my voice was super high pitched from getting just too energized! We did three songs, we did a medley – it was fun, it was powerful, and it felt great. That was again probably the first time I got to hear *son jarocho*, and how exciting it was to people. I still hadn't learned enough to know that there were a lot of these connections between the music and the percussive part of Afro-Mexico and Afro-Puerto Rico, but it was just powerful. I remember being in the crowd, and just feeling the waves of people. It was packed, it was *packed*! It was just a great, great, great moment! (Rivera 2010)

In addition to the musical elements that strengthened solidarity, the stage was filled with emblems and totems that had originally been intended for the cancelled *carnaval*. Like the stage erected at CIW's fiestas in Immokalee, the emblem of the CIW was featured prominently on stage at the House of Blues: draped as a backdrop to all of the music performances, the blue and white emblem (the letters C-I-W situated between three white stars, mirroring the IWW emblem) was painted at the center of a huge yellow banner proclaiming "JUSTICE" (see visual appendix 6.12). Additionally, a dozen red plastic buckets used in the tomato fields were lined up neatly across the front of the stage.

Drawing on Durkheim, Swidler emphasizes that emblems and totems are not mere reflections of a group – rather, they are representations that constitute the group itself, "making the animating power of group life palpable to its members" (Swidler 1995, 26). In the context of the Concert for Fair Food, where the vast majority of musicians and young audience members were not farmworkers, CIW emblems and symbols of farmworkers' labor in the fields were accompanied by other totems that, together, helped constitute an ally community working in solidarity with farmworkers.

The first of these was a 15-foot papier-mâché effigy of a burger "king" that was paraded through the audience at the end of Lucas's speech, when he named Burger King

as the next campaign target (see visual appendix 6.13). The satirical replica of the Burger King mascot – with dollar signs in place of eyes – made its way through the crowd as Lucas warned Burger King that pressure from farmworkers and its consumers would only escalate if the company refused to sign on to the Fair Food Agreement, as Taco Bell and McDonald's had done. To thunderous applause, Lucas concluded, "It is no longer a question of if we will win, it is now only a question of when!" The Burger King effigy served as a totem of the profane, and helped reinforce solidarity between farmworkers and allies by enabling them to collectively mock and proclaim a future victory against a shared adversary.

The second totem that came to represent and constitute the ally community was the *jarana*. Just as the *marimba* in Immokalee symbolized farmworkers' cultural survival and interethnic immigrant unity and reified the farmworker community, the *jarana* – the primary musical instrument of the *son jarocho* tradition – became the sacred, physical form through which the ally community represented its ideal self to itself. At SFA *encuentros* in Immokalee, for example, a *jarana* is often placed at the group altar, serving as the totem to which student allies focus their attention during welcome and departure ceremonies that feature burning sage and emotional testimonies of individuals as they express their commitment to the movement.

At the Concert for Fair Food, *Son del Centro* members infused the *jarana* with meanings relating to ethnic diversity and the struggles of immigrant youth, topics many allies could identify with, by stressing *son jarocho's* diverse musical roots and the

importance of the music tradition in animating immigrant youth in Santa Ana.[143] The *jarana* also constituted the group in relation to farmworkers, as its sounds evoked emotional memories of the bonds formed between farmworkers and their allies throughout the campaign – from hunger strikes and marches in Irvine, to the victory celebration in Louisville, to the annual student-farmworker *encuentros* in Immokalee.

Moreover, the *jarana* took on a sacred character at the event in relation to the other totems: situated on stage between the CIW emblem, which signified workers' interethnic coalition, and the red buckets, which represented consciousness[144] of farmworkers' daily labor, the *jaranas* of *Son del Centro* represented the solidarity of allies in the farmworker movement. Together, these three totems helped constitute a diverse ally community, and represented the elements of interethnic unity, consciousness, and solidarity that had not only achieved victories over Taco Bell and McDonald's, but would eventually defeat the greedy "king" in the upcoming confrontation with Burger King.

Taken as a whole, the Concert for Fair Food was a collective performance in which farmworkers and their diverse allies enacted and reinforced their desired social movement community. Music was the fundamental mechanism in this process: diverse groups negotiated their ethnic differences by historicizing past struggles through song; lyrics developed a consciousness among the audience by identifying the source of injustice, demanding change, and expressing efficacy; and bonds of solidarity were

[143] The title of *Son del Centro's* first CD, released just months before the celebration in late 2006, was "Mi jarana es mi fusil" [My jarana is my rifle/weapon].
[144] The red buckets were featured prominently in education sessions throughout the history of CIW Truth Tours and in the Florida Modern-Day Slavery Museum.

strengthened through sonically induced states of effervescence and the ritualized use of totemic objects such as the *jarana*.

Music, Relationships, and the Road to Miami

Melody Gonzalez, who was working throughout the event, describes the impact of the concert on the movement in terms of how the presence of music made "connections between struggles" and built relationships between people:

> What [musicians] did was so important and crucial to our work, and they gave it so much life and soul. What's been really beautiful is that a lot of the artists that we worked with were organizing in their communities – it's not just that they sing about struggles, this is what they do. They're active, and that's what's been really cool too – making connections between those struggles… I think it's about building relationships with people and that's been one of the really beautiful things, not just with the artists, but with allies, and how a lot of us can say that our closest friends, our best friends, are a part of this movement. (Gonzalez 2010)

Hector Luis Rivera shared how seeing *Son del Centro* perform inspired him to bring *bomba/plena* groups together for the 2010 CIW Farmworker Freedom March. Melody similarly described how Son del *Centro* captivated her; not only because of its music performance, but also because of the coincidence they were also from her hometown of Santa Ana. The relationships built between *Son del Centro*, Melody, and Hector at the Concert for Fair Food also marked the beginning of a love story that would lead to Melody and Hector's marriage in July, 2011, and set into motion musical collaborations between *son jarocho* and *bomba* in future CIW demonstrations and in Santa Ana, California.

Directly following the concert, the CIW held a post-celebration celebration filled with food, cake, music, and dance. Gathered around a *tarima*, *Son del Centro* members, farmworkers, and a small group of allies took part in the ritual *fandango* (see visual appendix 6.14), which further deepened the friendship between *Son del Centro* and the

CIW and introduced allies to *son jarocho's* method of maintaining community. Marina Sáenz Luna, who had recently been introduced to *son jarocho* by John-Michael Torres, told me how the celebration following the Concert for Fair Food was the first time she experienced a fandango:

> I just totally fell in love with the tradition and with the environment – it just pulled me in and made me really want to continue in that work and try to figure out what role I could play in the movement. It was the first time I sang a verso to "*La bamba*," and it was actually Roxana who pushed me to sing – I think she pinched me actually! [laughs] (Sáenz Luna 2012)

The fandango lasted several hours and was later continued into the early hours of the morning at the house of a *jaranero* based in Chicago.[145] For Marina, the moment she first experienced a *fandango* was also the moment she remembered feeling committed to the movement for the long term. Between 2008 and 2012, Marina served as temporary logistics staff prior to major actions, and would work directly with longtime CIW event coordinator Damara Luce. *Son del Centro's* presence at the McDonald's victory shaped CIW's future "action structure," or the blueprint of major actions and public demonstrations. Marina described how the post-concert fandango in 2007 really solidified the "celebration piece" of the action structure – thus, every future CIW action had a time intentionally allotted to a fandango after the central event (march, hunger strike, theater performance, etc.) which served to "claim our victory," regardless of whether or not the targeted company had conceded, and imbue allies with feelings of solidarity until the following action (Sáenz Luna 2012). Moreover, *son jarocho* became a key component of the central event itself: the CIW would invest in musicians' travel

[145] Maya Fernández, the daughter of the *jaranero* who hosted *Son del Centro*, would later become a member of *Son Solidario* in future CIW demonstrations.

costs and the event itself would be planned concurrently with the music performance plans.

In recalling the Concert for Fair Food, Damara Luce noted that in addition to providing music that inspired and energized the crowd, *Son del Centro's* instrumentation and the strong community work ethic of its members made the ensemble extremely well suited for the logistically complex and stressful behind-the-scenes environment of movement actions (Luce 2010). At several moments throughout the concert, when other bands were scheduled to be on stage but were either absent or not yet prepared, Damara would call out to *Son del Centro* to go on at that moment. Without hesitation, members of *Son del Centro* would ask how long she needed them to play, and with their highly portable *jaranas* and no need to for complicated mic set-ups, they would run out on stage and perform. The repetitive and improvisatory structure of the *son* musical form also enabled *Son del Centro* to play until Damara signaled from back stage that the other band was ready. *Son del Centro's* ability to adapt quickly in the high-pressure setting of the Concert for Fair Food – in addition to giving music workshops at the conference the previous day, helping with stage set-up and break-down, and performing a fandango later that night – made a strong impression on Damara and other CIW staff members (Luce 2010).

With the sounds of the McDonald's Concert for Fair Food still ringing in their ears, farmworkers and staff of the CIW boarded the buses headed back to Immokalee. Their attention now turned to Miami, where they would stage their next demonstration at the corporate headquarters of Burger King. While they still did not yet know what the

demonstration would look like, one thing was certain: it would be filled with the sounds of *son jarocho*.

Taking the Streets: Maintaining Solidarity, Disrupting Soundscapes, and Shaming Adversaries

The March on Burger King: "Serfs Up, Kings Down!"

On November 30, 2007, just seven months after the McDonald's victory celebration, farmworkers of the CIW and 1,500 of their allies staged a vibrant and sonorous march through the streets of Miami. The march began outside the offices of Goldman Sachs, a private equity firm and major Burger King shareholder, and continued for nine miles through downtown Miami (see visual appendix 6.15), concluding in a rally at Burger King's corporate headquarters.

The CIW recognized the influence of the mere threat of a mass demonstration, as Taco Bell and McDonald's had signed agreements on the eve of major CIW protests and *carnavals* to prevent damage to their brand image. In the weeks leading up to the March on Burger King, however, Burger King CEO John Chidsey refused to work with the CIW, giving speeches at universities in an attempt to "debunk the myth" of farmworker poverty (Damico 2007). For the CIW, the March on Burger King was not only an occasion to bring together and renew solidarity among its many allies in ritualized protest, it was also an opportunity to strategically reframe the conflict in the public sphere, attract and recruit bystanders to the movement, and intimidate and provoke its adversary.

To accomplish these tasks, the CIW turned to allies in its transcultural advocacy network to employ music and visual art throughout the march. Music – the

instrumentation, form, and sounds of *son jarocho* in particular – energized and built solidarity among participants throughout the march, strengthened an interethnic collective identity among diverse farmworkers and allies, and drew in bystanders by disrupting the public soundscape. Totems and emblems co-opted Burger King's brand image and dramatically defined the conflict between "hard working" farmworkers and an "exploitative" Burger King. Together, these cultural elements contributed to the CIW's success by reinforcing a cohesive movement community and intimidating Burger King, as the march provoked a response that eventually led to Burger King's concession of material gains.

Son Jarocho Instrumentation, Form, and Function: Maintaining a Cohesive Movement

Unlike the McDonald's Concert for Fair Food and the Taco Bell victory in Louisville, the March on Burger King presented musicians with very different physical demands and a different political context. Whereas musicians had previously performed on stages with sound equipment and in an environment of celebration, musicians at the March on Burger King would have to perform nine miles on foot in Miami's humid 80-degree weather and intimidate powerful adversaries on their home turf.

After having reflected on *Son del Centro's* participation in the 44-mile march in 2004 and their ability to quickly adapt at the Concert for Fair Food earlier that year, the CIW invited *Son del Centro* to join them in Miami. In an effort to mobilize Miami's Haitian community and also honor CIW's Haitian roots, Greg Asbed and Mathieu Beaucicot reached out to the Miami-based Haitian *rara* band *Rara Lakay*. The CIW also invited hip-hop groups who had previously performed during the Taco Bell and

McDonald's campaigns including *Las Krudas*, *Rebel Diaz*, and *Olmeca*. While the hip-hop artists' need for amplification equipment necessitated that they ride on the flat bed truck or join the march at the closing rally, the instrumentation of *son jarocho* and *rara* allowed *Son del Centro* and *Rara Lakay* to perform alongside participants throughout the nine-mile march.

In her study of *rara* performance in Haiti and its diaspora, McAlister (2002) documents how *rara* "erupted in Miami and New York at demonstrations against the Duvalier regime in the early 1980s and also during strikes involving Haitian labor groups" (McAlister 2002, 184). The performance of *rara* in political demonstrations in the United States was easily adapted from the Haitian context, where *rara* has been "widely deployed as a political weapon in mass demonstrations" in peasant resistance movements (ibid., 185-86). At the March on Burger King, *Rara Lakay* employed the traditional carnivalesque "dancing down the road" performative code[146] with highly portable instruments, including *banbou* and *vaksin* (lightweight bamboo and plastic trumpets), and snare and goat-skinned drums strapped to the drummers' chests (see visual appendix 6.16). *Rara Lakay* performed in the rear of the procession to energize and keep up the pace of the slower marchers, and the volume of the trumpets' melodies and the walking-rhythm of the drums could be heard halfway up the march (refer to audio appendix).[147]

Performing in the front half of the march were members of *Son del Centro*. Similar to *Rara Lakay's* performance of *rara* in the Haitian diaspora, *Son del Centro* was

[146] For more on *rara* performative codes and instrumentation, see McAlister, Elizabeth. 2002. Page 43-48.
[147] *Rara Lakay* performed for the first 5 miles of the march, and had to leave because of other commitments. They did not perform at the closing rally.

also performing a traditional Mexican music in the diaspora that had originally been developed among *campesinos* [peasants] in rural Veracruz. However, unlike the processional style of *rara*, the *son jarocho* tradition is practiced and maintained in the ritual *fandango*, where *jaraneros* form a semi-circle or full circle around dancers on a stationary *tarima*. In an effort to perform throughout the march and encourage the participation of people unfamiliar with the music tradition, *Son del Centro* strategically adapted traditional *son jarocho* instrumentation and musical forms for the context of a public demonstration.

For maximum portability, *Son de Centro* members did not include larger instruments such as the *leona* (four-stringed "bass" folk guitar) or the *marimbol* (wooden box with tuned metal keys) that are normally featured in the ensemble.[148] The rhythmic dance component of *zapateado* was also not included in the march setting. Instead, the group relied on small *jaranas*, one melodic four-stringed *requinto*, the donkey jawbone, the tambourine, and vocals.

Even with this reduced instrumentation, *Son del Centro* was able to produce a formidable presence in the soundscape of the march, as the ensemble featured nine group members who were flown in from California, as well John-Michael Torres and Marina Sáenz Luna from Texas. Adding to the volume produced by eight *jaranas* performing in unison were *Son del Centro* singers, who were able to produce remarkably loud sounds even without amplification. The high volume and bright timbre with which they sang had been taught to them by their instructors from Veracruz, where traditional *son jarocho* aesthetics value voices that can project over the sounds of numerous *jaranas* and the

[148] *Son del Centro* also does not regularly perform with violins or harp, which are common among other *son jarocho* ensembles in Veracruz.

stomped rhythms of *zapateado* in an outdoor environment. In the context of the nine-mile March on Burger King, the selective adaptation of instruments and the performance of the traditional *son jarocho* singing style enabled *Son del Centro* to jump on and off the moving truck at the front of the march and run up and down the procession to perform alongside other participants, energizing them and inducing states of collective effervescence as they marched and sang together under the hot Miami sun.

As a participant observer in the march, I experienced the physical and emotional exhaustion of slowly walking on concrete, carrying picket signs, and being surrounded by nearly one hundred police escorts – and this same exhaustion was visible in the faces of the marchers around me. Situated approximately halfway down the length of the procession, I could hear the faint sounds of *Rara Lakay* behind me and the sounds of *Son del Centro* ahead. When *Son del Centro* would approach and play beside me as they weaved through the march, I felt and observed in others a noticeable difference in energy and excitement. When *Son del Centro* was not near, marchers made small talk with neighboring participants, walked in their own independent rhythms, and occasionally shouted together as sporadic chants such as "get up, get down, there's a workers' struggle in this town!" would erupt and fade in the crowd. However, when *Son del Centro* neared, participants would pause their conversations, begin clapping together, beating tomato buckets and walking in unified rhythm, and singing and shouting in unison. The music that *Son del Centro* played differed from their usual stage performances and *fandangos*, as they strategically selected *sones* and adapted their musical form and lyrics to effectively increase participation and feelings of solidarity among their fellow marchers.

While *Son del Centro* often performs *sones* such as "La caña" and "*El pájaro carpintero*" on stage or "*El toro zacamandú*" at *fandangos*, their very slow or very rapid rhythms and quick changing chord progressions render them difficult to perform in the context of public demonstrations. *Son del Centro* instead selects *sones* that are performed at a walking pace (a tempo of 85-95 beats per minute) and have simple chord progressions, such as "*El colás" and "El presidente*," which alternate between I-V chords (C and G7, F and C7, respectively) and "*La bamba*," which features a basic I-IV-V progression of C, F, and G major.

Performing these select *sones* throughout the march allowed singers to improvise over a simple melodic structure for extended periods of time and incorporate movement chants and call-and-response phrases. The walking rhythms and musical call-and-response phrases of the adapted *sones* energized and compelled the participation of fellow marchers while it simultaneously unified their steps and sounds. Rather than passively hearing or listening to music, this ritualized performance of music – whereby participants created sounds and moved to it as a collective whole – produced feelings of solidarity among them on both emotional and physical levels. Roscigno and Danaher (2004) emphasize this relationship between solidarity and the physicality of music performance when they describe how music "reinforces identity and group commitment through ritual and the act of singing collectively" (Roscigno and Danaher 2004, xxiv).

After six hours and nine miles of marching and singing through the streets of Miami, the CIW and their allies arrived at the Burger King headquarters for a mass rally. The rally followed the highly ritualized and carefully coordinated presentation of alternating speeches and music performances that had been employed at every major

action in the Campaign for Fair Food. Both the speeches, delivered by speakers from the CIW, as well as labor, anti-slavery, anti-war, religious, and human rights organizations,[149] and the music performances by CIW's music allies *Rebel Diaz*, the Afro-Cuban trio *Las Krudas*, Chicano hip-hop artist *Olmeca*, and *Son del Centro*, contributed to maintaining cohesion among the movement's diverse farmworker and ally participants.

While the narratives of individual speakers varied, [150] they each contributed to: 1) building collective identity by defining group boundaries by using the pronoun "we" in contrast with "Burger King" and sharing a deep personal connection to the farmworker struggle to enable allies and farmworkers to see themselves in each other; 2) developing consciousness by delegitimizing Burger King (and Goldman Sachs) as greedy and the source of injustice, asserting human rights, and generating a belief in their ability to win; and 3) strengthening solidarity by expressing their commitment to the movement in the present and future.

Take, for example, the speech delivered by Arlene Holt Baker, an African-American trade union activist and Executive Vice President of the AFL-CIO. In it, she drew connections between her family's history and farmworkers in the audience, named and shamed the greed of Burger King and Goldman Sachs, and expressed the commitment of AFL-CIO members to the campaign:

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[149] Speakers at the beginning of the march featured Bishop Felipe Estevez of the Catholic Archdiocese of Miami, Eliseo Medina, Executive Vice President of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU), and Lucas Benitez of the CIW. At the rally, speakers included Stuart Acuff and Arlene Holt Baker of the AFL-CIW, Rev. Noelle Damico, the Fair Food Coordinator for the Presbyterian Church USA, Kerry Kennedy, President of the Robert F. Kennedy Center for Justice and Human Rights, and representatives from Iraq Veterans Against the War, and Freedom Network (CIW won the 2007 Anti-Slavery International award one week prior to the March on Burger King).

[150] SFA staff member Melody Gonzalez translated all the speeches at the march from English to Spanish and Spanish to English.

> Sisters, brothers, why are we here marching today, standing up and fighting for our rights? We are here simply saying to all executives at Burger King who can hear it: One penny, one pound! (Crowd cheers) This is why we marched all the way here from those fancy executive suites at Goldman Sachs: One penny, one pound! We will keep on marching until our demands are met: One penny, one pound! (Crowd continues chant)
>
> This struggle, when it comes to the exploitation of workers, is personal to me. I know what it's like when you have to survive on poverty wages! I grew up in Fort Worth, Texas with a mother who was a domestic worker who only made five dollars a day and a daddy who was a day laborer like many of you standing out here today. It's personal!
>
> Brothers and sisters, it's absurd that we have to go to such extremes to convince someone as big and smart as Burger King claims to be that a penny more per pound is more than a moral imperative, it is a business bargain! Brothers and sisters, it's absurd that the bonuses of the top 12 Goldman Sachs executives exceeded 200 million dollars in 2006. This is more than twice as much money as 12,000 tomato pickers in southern Florida earned that year. Shame on Burger King! Brothers and sisters, you can count on the 10 million members of the AFL-CIO to stand with the Immokalee workers until we get one penny, one pound from Burger King! (Excerpt of speech, Holt Baker 2007)

Similarly, Kerry Kennedy, daughter of Robert F. Kennedy, reinforced a collective identity across racial differences by referring to past interracial movements and the relationship between her father and Cesar Chávez, developed the group's consciousness by utilizing a discourse of universal human rights and expressing political efficacy with the old UFW rallying cry, "*sí se puede*" [yes we can],[151] and strengthened solidarity by describing allies' commitment to the CIW for generations to come.

> In 1787 in London, a small group of determined students, clergy, farmworkers and former slaves came together, united by a radical idea, that we all share a human right to freedom from slavery. Together they brought down King Cotton. In 2007, in Miami, a small group of determined students, clergy, former slaves, farmworkers and union organizers have come together united by the radical idea that we all share the human right to a decent wage and humane working conditions. And we will bring down Burger King…
>
> Human rights are held by all persons equally, universally, and forever. Corporations must realize these rights are indivisible and interdependent. Without these rights slavery, poverty and abuse will continue in America's retail food industry, tainting the salads and sandwiches of Burger King and others who do

[151] The literal translation is "yes, it can be done," although "yes we can" is most commonly used in English.

> not stand up for human dignity…Together we can compel Burger King to partner with the CIW to sign an agreement protecting farmworkers' human rights…
>
> When Robert Kennedy broke bread with Cesar Chávez after his great fast on March 10, 1968, he addressed a crowd of 6000 farmworkers in Delano, California. He said "When your children and grandchildren take their place in America, going to high school, and taking good jobs at good pay, when you look at them, you will say, 'I did this. I was there at the point of difficulty and danger.' And though you may be old and bent from many years of labor, no one will stand taller than you when you say 'I marched with Cesar.'"
>
> (Addressing CIW member Lucas Benitez) Lucas, today all of us have the opportunity to join your struggle. And when we are old and bent we will turn to our children and grandchildren and say, "I was there at the point of difficulty and danger. I marched with the CIW." And for that, we thank you. Sí se puede! (Excerpt of speech, Kennedy, 2007)

In contrast to the rally speakers, who were predominantly white or black U.S. citizens born in the 1950s or 1960s promoting a broad interracial and intergenerational coalition of religious,[152] labor, student, and human rights allies, the musicians at the March on Burger King were young first and second generation immigrants whose music addressed the experiences of immigrant youth and promoted unity across Latin American and Caribbean immigrant communities. While the hip-hop performances of *Olmeca*, *Las Krudas*, and *Rebel Diaz* animated student allies and many of the younger farmworkers in the audience, it was apparent that some audience members, particularly older allies and religious leaders, did not know how to participate or respond to the music. When *Son del Centro* began playing "*La bamba*," however, there was a noticeable physical response in the audience as everyone began dancing and clapping along to the music. *Son jarocho's* broad appeal among diverse allies and farmworkers is not accidental: it is one of the primary reasons the CIW purposefully arranges for *Son del Centro* to perform at its public demonstrations.

[152] Religious leaders came from a wide array of Christian denominations, and included several leaders in the Jewish community as well. To see their letter, which was signed by more than 100 signatories, see (Interfaith Action 2007).

> More than any other music group, *Son del Centro* became the heart and soul of the Campaign for Fair Food… They were the perfect match with their political awareness and cultural sense, and so many workers being from Mexico, and the *kind* of music – young people like it, older religious folks like it, so it has really worked at bringing all sorts of allies together. (Luce 2010)

In addition to the "kind of music" or sound quality of *son jarocho* that resonates with a wide audience, *Son del Centro's* strategic adaptations of *son jarocho* musical forms also enable its music performances to function in sustaining a collective identity, a sense of political efficacy, and solidarity among farmworkers and their diverse allies. This is demonstrated most clearly in its performance of "*La bamba*" at the Burger King rally (see visual appendix 6.17, refer to field recording in audio appendix).

"*La bamba*"
Selected verses and improvisation performed by *Son del Centro*
March on Burger King, November 30, 2007

(*Verso*)	(Verse)
Le cantamos la bamba	For you we sing *la bamba*
Pa'que se vea	So that it can be seen
Que somos de la gente	That we are people
Que se menea	That like to get moving
(Estribillo)	(Chorus)
Ay arriba y arriba	Upward and upward
Y arriba ire	And upward I go
*Con el pueblo unido**	With the people united*
Arriba iré	Upward I go
(Verso)	(Verse)
Arbolito arbolito	Little tree, little tree
Manténte firme	Remain firm
Porque a mi ni la muerte	Because not even death
Podrá rendirme	Can defeat me
(Estribillo)	(Chorus)
Ay arriba y arriba	Upward and upward
Y arriba iré	And upward I go
*El sueldo que no pagan**	The wages that aren't paid*
Lo pagarán	Will be paid

(Call-and-response chant within traditional *son*)

Singer and Crowd: *Sí se puede*! (x4)	Yes we can!
Singer: *Y salimos a la calle*	And we go out to the streets
Crowd: *Sí se puede*!	Yes we can!
Singer: *A luchar por nuestra tierra*	To fight for our land
Crowd: *Sí se puede*!	Yes we can!
Singer: *Junto con los campesinos*	Together with farmworkers
Crowd: *Sí se puede*!	Yes we can!
Singer: *Que vienen desde Immokalee*	Who come from Immokalee
Crowd: *Sí se puede*!	Yes we can!
Singer: *Adelante y venceremos*	Onward and we will win
Crowd: *Sí se puede*!	Yes we can!
(Repeats variations)	
Singer: *Y venimos desde Immokalee*	And we come from Immokalee
Crowd: *Sí se puede*!	Yes we can!
Singer: *Y salimos a la calle*	And we go out to the streets
Crowd: *Sí se puede*!	Yes we can!
Singer: *Y algunos son guatemaltecos*	And some are Guatemalans
Crowd: *Sí se puede*!	Yes we can!
Singer: *Y algunos mexicanos*	And some are Mexicans
Crowd: *Sí se puede*!	Yes we can!
Singer: *Y venimos de Sudamérica***	And we come from South America
Crowd: *Sí se puede*!	Yes we can!
Singer: *Y también de Cuba****	And Cuba as well

* Improvised by *Son del Centro*
** Makes reference to Chilean singers of *Rebel Diaz*
** Crowd laughs – singer uses a mocking voice to tease the women of *Las Krudas* and Miami's large Cuban population.

In the first half of *Son del Centro's* performance of "*La bamba*," the ensemble performed the standard structure of the traditional *son*, opening with an instrumental introduction and singing the verses and chorus between alternating vocalists. Within the rhyming lyrical structure, *Son del Centro* improvised closing chorus lines that historicized the movement alongside other Latin American social movements and expressed efficacy in increasing farmworker wages by incorporating the phrase "*el*

pueblo unido" from the Popular Unity chant[153] from Chile and debuting the phrase "the wages that aren't paid will be paid."

In the second half of the song, *Son del Centro* broke from the traditional lyrical form and verse/chorus structure of *son jarocho* and adapted a participatory call and response section over the standard "*La bamba*" chord progression. Here, in reflecting farmworkers' heightened discourse of ethnicity on *Radio Conciencia* and the articulation of ethnic difference to promote unity in songs like *Sobrevivencia's* "*Guate caricia*" played at CIW fiestas in Immokalee, *Son del Centro* improvised a captivating call and response that encouraged an interethnic collective identity among diverse farmworkers and musicians, and it did so by articulating their respective homelands – Guatemala, Mexico, South America, and Cuba. This demonstrates that collective identity formation in the context of diverse movement participants does not necessitate the erasure of difference. Rather, a discourse of different homelands helped constitute an interethnic collective identity among farmworkers and their music allies because it allowed them to recognize a shared experience of migration.

While *Son del Centro's* improvised lyrics did not articulate every ethnic identity of the immigrants and non-recent-immigrants in the audience, each participant was able to feel included in the movement's collective identity through the song's differentiation of group boundaries between "us" and "them," a process Taylor and Whittier (1992) regard as fundamental in collective identity formation. This was signaled through the prominent use of "we" in the lyrics – "we've gone out to the streets, together with

[153] The phrase "*el pueblo unido jamás será vencido*" [the people, united, will never be defeated] was the title of a popular song composed as an anthem for the Popular Unity government by the group *Quilapayún* as part of the *Nueva Canción* movement in the early 1970s. It was later made famous worldwide after the 1973 military coup by fellow Chilean ensemble *Inti-Illimani*.

farmworkers, onward and we will win!" – and the symbolism of the contrast between a joyfully singing "us" in confrontation with a silent "them," the silent Burger King executives looking down from their windows.

The lyrics of this call and response, particularly "*sí se puede*" [yes we can] and "*adelante y venceremos*" [onward and we will win!], also instilled in participants a sense of political efficacy: a belief in their capacity to "alter their lot" and that unjust arrangements are "subject to change" – what Piven and Cloward (1979) and McAdam (1982) identify as an essential component of consciousness that is necessary for effective mobilization.

But perhaps most significantly, the repetition and collective singing of the chant "*sí se puede*" generated a state of effervescence among audience members that strengthened feelings of social solidarity among them. The chant was able to evoke such intense emotional responses in part because the words historicized the movement within the trajectory of the United Farm Workers' and Chicano movement of the late 1960s/early 1970s – which was likely more meaningful for many Chicano youth allies whose parents had participated in the movement in California and Texas than for CIW members who recently arrived in the U.S. from Mexico and Guatemala – and the nationwide immigrant rights marches of 2006 that had re-popularized the chant.[154]

However, the words alone did not generate the state of effervescence: because "*sí se puede*" had been shouted frequently throughout the March on Burger King with noticeably less enthusiastic and widespread participation, it is evident that the music that accompanied the chant contributed to the heightened emotional response from the

[154] The chant was also appropriated by the Obama 2008 presidential campaign as "Yes We Can."

audience. The sounds of *son jarocho* and the familiar sight of numerous *jaranas* on stage, after all, ritualized the rally and placed it within the trajectory of CIW's history, reigniting participants' emotions and feelings of solidarity they had experienced at the Taco Bell and McDonald's victory celebrations, the *encuentros* in Immokalee, and the numerous late-night *fandangos* celebrating the relationship forged between farmworkers and allies.

Thus, music performance helped build a collective identity, consciousness, and solidarity among diverse participants as they marched together through the streets of Miami and confronted Burger King at its corporate headquarters. Specifically, *Son del Centro's* employment of resonant vocals, repetitive chord progressions, and lyrical improvisation practiced in traditional *son jarocho* enabled them to coordinate and amplify chants in the march and articulate messages of interethnic unity and political efficacy at the rally. The group's strategic modification of *son jarocho* instrumentation for portability and adaptation of the traditional lyrical form into a participatory call-and-response energized marchers and increased their feelings of solidarity with the collective whole. Yet, irrespective of the lyrics they sang or the chants they accompanied, the quality and familiarity of the sounds *Son del Centro* produced – sounds that compelled participants to move together, summoned memories of past victories, and made commitment to a joyous movement so appealing – were also significant in contributing to the maintenance of internal movement cohesion among farmworkers and their diverse allies.

Communicating Legitimacy in the Public Sphere: Art, Theater, and the Disruption of Soundscapes

While music performance at the March on Burger King contributed to the maintenance of a cohesive movement (success indicator #1), it also functioned – together with art, puppets, and theater – to reframe the conflict in the public sphere, attract and inform bystanders, and provoke a response from Burger King. It is not my intent to prove a direct causal relationship between the use of these cultural repertoires and food corporations' eventual concession to wage increases and human rights provisions of the CIW Fair Food Agreement. However, I argue that cultural repertoires were the principle means through which the movement expressed its global moral authority over its adversaries. By invoking farmworkers' human rights violations, such as slavery and economic exploitation, and publicly shaming Burger King for infringing upon those rights, the CIW was waging the power of legitimacy – rather than power in a material sense – to win concessions from its corporate target.

Taco Bell and McDonald's capitulation to the Fair Food Agreements on the eve of CIW demonstrations, even though Taco Bell and McDonald's were not financially damaged by CIW's campaigns (both experienced billion-dollar sales increases during the time periods of CIW's respective campaigns against them[155]) testifies to the immense, though non-quantifiable, influence that public shaming had on bringing these multinational fast food corporations to the negotiating table, and thus on the successful attainment of material improvements (success indicator #2). While Burger King did not

[155] Between 2001 and 2005, the years of the CIW's Taco Bell boycott, Taco Bell's U.S. company and franchise sales increased by 1.3 billion dollars. Between 2005 and 2007, during CIW's McDonald's campaign, McDonald's company operated sales increased by 2.6 billion dollars. See Burger King (2008) and McDonald's (2007).

sign with the CIW on the eve of the demonstration, the march's communication of a conflict between hard-working farmworkers fighting for human dignity and a greedy Burger King, a multinational corporation that exploits farmworkers and violates their human rights, imbued CIW with legitimacy and generated wide public support while it simultaneously delegitimized Burger King. This provoked Burger King to respond in a way that was exposed as so quintessentially greedy that the company was forced to sign with the CIW on May 23, 2008, in order to salvage its brand image.

CIW's first task was to reframe the conflict and counter Burger King's efforts to propagate and maintain a dominant hegemonic definition of farmworker poverty. This was most clearly demonstrated by Burger King's CEO John Chidsey, who called farmworker poverty an outright "myth" and implied that farmworker poverty was a result of a poor work ethic. At an October 2007 lecture at Davidson College, Chidsey said:

> The facts on the tomatoes are very straight forward… The average tomato picker in the state of Florida makes $12.56 an hour. If you're really good, you can make $20 bucks an hour… They already make more than we pay our workers. (vanden Heuvel and Kaufmann 2008)[156]

This placing of blame for farmworker poverty on a poor individual work ethic was also prevalent in Burger King's press releases, such as this one published earlier that year:

> In an April 2006 study by the Center for Reflection, Education and Action (CREA), the average hourly wage for Immokalee tomato pickers ranged from $9.65 per hour for the slowest workers to a high of $18.27 per hour for the fastest. The average pay for workers is clearly well above the Florida minimum wage of $6.40 per hour and well above standard wages for similar work.
>
> We have spoken to CIW representatives about our interest in recruiting interested Immokalee workers into the BURGER KING® system. We have offered to send Burger King Corporation recruiters to the area to speak with the

[156] The blog includes a link to a Youtube video posted by the Student Farmworker Alliance of Chidsey's speech. See reference (Student Farmworker Alliance, Youtube).

> CIW and with workers themselves about permanent, full-time employment at BURGER KING® restaurants. Burger King Corporation offers ongoing professional training and advancement opportunities around the country for both entry-level and skilled employee jobs, and we are hopeful the CIW will accept our offer.
>
> We have also spoken to the CIW about the strong interest from the charitable arm of Burger King Corporation, the HAVE IT YOUR WAY™ Foundation. The Foundation's mission is to contribute to non-profit organizations whose goal is to improve education, alleviate hunger or disease or to support youth programs. The Foundation is keenly interested in working with the CIW and others to identify charitable organizations that could improve the lives of the workers and their families. (Selection of Press Release, Burger King 2007)

Burger King's citation of the CREA farmworker wage study – which was funded by McDonald's – points to its attempt to maintain one of the cornerstones of hegemonic capitalist ideology, namely, the belief that "those who are worse off, therefore those who are paid less, are in this position because they merit it" (Wallerstein 1990, 46). Farmworkers, according to Burger King, are poor because they work "slow." Wallerstein (1990) argues that culture is the "battleground of the modern world system" whereby the promise of movements lies in their ability to expose the contradictions of this hegemonic ideology. In the case of farmworkers, they must therefore expose the contradiction that they work hard, but are impoverished, and show that this is the result of exploitation in capitalism's "maximum appropriation of surplus value" rather than poor work ethic (ibid., 36).

One means through which the CIW counters this dominant ideology is through its website, www.ciw-online.org, where it provides extensive analysis of farmworker conditions and up-to-date information, photos, and videos covering the campaign. The website seeks to take away the monopoly of issue framing from powerful elites, and enables the CIW to provide a narrative that reframes the terms of the conflict and forces its adversaries on the defensive. After all, the CIW website is not only seen by its far-

reaching ally network, shared through social media outlets, and referred to by mainstream media, it is also seen by Burger King executives themselves. Here, the CIW is able to counter Burger King's hegemonic framing of farmworker poverty as a result of poor work ethic with a competing explanation of farmworker exploitation.

Social movement scholars define "framing" as an active process of constructing meanings and interpretations of reality (Snow et al 1986; Snow and Benford 1988; Gamson 1995). For social movement organizations, the "action-oriented sets of beliefs and meanings that inspire and legitimate the activities and campaigns" are referred to as "collective action frames" (Benford and Snow 2000, 614). Snow and Benford (1988) identify three core framing tasks: "diagnostic framing," whereby a problem and source of blame is identified, "prognostic framing" that articulates a solution to the problem, and "motivational framing" which offers a rationale for participating in collective action. One key diagnostic frame is the "injustice" frame, which Benford and Snow (2000) conclude is widespread in "movements advocating some form of political and/or economic change" (Benford and Snow 2000, 616). Specifically, Gamson (1995) finds that "concreteness in the target," particularly when the targeted individual, corporation, or government actor is presented as malicious or greedy, is an essential component of an effective injustice frame (Gamson 1995, 91).

CIW's response to Burger King on its website, which included links to an independent university report[157] that wholly discredited the CREA wage study, letters of support from prominent allies, and statements from CIW member Lucas Benitez, is

[157] The report responding to the CREA study was analyzed and published by Bruce Nissen, Director of the Research Institute on Social and Economic Policy (RISEP) at Florida International University. See Nissen (2007).

illustrative of how the CIW communicates the campaign's collective action frames. In the response, the CIW identifies the problem as farmworker exploitation at the hands of a deceptive and disrespectful Burger King, proposes a solution in the penny per pound provision of the Fair Food agreement, and provides the rationale that getting Burger King to sign will help "end human rights abuses of Florida tomato pickers":

> Florida's farmworkers – including the workers who pick tomatoes for fast-food giants like Burger King and McDonald's -- are among this country's most exploited workers. Workers face sweatshop conditions every day in the fields, including:
>
> • **Sub-poverty wages -** Tomato pickers earn roughly $10,000/year, according to the US Department of Labor
> • **No raise in nearly 30 years -** Pickers are paid virtually the same per bucket piece rate today as they were in 1980. At the going rate, workers have to pick nearly 2½ TONS of tomatoes just to earn minimum wage for a typical 10-hr day
> • **Denied fundamental labor rights -** Farmworkers in Florida have no right to overtime pay and no right to organize
>
> In the most extreme cases, workers face actual conditions of modern-day slavery. Federal Civil Rights officials have prosecuted five slavery operations -- involving over 1,000 workers -- in Florida's fields since 1997…
>
> In response to Burger King's announcement, Lucas Benitez of the CIW said, "Burger King's plan to eradicate farmworker poverty is so simple as to be almost magical. Send a crack team of Burger King trainers into Immokalee, retrain thousands of farmworkers to be Burger King restaurant employees, and *poof* farmworker poverty disappears…"
>
> "This suggestion might seem comical," Benitez continued, "until you stop to think that Burger King is actually responsible for keeping the workers in poverty through their leveraging of volume purchases to drive down tomato prices and, consequently, tomato pickers' wages." …
>
> In its announcement, Burger King also claimed that it would be impossible to replicate the Taco Bell penny-per-pound payment in its supply chain, explaining that the company does "not identify the specific growers, tomatoes, or workers who pick the tomatoes that are used in our restaurant."…
>
> Said Benitez, "It is ridiculous for Burger King to claim that it does not know where its tomatoes come from. If that were true, then Burger King could not tell its customers that its tomatoes aren't being picked on any of the Florida farms recently connected with slave labor. Nor could it reassure its customers that its tomatoes come from farms that are taking appropriate steps to avoid food-borne illnesses like the recent E. Coli outbreaks. In short, Burger King's statement shows as little respect for its customers as it does for the farm workers who pick

> the produce that goes into its products."
>
> The Reverend Clifton Kirkpatrick, the Stated Clerk of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), perhaps put it best in a letter[158] to Burger King CEO John Chidsey on January 10th of this year: "Already at the table are the CIW's expertise, a flexible model, and clear precedents. The only thing missing in order to end the human rights abuses of tomato pickers is Burger King's willingness. Any company who profits from the exploitation of others is morally and ethically responsible for that exploitation."
>
> "Nearly two years after the settlement of the Taco Bell boycott, Burger King continues to lack the will to institute a few simple measures to bring about long-overdue farm labor fairness in its supply chain," concluded Lucas Benitez. "That's why, today, CIW members say, in the words of Dr. Martin Luther King, we are tired of 'relying on the good will and understanding of those who profit by exploiting us.'" (Coalition of Immokalee Workers 2007)[159]

Thus, through its website, the CIW is able to provide counter-narratives and collective action frames that directly challenge Burger King's hegemonic framing of the conflict. However, the CIW does not solely rely on written statements on the Internet to communicate collective action frames or shame Burger King. Rather, the CIW utilizes its website in conjunction with vibrant demonstrations in the public sphere. Through visual art, theater, and music in the March on Burger King, the CIW dramatized new collective action frames, disrupted routines and soundscapes to attract an audience, and portrayed clear differences between a lying, greedy Burger "King" and hard-working, joyful community of movement participants. These cultural elements captured the attention of bystanders, mainstream and independent media, and Burger King executives, many of whom referred to CIW's website coverage of the event and in-depth analysis of the conflict.

In their article "Dramaturgy and Social Movements: The Social Construction and Communication of Power," Benford and Hunt (1992) utilize a dramaturgical approach to

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[158] In the online version, this is where the CIW provides the following hyperlink to the letter: http://www.ciw-online.org/PCUSA_letter_to_BK.html

[159] See reference Coalition of Immokalee Workers, CIW Issues Response to Burger King's "Penny Per Pound" Statement.

explain how movement actors "collectively construct their images of power and how they struggle to alter extant power relations" (Benford and Hunt 1992, 38). Specifically, they discuss how collective action frames are enacted by participants and presented to audiences through a process of "scripting," and how activists utilize "staging" techniques, such as utilizing props and developing and manipulating symbols, to effectively engage with audiences (ibid. 41-43). While this approach is particularly relevant in analyzing how the CIW strategically created and adapted symbols utilizing visual art, puppets, and totemic props to present collective action frames in the public sphere, the case study of the CIW is important because it demonstrates that even though farmworkers had very little power in terms of financial resources, access to political institutions or elites, or the ability to coerce its adversaries, they were able to prevail over Burger King, a multinational corporation with billions of dollars in financial resources. Burger King's immense power failed not because the CIW constructed images of the movement's power, but because they constructed images of the movement's legitimacy. In particular, this legitimacy came from the communication of ideas and principles of human rights and anti-globalization ideology validated in world culture.

In the week leading up to the demonstration, farmworkers of the CIW collaborated extensively with puppeteer David Solnit, a longtime ally since the first actions of the Taco Bell campaign, who helped them translate their ideas into visually-captivating and dramatic protest art. Before working with the CIW, Solnit had coordinated giant theater pageants in national anti-nuclear testing demonstrations in the 1980s (Solnit 2012). Following the 1994 Zapatista Rebellion in Chiapas, Mexico, Solnit was further inspired to infuse art and theater into global anti-systemic movements and

actions in the United States, culminating in his leadership in the Art and Revolution convergences in Seattle in 1997 and 1998, and the Street Theater Collective that was first to call for mass direct action and a "festival of resistance" against the World Trade Organization (WTO) Ministerial Conference in 1999, or what became known as the "Battle of Seattle" (ibid.).

Solnit met members of the CIW at a Students Against Sweatshops conference the following year and traveled from his home in the San Francisco Bay Area to visit Immokalee in August 2001. Through dialogues with farmworker members, Solnit helped the CIW develop the tomato bucket as the emblematic image of the movement, and ever since, he has helped the CIW creatively subvert corporate logos and effectively communicate the movement's public message through art and theater throughout every phase of the Campaign for Fair Food. Their relationship between David and the CIW – which is characterized by intense periods of collective brainstorming, participatory art making, and popular theater rehearsals before CIW's major demonstrations – continues today and is most accurately described as another one of CIW's key collaborations within transcultural advocacy networks.

In the days prior to the March on Burger King, David Solnit and members of the Coalition collected their pickets signs from previous marches, scripted the messaging of the action, and mass produced signs, puppets, and props designed specifically for the staging of the march. A brief consideration of these dramatic elements reveals how the CIW effectively presented globally legitimated collective action frames to the public in accessible and easy-to-understand forms. Reuse of the tomato-bucket-shaped pickets signs first employed in the Taco Bell campaign provided "diagnostic framing,"

articulating the problems the movement is trying to remedy in terms legitimated in world culture, with "sweatshops in the fields," "slavery," "poverty," and "abuse" written across them (see visual appendix 6.18). Furthermore, marchers' attire and puppets clearly identified the source of blame for the problem: marchers wore uniform t-shirts that subverted and reworked the colors and logo of Burger King into "Exploitation King," and a giant "Exploitation King" puppet was paraded through the march, with a text bubble of "lies, lies, *mentiras*, *mentiras*" coming from his mouth (see visual appendix 6.19). Several participants dressed up as kings also danced around and handed out fliers throughout the march, to the visible delight of bystanders (see visual appendix 6.20).

"Prognostic framing" that articulated a proposed solution to the problem was also communicated on dozens of bright red cardboard tomatoes that were attached to wood poles and carried throughout the march. These tomatoes simply had "1¢" inscribed in contrasting white paint, signifying CIW's demand to increase farmworker wages, presented in precise and reasonable terms to the public: "a penny more per pound" (see visual appendix 6.21). "Motivational framing" was communicated through advocating human rights ideals such as "dignity" and "justice" that were painted on yellow cardboard crowns worn by participants (see visual appendix 6.22), and also through the overall festive mood generated by the march, which offered the opportunity to partake in joyous community as a compelling rationale for participating in collective action.

In addition to providing collective action frames, the CIW countered Burger King's hegemonic framing of the issue of farmworker poverty as a "myth" or a result of poor work ethic using props and dramatic staging: workers carried red buckets used in the tomato fields on their shoulders throughout the march, and a large 20-foot trailer carrying

hundreds of pairs of farmworkers' shoes and boots soiled with pesticides was pulled along the march below a sign that read "Doubt our Poverty? Walk in our Shoes" (see visual appendix 6.23). At the end of the rally following the march, three farmworkers staged a dramatic scene in which they attempted to deliver their shoes to a Burger King Public Relations manager standing outside the entrance to the corporate headquarters. After farmworkers and faith leaders pleaded with police blocking them from walking onto Burger King property, with the crowd chanting behind them, "Take their shoes! Take their shoes!" the three farmworkers – Magdalena Cortes, Gerardo Reyes Chavez, and Mathieu Beaucicot – were finally escorted to speak with the Burger King representative. The representative, a white woman in her late 30s, took the three pairs of dirty boots in her arms and struggled to hold back tears as the workers told her what those boots represented. The CIW, which provided its own coverage of the event in detail on its website, described the encounter as follows:

> The delegation explained to Burger King's representative that the shoes were the workers' response to the company's aggressive public relations efforts to deny the reality of farmworker poverty and exploitation… The CIW members told the company representative that the campaign to "debunk" farmworker poverty is all the more insulting because the company's wealth is built in no small part on their undervalued labor. The shoes -- worn beyond repair by months of that labor in the fields -- were a symbolic challenge to Burger King executives, who earn millions in salaries and bonuses every year, to "walk in farmworkers' shoes" before talking about a reality they have never known. (Coalition of Immokalee Workers)[160]

The rally ended with a candlelight vigil, and the marchers gathered at a church where they had dinner together, danced to the music of *Son del Centro* in a community-wide *fandango*, and reflected on the march as they prepared to go to sleep on their makeshift beds on the cafeteria floor. During the informal discussion, Gerardo Reyes

[160] See reference Coalition of Immokalee Workers, Online March Report, 9-mile March on Burger King Headquarters.

Chávez shared that the CIW had received numerous emails from people in Miami who had witnessed the march. Standing next to him, SFA member Brian Payne read one of the emails aloud:

> Hey, we heard you guys marching though our neighborhood! We thought it was so beautiful and so great that we had to look online to see what this was all about! Put me on the listserv or send information to my house. We want to organize and be a part of this![161]

As the content of this email suggests, the March on Burger King effectively recruited bystanders and directed traffic to the CIW website, where they could access comprehensive information and coverage of the event without the hegemonic framing of the movement by Burger King. It also suggests that bystanders were attracted to the march because it was out of the ordinary, disrupting everyday routines with something "beautiful." Moreover, the bystander describes how they first came to witness the march because they heard it coming through their neighborhood.

In *Poor People's Movements*, Piven and Cloward (1979) argue that the most effective strategy for social movements, and those representing the interests of low-income people in particular, is the escalation of disruption. Similarly, Tarrow (1998) argues that disruption is the source of much of the power in social movements because it broadens the field of contention to the general public and "breaks with routine, startles bystanders, and leaves elites disoriented" (Tarrow 1998, 104). While Piven and Cloward define disruption as "the application of a negative sanction, the withdrawal of a crucial contribution on which others depend" such as worker strikes (Piven and Cloward 1979, 24), consideration of CIW's use of these tactics in the 1990s – with community-wide

[161] Recorded in notes as a participant observer. Confirmed in a follow-up interview (Reyes Chávez 2010).

work stoppages in 1995, 1998, and 1999[162] – show that these tactics were largely ineffective. The high turnover of farmworkers, the constant oversupply of labor, and the lack of financial resources rendered long-term strikes – those that would most severely disrupt supply chains, increase bargaining power, and likely result in more significant gains – nearly impossible to sustain.

Striking against publicly unknown growers also did little to address the source of the downward pressure on farmworker wages, namely, the huge corporate buyers of tomatoes in an increasingly consolidated food system. Tomato grower-shippers in Florida were receiving a drastically smaller percentage of the retail price of the tomatoes they sold, and were increasingly selling to fewer and fewer buyers who were demanding a larger proportion of their crop.[163] Furthermore, while strikes in Immokalee received a fair amount of media coverage, farmworkers remained physically far removed from the general public, if not rendered entire visible by the time, location, and nature of their labor.

However, by taking their march to downtown Miami to confront Burger King, a major buyer of Florida tomatoes, farmworkers were disrupting not through negation, but through a positive assertion of their presence in the public sphere. The march disrupted the daily flow of traffic, but also the everyday soundscape of downtown Miami. Through the sounds of *son jarocho*, *rara*, the amplified music played from the flatbed truck, and the steady beats of workers drumming on their tomato buckets, I observed how the CIW

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[162] The 1998 strike led to small increases in the piece rate, the first increase in 20 years. See Oxfam America 2004, 10.

[163] Oxfam America (2004) reported that the "marketing spread," the difference in the retail price and the price grower-shippers receive, dropped from 41% in 1990 to barely 25% in 2000. Furthermore between 1994 and 1999, the percentage of tomato sales to the top ten buyers increased from 48% to 59%. See pages 30-31.

and their allies transformed the public soundscape into a raucous concert hall that effectively brought people out of their houses, children out of their schools, older women out of beauty salons, and construction workers out of their building sites to watch and listen to CIW's message (see visual appendix 6.24). The testimony of the observer who wrote an email to the CIW – sharing that she had "heard" the march in her neighborhood, which compelled her to go see it – is supported by my sonic and visual observations of the march.

Running north and south of the march as it headed west on 7th Street from West Little Havana to the Burger King headquarters, I observed that the march was audible from at least three blocks away. The proposition that bystanders came to witness the march because of its volume intensity, which increased the sound level of the soundscape, is also supported by my visual observations. When women came out of the beauty salon on 7th Street (with curlers still in their hair) to wave at marchers, they were likely alerted to the march both by its approaching sound and the sight of marchers, puppets, and signs passing by the shop's ground-floor window. However, the bystanders I saw sticking their heads out of the top story windows of their homes, the construction workers looking down from the edge of buildings six stories above ground, or the Burger King corporate employees who gravitated away from their cubicles to the windows of the headquarters demonstrate that it was the loud volume of the march that sparked the interest of bystanders in Miami's soundscape and signaled that the march was something that should be witnessed.

While the march's high volume effectively disrupted the soundscape, it was the march's transformation of the sound quality, from one marked by the routine sounds of

car horns and traffic to one filled with celebratory melodies and the shuffle of people dancing and marching in rhythm, which took on strategic importance and political significance. First, the festive quality of the music had a visible impact on how bystanders received the march. In observing their physical reactions, the vast majority of people smiled at the first sight of the march, and many of them even began dancing along. Because the march was enjoyable to experience as a bystander, many of them watched and listened to the march for the length of the procession, standing on their doorsteps or outside their cars in blocked traffic, eagerly reaching out for fliers as the participants dressed up as the satirical burger "kings" came running along. The long exposure to the march, combined with receiving printed materials about the campaign (written in English and Spanish), likely increased bystanders' comprehension of the movement's scripted collective action frames.

Second, the joyful mood produced by the upbeat sounds of the march, along with the sight of brightly colored puppets, tomato buckets, and picket signs, likely deterred repressive actions by police, who followed the length of the march and guarded the perimeter of the Burger King headquarters. Take, for instance, the moment when three farmworkers, who were carrying boots in their arms, and clergy members crossed the perimeter in attempt to talk to the Burger King representative. With the sounds of "*La bamba*" resonating in the soundscape and bouncing tomato-shaped signs and puppets behind them, the police responded by listening to their requests, negotiating with them, and finally allowing the farmworkers, clergy members, and even a CIW photographer to approach the Burger King headquarters. It is reasonable to assume the police response would have been drastically different, and possibly included arrests, had the atmosphere

been marked instead by a more overtly angry or confrontational performance by participants. Indeed, the farmworkers and their allies were angry and were confronting Burger King, but they staged the action in a festive performance with jubilant music, satirical puppets, and a collection of worn shoes that dramatized farmworker poverty and humility, that together severely limited repressive options by the police and Burger King that could be seen as reasonable responses.

Thus, the march's festive music, and that of *son jarocho* in particular, was not only crucial in building collective identity and solidarity among participants, it also attracted bystanders and widened the field of contention, exposing them to collective action frames presented in visual arts and puppetry, and deterring repression. Music was far from entertainment or a mere "soundtrack to the movement," it was one of the principal means through which the movement communicated its legitimacy.

Invoking Foucault's ideas of pleasure as an arena of political experience and a focus of control through dominant definitions of which pleasures are either permitted or prohibited, Stokes argues that the "association of pleasure and a festival atmosphere with music and dance makes them experiences which are distinctly 'out of the ordinary'" (Stokes 1997, 13). The march's production of music in the public soundscape in Miami communicated political power not simply because it was heard but because it disrupted sonic routines, symbolized festive resistance, and presented alternatives to Burger King's hegemonic definition of poverty that would have otherwise been maintained through farmworkers' invisibility and silence in the public sphere.

While Burger King did not concede to CIW's demands on the eve of its planned demonstration as Taco Bell had done in 2005 and McDonald's had done earlier in the

year, CIW's use of music, art, theater, and puppetry expressed the movement's legitimacy in the public sphere and attracted significant media coverage,[164] which effectively opened political opportunities in their favor and provoked a response from Burger King.

For the next several months, high-level Burger King executives would employ several covert tactics intended to co-opt and vilify the Coalition and its allies. In April, 2008, the *Fort Myers News-Press* published an investigative piece detailing how Burger King's Vice President, Stephen Grover, had been using his teenage daughter's online username, "surxaholic36," to write defamatory comments on online articles, videos, or social media posts about the CIW. One read:

> The CIW is an attack organization lining the leaders (sic) pockets… They make up issues and collect money from dupes that believe their story. To (sic) bad the people protesting don't have a clue regarding the facts. A bunch of fools! (Bennett Williams 2008)

Ten days after this story broke, a scathing op-ed in the *New York Times* written by *Fast Food Nation* author Eric Schlosser revealed that Burger King executives had hired an unlicensed private security firm to infiltrate the Student Farmworker Alliance:

> In March, a woman named Cara Schaffer contacted the Student/Farmworker Alliance, saying she was a student at Broward Community College. Her eagerness aroused suspicions, but she was allowed to join two of the group's planning sessions. Internet searches by the alliance revealed that she was not a college student.
>
> Ms. Schaffer is the 25-year-old owner of a private security firm. Her company, Diplomatic Tactical Services, seems like the kind of security firm you'd find in one of Carl Hiaasen's crime thrillers. Last year Ms. Schaffer was denied a private investigator's license; she had failed to supply the Florida licensing division with proof of "lawfully gained, verifiable experience or

[164] See "Farmworkers and students take on Burger King" *The Nation*, December 14, 2007; "Activists protest Burger King" *Miami Herald*, November 30, 2007; "Florida farmworkers protest Burger King over low wages, exploitation," *Associated Press*, November 30, 2007; "Tomato pickers protest at Burger King Miami Headquarters" *The Guardian (Reuters)*, November 30, 2007; "Hundreds protest Burger King over farmworker wages, working conditions" *Naples Daily News*, November 30, 2007.

> training." Even more unsettling, one of her former subcontractors, Guillermo Zarabozo, is now facing murder charges in United States District Court in Miami for his role in allegedly executing four crew members of a charter fishing boat, then dumping their bodies at sea.
>
> In an interview, a Burger King executive told me that the company had worked with Diplomatic Tactical Services for years on "security-related matters" and had used it to obtain information about the Student/Farmworker Alliance's plans — in order to prevent acts of violence. "It is both the corporation's right and duty," a company spokesman later wrote in an e-mail message to me, "to protect its employees and assets from potential harm." (Schlosser 2008)

Under mounting public pressure and fallout from its retaliatory actions against the CIW, Burger King conceded to all of CIW's demands on May 23, 2008, including paying an additional net penny per pound[165] premium for the Florida tomatoes it purchases, establishing a zero-tolerance policy for slavery in its supply chain, and a commitment to include "farmworker participation in the monitoring of growers' compliance with [Burger King's] vendor code of conduct" (Coalition of Immokalee Workers 2008). In the joint CIW/Burger King press release, Burger King CEO John Chidsey stated,

> We apologize for any negative statements about the CIW or its motives previously attributed to BKC or its employees and now realize that those statements were wrong. Today we turn a new page in our relationship and begin a new chapter of real progress for Florida farmworkers. (ibid.)

CIW's successful attainment of material improvements (success indicator #2) from Burger King was not a result of the movement's power to financially impact Burger King's bottom line. In fact, in fiscal 2008, during the months of CIW's Burger King campaign, Burger King's worldwide revenues rose to "a record $2.46 billion," an increase of 10 percent from fiscal year 2007, with profits growing a "whopping 24 percent" (Burger King 2008). Rather, CIW won these material gains because it had

[165] The agreement actually requires Burger King to pay a total of 1.5 cents per pound of tomatoes to cover the administrative costs incurred by growers to implement increased wages. See reference Coalition of Immokalee Workers 2008, Burger King Corp. and Coalition of Immokalee Workers to Work Together.

effectively challenged Burger King's hegemonic explanations of farmworker poverty and communicated the movement's legitimacy – and Burger King's illegitimacy – in dramatic public performances.

While music performance alone certainly did not directly cause Burger King to concede to farmworkers' demands, it was a crucial component of CIW's cultural repertoire that reinforced collective identity and solidarity among farmworkers and their allies, attracted bystanders in the public sphere, and effectively communicated a stark contrast between a community celebrating hard-work and human dignity and a greedy corporation that exploits human beings for profit. The "fall" of Burger King marked a pivotal moment in the Campaign for Fair Food, as it demonstrated to other major buyers in the fast food and food service industries the public relations disaster that could unfold if they refused to concede to CIW's demands for human rights protections and increased pay for the farmworkers who pick their tomatoes. By the end of 2008, Whole Foods and Subway – the largest fast-food purchaser of Florida tomatoes – had signed the Fair Food Agreement with little resistance. And by early 2010, Bon Appétit Management Co., Compass, Aramark, and Sodexo, national and multinational corporate leaders in the food service industry, had also signed on in response to relatively small-scale campus mobilizing by members of the Student Farmworker Alliance.

Following what seemed to be a domino effect of victories, the Campaign for Fair Food began directing its attention to the supermarket industry in early 2010, making Florida-based Publix supermarkets its primary target. Unlike the campaigns against multinational fast food corporations, whose brand images were widely recognized, highly valuable, marketed to youth, and thus extremely vulnerable to student mobilizations and

strategic adaptations of their logos to represent farmworker exploitation, Publix was a local, Florida-based supermarket recognized only in the southeast, whose brand image was widely associated with charitable work and images of family.

The Publix campaign took on even greater significance in late 2010, when the Florida Tomato Growers Exchange (FTGE), a major tomato lobbying group representing 18 of Florida's largest tomato growers that had advocated against the CIW since the early 1990s, caved to growing pressure resulting from numerous high-profile slavery cases and signed an agreement with the CIW to extend components of CIW's Fair Food principles, which included a "strict code of conduct, a cooperative complaint resolution system, and a participatory health and safety program, and a worker-to-worker education process," to over 90% of Florida's tomato industry, thus leading to what became known as the "Fair Food Program" (Coalition of Immokalee Workers).[166]

With eleven[167] major corporate buyers on board and the cooperation of a vast majority of Florida growers, Publix's refusal to sign with the CIW posed a threat to these gains, as its business provided an alternative market through which growers could sell their tomatoes apart from the accountability mechanisms in place for fair farmworker treatment and pay in the Fair Food Program. To CIW's surprise, Publix would become one of the movement's most formidable adversaries in the decade-long history of the Campaign for Fair Food.

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[166] See reference Coalition of Immokalee Workers, Website, The Fair Food Program: A New Day in the Fields.

[167] Currently, eleven major corporate buyers are participating in CIW's Fair Food Program, including Trader Joe's, which signed with the CIW on February 9, 2012, and Chipotle Mexican Grill on October 4, 2012.

The Publix Campaign and Performing Solidarity: *Son Solidario*, Popular Theater, and Global Consciousness

At the time of this writing, Publix has refused to sign with the CIW, even after three years of mobilizing and multiple mass demonstrations, including the 25-mile Farmworker Freedom March in 2010, the Popular Theater Pageant in 2011, and its most recent action, a five-day Fast for Fair Food in 2012.[168] As in previous mass demonstrations in the Campaign for Fair Food, CIW organized ritualized performances – marked by the sounds of *son jarocho* and the staging of visual art and puppets – to bring together its farmworker and ally base and shame Publix in the public sphere. While these demonstrations have thus far failed to garner material concessions from Publix (success indicator #2), a topic which I explore in more detail in Chapter Seven, I demonstrate how the performance of *son jarocho* and popular theater during this era of the campaign was crucial in maintaining a cohesive farmworker and ally movement (success indicator #1), creating an alternative social movement community (success indicator #3), and enacting world culture and articulating a global consciousness.

2010 Farmworker Freedom March: *Son Solidario*, *Son Jarocho* Transformations, and the Maintenance of a Cohesive Movement

The Farmworker Freedom March was a three-day, 25-mile march from Tampa to Publix's headquarters in Lakeland, Florida, culminating in a rally and concert on Sunday, April 18. Marina Sáenz Luna, who was hired as a temporary staff member to coordinate the logistics of the action, explained how the Farmworker Freedom March was planned in

[168] While the Fast for Fair Food, held outside of Publix's headquarters in Lakeland, Florida in March 2012 was an important demonstration in CIW's campaign against Publix, I will not be focusing on this event in the interest of the temporal parameters of this project, which I set to end in March 2011.

part because the CIW knew that its music allies could animate and energize participants throughout the length of the march (Sáenz Luna 2012). By this time, *jaraneros* were also key allies in cities across the United States, so inviting *jaraneros* to attend the action not only provided much-needed musicians for the long march, it was also strategic in that their participation would energize and develop them as leaders in CIW's supermarket campaigns across the country. Thus, in preparations for the march, Marina "mapped out the country," locating *jaraneros* in different regions to invite to the Farmworker Freedom March, many of whom were either former members of *Son del Centro* or had been inspired to learn *son jarocho* through the group's performances at previous CIW actions or SFA *encuentros* (ibid.).

When the march set out from Tampa on the morning of Friday, April 16, three members from *Son del Centro*, seven members from *Son Armado* in Austin and other *jaraneros* from Texas, and two members from *Jarochicanos* in Chicago, and three other *jaraneros* from other various states met and formed a new group, *Son Solidario* [Song/Sound of Solidarity].[169] Composed of *son jarocho* groups throughout the United States, the new aggregate ensemble *Son Solidario* and its performance at the Farmworker Freedom March exemplify what ethnomusicologists have frequently noted: "musics are seldom stable in contexts of social change" (Stokes 1997, 17). Not only did *Son Solidario* represent the growth and spread of *son jarocho* that had in large part resulted from *Son*

[169] The three other *jaraneros* not directly affiliated with a *son jarocho* ensemble included Candelario who traveled from New Mexico, Aura from New York, and the author, from Atlanta. *Son del Centro* members included Roxana Guajardo, Natasha Noriega-Goodwin, and Salvador, *Son del Viento* and *Jarochicanos* members included Maya Fernández and Adrian, *Son Armado* members and other Texas *jaraneros* included Alexis Herrera, Peter Mendoza, Rodolfo Cortinas, John-Michael Torres, Marina Sáenz Luna, Roy, Dorian, and Berenice. Omar de la Riva, a member of *Son del Centro*, also came to the march, but as a photographer, not as a performing *jaranero*. For the purpose of documentation, I have included at least the first names of all participants of *Son Solidario*. Those with first and last names listed are those who consented to the use of their full names.

del Centro's performances with the CIW around the country for much of the previous decade, but the content of the music they played and their employment of two distinct movement performance codes, what I call the "street march" and "tradition on stage" styles, also revealed transformations in *son jarocho* that had developed in the context of public demonstrations and farmworker movement mobilization.

The first performance code that *Son Solidario* employed is what I define as the "street march" style, in which the *son jarocho* form is strategically used to increase mass participation and build feelings of solidarity among marchers. This performance code is not traditionally practiced in Veracruz; it was first developed by *Son del Centro* through experimentation in demonstrations with the CIW.

In the Farmworker Freedom March, the "street march" style was performed with *jaraneros* marching alongside participants or at the front of the march on the moving flatbed truck, and was played for extended periods of time to a steady marching tempo of approximately 90 beats per minute. Based on my ethnographic observations, this performance code features three types of musical forms: I) chord progressions and rhythms are developed independently of existing *son* repertoire in order to accompany chants, II) chords of traditional *sones* are selected to accompany chants, and III) traditional *sones* are performed with modified lyrics to express the movement's determination. All three types feature a simple chord structure that makes adapting to chants and improvising lyrics easier, allows for performances over extended periods of time, and encourages the participation of *jaraneros* of various skill levels. The three performance types are each captured in a field recording I made at the end of a 15-minute

improvisatory performance by *Son Solidario* at mile 17 of the march (refer to field recording in audio appendix).

Farmworker Freedom March Improvisation Selection
"Street March" Performance Code
Son Solidario

(Performance type I: Cm, G7 minor progression)
J-U-S-
J-U-S-T-I-C-E
Is what we want, is justice in Immokalee (repeat)

(Transition to performance type II: C, G7 major progression of traditional son, *El colás*)

Que queremos justicia! (repeat)	[Justice is what we want!]
Sí, se puede! (repeat)	[Yes, it can be done!]

(Transition to performance type III: traditional and adapted lyrics of *El colás*)

Colás colás y Nicolas	[Nicolas]
Lo mucho que te quiero	[How much I love you]
Y el mal pago que me das	[How badly you repay me]
Si quieres si puedes	[If you want, if you can]
Si no ya lo verás	[If not, you will see]
**Que ya somos un chingo*	[We are a lot now]
Y pronto seremos mas!	[But soon we will be more!]

*Improvised lyrics that express movement power, replacing lyrics of traditional son:

Con esos ojos negros	[With those black eyes]
Me miras y te vas	[You look at me and you leave]

The chord progression accompanying the "J-U-S-T-I-C-E" section was improvised specifically for the chant, alternating between only two chords – C minor and G7 – in an off-beat *cumbia* rhythm not characteristic of traditional *son jarocho*. The recording captures the tail end of the "J-U-S-T-I-C-E" section that had been played straight for nearly nine minutes and the techniques *jaraneros* used to maintain emotional intensity among participants: namely, transitioning to a new chord progression – C major

and G7 – and to performance type II. *Son del Centro* members of *Son Solidario* led the transition into the new chord progression and the on-beat rhythm of the traditional *son* "*El colás*" which the group had experimented with in the March on Burger King, further developed in marches in Santa Ana, and solidified as one of the *sones* most adaptable for marching contexts.[170] This section of performance type II over the chord progressins of "*El colás*" reinvigorated marchers and increased feelings of solidarity among farmworkers and allies through the collective singing of the simple chants in Spanish, "*Que queremos justicia*" and "*Sí se puede*!" The long improvisatory session ended in a transition into performance type III, with the traditional version of "*El colás*," but with lyrics adapted to intimidate and express the movement's determination against its adversary: "We are a lot now, but soon we will be more!"

In addition to music form, the "street march" performance code also includes behavioral norms surrounding music performance. Here, communal participation is central, such that anyone with a *jarana*, regardless of skill level, is encouraged to participate. Goofing around – such as the "ay!" inserted in the "sí se puede" chant section in the previous example – and jumping in with new chants is widely practiced and acceptable. Also, musical experimentation during the "street march" style is extremely common and encouraged, as it allows the ensemble to adapt quickly and accompany new chants as they erupt among marchers. In the case of the Farmworker Freedom March, where the Puerto Rican *bomba* and *plena* ensemble *La Justicia*[171] – an aggregate group

[170] A recording of *Son del Centro* made in August 2010 at *El Centro Cultural de México* demonstrates how the ensemble improvises chants over "*El colás*" chord structure (performance type II) and adapts "*El colás*" lyrics (performance type III) for nearly 8 minutes. Refer to audio appendix.

[171] *La Justicia* was brought together by Hector Luis Rivera Ortíz, a performer at the 2007 Concert for Fair Food and future husband of Melody Gonzalez, after hearing how *son jarocho* groups from around the U.S. were going to be joining together for the march.

modeled after *Son Solidario* and brought together by Hector Luis Rivera, including *Buya* from Chicago, *Atabey* from Los Angeles, and several individual musicians from Puerto Rico – were present, this also led to early experimental attempts to combine elements of *son jarocho* "street march" styles with *bomba/plena*. Specifically, this included *Son Solidario* singers improvising chants over *Grupo Justicia's* rhythmic *plena* form performed on *panderetas* (hand drums), and sharing instruments, as when Hector of *Grupo Justicia* shared the *güiro*, or scrape gourd, with Adrian of *Son Solidario* to perform at this moment in the march.

Son Solidario employed this "street march" performance code throughout the first two days of the march. The group rarely took breaks, performing even during the scheduled rest stops to entertain marchers as they refilled their water bottles and rested their tired feet. The few moments when members of *Son Solidario* were not actively playing their *jaranas*, they were singing along to *La Justicia* or to the recorded music being played over the loudspeakers on the flatbed truck at the front of the march (see visual appendix 6.25). Directly behind them was a line of marchers that stretched a half-mile long, led by farmworkers carrying the emblematic CIW banner (see visual appendix 6.26).

On the flatbed truck, several of *Radio Conciencia's* farmworker deejays worked the music system, taking requests and playing recorded music associated with past Latin American, Caribbean, and Chicano social movements over the loudspeakers from the CIW laptop and marchers' iPods.[172] Unlike the march in Miami, where the entire length

[172] The large majority of songs played came from albums such as "Rolas de Aztlán: Songs of the Chicano Movement," Bob Marley and the Wailers' "Legend," and the Chilean song "El Pueblo Unido Jamás Será Vencido" from Inti-Illimani's "Viva Italia."

of the demonstration was in a densely populated urban environment, the Farmworker Freedom March had long, hot stretches in rural areas with very few bystanders, which made maintaining marchers' spirits and energy a critical concern. However, by inviting and employing *Son Solidario* and *La Justicia*, and by using the skills of *Radio Conciencia* deejays, the CIW was able to keep farmworkers and allies visibly animated throughout the length of the march. And similar to Miami, the march's disruption of rural and urban soundscapes along the march route helped attract and inform bystanders, as is evidenced by people climbing on the roofs of their trailer houses in order to watch the march after first hearing it pass by (see visual appendix 6.27).

At the end of the Day Two, after having covered a total of 21 miles, the march finally arrived outside Publix's headquarters at the outskirts of Lakeland, just in time to host CIW's highly ritualized rally of speakers and music performances that would both be witnessed by Publix corporate employees as they left work and documented by the CIW for its website coverage. The event included speeches by several religious leaders and was to feature a festive performance by *Son Solidario*. Unlike previous settings throughout the march, *Son Solidario* faced the audience in a stage format and played the *son*, "*El pajaro cú*," in the traditional *copla* lyrical form. As a representative of the CIW, Damara Luce had asked *Son Solidario* to perform something that would "animate people and lift their spirits" at the end of the day's march. For many in the audience, and to many of the *jaraneros* themselves, the performance failed to do so. Omar de la Riva, a *jaranero* who was photographing the event and was in the audience at the time, described his memory of the performance:

> I remember standing there thinking, "Whoa, this is kind of a big downer." You know, it should have been people who really knew how to play to lift people's

> spirits, because all day, it was music, music, music, lifting you and lifting you, and then we got to the goal, everybody's super excited, and the music was a big let-down.
>
> I see this with a lot of *son jarocho* groups – people are really pushy and feel like they have to play, and it has to be done this way, even though it's a really convoluted way to try and keep the tradition alive. Quote, unquote, keep the tradition alive, as in "everyone should sing!" But that wasn't the time or place to be doing that, you know, people were tired, people wanted to sit down and have a good time and listen to music. And the music, I think, was a big, big let-down because people that were singing shouldn't have been singing. I could tell people were inexperienced and didn't know the verses too well, and if you don't sing with confidence its totally going to show and it's going to be a big let-down.
>
> I think a lot of these groups say "we know about [*son jarocho*] culture, we try to keep all those traditions alive," but they really don't. For example, in Veracruz, you would never sing ahead of a *viejo*, an old musician, right? It's always that they go first and if you both sing at the same time, you're going to back down because he's the one that commands that respect. Somehow, when this music made its way through the U.S., somehow that got transformed into "This is a communal music, and everybody can sing, and everybody can partake," and that's cool, but that's a very clear example of where that rule shouldn't apply, and the real tradition would. So the real tradition would say, "you have to back down to let the people with a lot of experience sing first," which would have been perfect for this event – people were tired, they wanted to hear some nice music – people that really should have been playing were way in the back, not near the microphones, it didn't make any sense. But the whole, "It's communal and everyone can sing, and everybody has a voice," you know, that won that day, and the music didn't come out that good.
>
> During the march, it doesn't really matter – you're just playing and are there to be a part of the march. So I think the march is one of the few times where it should be that other type of thinking, that communal kind of way, where if you want to belt out a verso, or if you're off key, no one's going to care. (de la Riva 2010)

Roxana Guajardo, one of the members of *Son del Centro* who participated in *Son Solidario*, described her perspective of the performance in a similar way:

> I was concerned about the quality of the *son*, I was scared we were taking it lightly. I don't think [the other members of *Son Solidario*] were disrespectful people, because maybe they had known it in a certain context, but maybe they had forgotten about where it came from originally. So I was a little concerned, because of the fact that we weren't sounding very good – and I felt that responsibility towards *son jarocho*, the culture and the people behind it. And I was concerned that maybe these people don't know about it, so to them, they weren't doing anything wrong, but then who taught them? They should have emphasized the

> responsibility of playing *son jarocho*. I remember some others being like, "Well, did *Son del Centro* start this trend? Did we teach them?" It was great that so many people were playing, and it was awesome because they were cool people, but also, did we start something where it just caught on too fast? It wasn't solid and it wasn't spreading in a solid, responsible way – an energetic way, definitely, but also maybe superficial. They were all for it, but I thought, "Okay, if you're not very good then you should back up a little bit."
>
> I felt like, nah, we can't be doing this. One, we were invited to play good quality music. But two, this is what people think is *son jarocho*. We're performing under the flag of *son jarocho*. This is not *son jarocho*, this stinks. We shouldn't say its *son jarocho*. (Guajardo 2010)

These testimonies of *Son Solidario's* sub-par performance at the Publix headquarters – in which less experienced vocalists stepped out to sing in front of the more experienced *jaraneros,* sometimes forgetting the lyrics of traditional versos or singing out of tune – shed light on some important relationships between music and the movement, and that of *son jarocho* specifically. First, in evoking and orchestrating emotional responses from participants, such as heightened states of collective effervescence that builds feelings of solidarity – music quality matters. Unlike *Son del Centro's* rehearsed stage performances at previous CIW events, *Son Solidario's* unrehearsed performance and the poor music quality that resulted had a visibly negative effect on participants' emotional response. The clapping, dancing, and exuberant applause that typically accompanied previous *Son del Centro* performances was markedly diminished not because participants cared or supported *Son Solidario* any less, but rather because the sound quality had disrupted participants' expectations and broke from the script of the ritualized rally.

Second, in understanding music form and function in social movements, context matters. *Son Solidario* was performing on stage in a style that was meant for the streets – goofing around and allowing anyone to sing, regardless of skill level, usually to

encourage mass participation – when the audience was expecting them to give a performance representing who they are as an ally group, the *son jarocho* community, and by extension "who we are" as an entire social movement community having that ally group represented. In other words, some members of *Son Solidario* employed the behavioral norms of the "street marching" style in a context where a different performance code, or what I call the "tradition on stage" style, was in play.

This "tradition on stage" movement performance code is characterized, above all, by recognition on the part of performers that they are representing the *son jarocho* music and cultural tradition. This was demonstrated clearly by Roxana when she said, "I felt that responsibility towards *son jarocho*, the culture and the people behind it" (Guajardo 2010). Musically, the performance code necessitates that *jaraneros* follow the lyrical structure and established chord progressions and strumming patterns of traditional *sones*, as they are performed in Veracruz. Lyrics are often adapted to express movement themes, but they are improvised in a manner consistent with the traditional *son jarocho* improvisational rules: they are adapted to fit into the existing rhythmic and harmonic structure of the *son*.

This is in stark contrast to the "street march" style, in which the rhythmic and harmonic structure is improvised to fit the movement's existing chants. Also in contrast to the "street march" style is the high musical quality expected in the "tradition on stage" style, which is related to the intended function of each: the "street march" music is meant to increase participation and attract bystanders, the "tradition on stage" music is meant to represent the *son jarocho* tradition and signal the presence of *son jarocho* allies within the larger social movement community. The "tradition on stage" code is most commonly

enacted in the context of stage performances in highly ritualized rallies, when the movement presents its collective identity and articulates its consciousness, both to itself and to the larger world.

Acknowledging that they had violated the "tradition on stage" performance code by failing to perform at the level of artistic quality they felt was required for representing the *son jarocho* tradition, *Son Solidario* took a very different approach in preparing for their next stage performance, which was scheduled to take place at the rally the following afternoon after the final four miles of the march and tours through CIW's newly created Modern Day Slavery Museum. Over the next twenty-four hours, *Son Solidario* planned out its entire set – choosing which *sones* they were going to play and who would sing each verse, and placing poetic *decimas*[173] as transitions between each *son* – and rehearsed it repeatedly (see visual appendix 6.28). Members of *Son del Centro*, who were or had been *son jarocho* teachers at the *Centro* in Santa Ana, stepped up and helped teach and coordinate the new ensemble, and bring out each *jaranero's* strengths.

> It was a beautiful testament to what was happening with *son* in the U.S. in that we were able to bring together people who had never met each other. I was a common link between all these folks, but some folks had never been in the same space together, let alone play together. There was so much solidarity, so much patience, a lot of teaching going on, a lot of exchanges, just a lot of love and respect for each other, not only as musicians, but as allies and people struggling in our own communities. (Sáenz Luna 2012)

After a rainy four-mile march through downtown Lakeland that marked the end of the Farmworker Freedom March, the rally, CIW's fully scripted movement ritual, commenced as farmworkers, ally speakers, and musicians took the stage. Farmworkers

[173] *Decimas* are poetic verses that are ten lines long, each line having seven or eight syllables, and feature a very structured rhyming pattern requiring lines 1-3-5 and 2-4 to rhyme. *Decimas* are widely practiced in traditional *son jarocho*, both in Mexico and the United States.

articulated a critical consciousness by describing abuse and slavery in the fields and naming Publix as complicit in that injustice, and expressed their gratitude for the solidarity of so many allies (see visual appendix 6.29). In part because of the growth of the women's group in Immokalee, and in part to counter Publix's family-friendly brand image, the women of the CIW and farmworkers' children took the stage for the first time to address a major demonstration. Doña Carmen read a statement on behalf of the women's group, which, she confessed to me, she had written on bathroom floors the last two nights of the march when her two sons were asleep (Carmen 2010):

> We are seeking justice for the pain in the present and the pain that generations before us have suffered. It is the cry of all those who have been victims of slavery or abuse at the hands of their employers that has given us voice and strength to walk for hours, with every one of you who walked with us, under the burning sun – all with the same hope of winning justice from Publix for the workers of Immokalee, Florida. (Carmen 2010, 2012)

Carmen's statement was accompanied by a testimony by Jewel Goodman, a 57-year old African American farmworker who had been enslaved for eight years by Ron Evans in Hastings, Florida. Mr. Evans was later prosecuted after the CIW helped uncover the slavery operation and turned the case over to federal authorities.

Following farmworkers' speeches, diverse ally speakers took the stage and articulated a global consciousness through a discourse of human rights and expressed solidarity with the movement by connecting their personal histories to the farmworker struggle. Dr. Carol Anderson, a historian and professor of African American Studies at Emory University, opened her speech by stating, "Hello, my name is Carol Anderson, and my great grandfather was a slave." She closed her speech, which traced the roots of modern slavery in Florida to chattel slavery, by declaring, "There can be no plausible

deniability for long-term documented human rights violations!" (Coalition of Immokalee Workers).[174]

The event closed with a concert featuring performances by farmworkers' longtime music allies, including Ken Brown, *Son Solidario*, and *La Justicia*. Far more than entertainment, music performance was the key ritual mechanism through which the CIW maintained a cohesive movement between farmworkers and their diverse allies. Specifically, these music performances,

1) Strengthened the movement's interethnic collective identity though a heightened a discourse and staging of diverse ethnic identities,

2) Articulated a global consciousness through human rights discourses and critiques of globalization, and

3) Expressed solidarity between farmworkers and musicians by historicizing music traditions and between all participants by generating emotional states of collective effervescence through group singing and dancing.

My interpretation of these performances is supported by the CIW, whose online coverage of the event describes the significance of music at the rally as follows:

> As the rally neared its end, the emotional pitch shifted. The intense sharing of personal histories and reflections gave way to music, which got the marchers off their seats and onto their feet again. But more than that, the musical lineup reflected the incredible diversity, and unity, of the marchers themselves. (Coalition of Immokalee Workers, ibid.)

That the "musical lineup reflected … incredible diversity" was not an accident (ibid.). The CIW sought to promote and reinforce an interethnic collective identity among its allies by staging performances by diverse musicians. These musicians included an interracial gospel choir from Lakeland that sang "Amazing Grace," a spoken-word

[174] See reference Coalition of Immokalee Workers, Day Three Update Farmworker Freedom March. Dr. Anderson was followed by Kerry Kennedy, representing the Robert F. Kennedy Center for Justice and Human Rights, and Jamaican-Canadian actress Gloria Reuben.

performance by African-American minister Ken Brown, sets by the Mexican *son jarocho* ensemble *Son Solidario* and the Puerto Rican *bomba* ensemble *La Justicia*, and even an R&B singer, Al Smith, who performed Motown classics like "What's Going On" by Marvin Gaye. CIW intentionally invited these music groups, half who performed in Spanish and half who performed in English, not only to "reflect" diversity, but also to help form a collective identity by enabling individuals to identify with a familiar music and feel represented and valued in the larger group. This was very similar to CIW's staging of diverse music groups and genres at fiestas in Immokalee – such as *duranguense*, *norteño*, and *Mayan rock* – that encouraged interethnic identity formation among farmworkers.

Again, rather than promoting unity amidst diversity through a negation of difference, difference and distinctiveness were emphasized. This was evident in the rally's staging and music performances, especially in comparison to the street marching performances. Whereas during the march, musicians in *Son Solidario* and *La Justicia*, for example, wore the same clothes, sang each others' songs, and occupied the same performance space, at the rally, where "tradition on stage" performance codes were at play, members of the different ensembles put on their respective tradition's attire, sang only in their distinct ensembles, and occupied the stage at different times.

While the music ensembles at the rally represented different groups of allies and helped form a collective identity within the ally arm of the movement, the content of their music performances contributed to collective identity formation between ally and farmworker communities. Consider the lyrics of Ken Brown's spoken word performance (refer to audio appendix):

"Poem for the Farmworker Freedom March"
Ken Brown
Performed at the Farmworker Freedom March Rally in Lakeland, Florida
April 18, 2010

You say tomato, I say tomato
Corporations say the same old bullshit bravado
Creating a mix of publicity and tricks
With which to confuse the public's wits
Concealing the public's knowledge of the battering and the sticks.
Making a profit off the public's ignorance is how they get their kicks!
Tricking the public into hopping on over to where shopping is a pleasure –
As long as you don't measure the blood, sweat, and tears
Harvested for this treasure that supports executive leisure

But, collectively, the workers grow stronger like a fine wine!
We follow their leadership, ally with them, knowing that over time
Justice will prevail in the fields
And human rights will be deemed more important than what a crop yields.
They remain strong, and even in the midst of tears they sing freedom songs.[175]
So, with them, we continue the Struggle. Though the road may be long,
Integrity is ours, and to us the victory belongs!

Kultivate, mwen v'swete fos te a pou ou!
Kultivate, mwen v'swete fos te a pou ou!
Trabajadores, que la fuerza de la tierra es suyo!
Trabajadores, que la fuerza de la tierra es suyo!
Farmworkers, may the strength of the earth be yours!
Farmworkers, may the strength of the earth be yours!
CIW, may the strength of the earth be yours!
CIW, may the strength of the earth be yours!
CIW, may the strength of the earth be yours!

(Selection of lyrics, see figure 6.3 in appendix for full lyrics)

This performance illustrates how music in public demonstrations is used to cultivate a collective identity between allies and farmworkers. First, the lyrics draw distinct boundaries between "corporations" who use publicity to make a profit off of exploitation and "farmworkers," and their allies who "follow their leadership," who have

[175] In the recording, Ken Brown accidentally performed "say freedom strong" instead of "sing freedom songs." This transcription is the written version he intended to perform.

"integrity." Second, the closing phrase performed in multiple languages demonstrates how the heightened articulation of ethnic difference to promote unity is widely practiced among both farmworkers and their allies. Even though Ken Brown's grammar and pronunciation of the Kreyòl and Spanish phrases were less than perfect,[176] his effort to honor the movement's ethnic diversity through music resonated deeply with the audience, rousing them to throw their hands in the air in applause.

The lyrics of this spoken-word performance – "justice will prevail in the fields, and human rights will be deemed more important than what a crop yields" – also points to how music at the rally was a means through which a global consciousness in the form of a universalized conception of "human rights" was articulated and made meaningful to participants. This articulation of global consciousness was also present in *Son Solidario's* performance. The set, performed in the "tradition on stage" performance code, featured *zapateado* dancing in traditional dress and well-rehearsed *sones*, including "*Guacamaya*," "*La caña*," and "*La bamba*," with *decimas* sung between each *son*. The emotional climax of the performance came after "*La caña*," when Roxana Guajardo recited a transitional verse as a prelude to the short performance of "J-U-S-T-I-C-E" that segued into to the final *son*, "*La bamba*." The verse was popularized by the group *Los Pajaros del Alba*, who often performs it in the closing of "*El toro zacamandú*" (*Los Pajaros del Alba* 2008).[177] *Son Solidario* members chose to perform the verse because they believed its themes effectively captured many elements of the farmworker struggle.

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[176] Grammatically, the Kreyòl phrase should be "Kiltivatè se fos latè" and the Spanish, "Que la fuerza de la tierra sea de ustedes."

[177] Often times, the writers of verses in *son jarocho* are difficult to confirm, as various singers often make adaptations to lyrics. Natasha Noriega-Goodwin and Roxana Guajardo, to the best of their knowledge, attribute parts of the verse to Zeren Zeferino and Sael Bernal from *son jarocho* ensembles in Veracruz.

Globalization Verse
By *Los Pajaros del Alba*
Performed by Roxana Guajardo of *Son Solidario*
Farmworker Freedom March Rally in Lakeland, Florida
April 18, 2010

Y que viva el desarollo	And long live development
Pero que sea sostenido	But may it be sustainable
*Y sobre todo mi gente**	And for all my people
Que sea muy bien compartido	That it may be well shared
Si hablan de globalizar	If you speak of globalization
Pasemos del dicho al hecho	Lets move from words to actions
Globalicen el derecho	Globalize the right
De vivir de trabajar	To live and work
De tener comida y techo	To have food and shelter

*Lyrics replaced by *Son Solidario*[178]

(Selection of lyrics)

Like the speakers before them, the music performances at the rally articulated a global consciousness. But in contrast to the speeches, the demands for "human rights" or to "globalize the right to live and work, to have food and shelter" in song produced a more emotionally intensified response from the audience. Moreover, words imbedded in song and within a cultural tradition allowed them to be repeated, sung collectively, and embodied through the ritual of performance. As such, the musical articulation of human rights, and the globalization of economic and social rights in particular, was a crucial means through which a global consciousness was made meaningful to movement participants.

Son Solidario's performance in the "tradition on stage" style also demonstrated the ways the ensemble used music and language to negotiate the diversity of participants

[178] Roxana adjusted several lyrics to make the verse particularly fitting to the CIW, switching the word and "señores" [gentlemen] for "mi gente" [my people] to recognize the value of women in the movement. Earlier in the full lyrics of the verse, she also switched "piña" [pineapple] for "tomate" [tomato]. For full lyrics, refer to Los Pajaros del Alba 2008.

and build solidarity among them. For instance, the first two *sones* were performed in the traditional style from Veracruz, strictly following the *copla* lyrical form and established strumming pattern and chord progressions of each son. In the second part of the set, when Roxana sang the "globalization" verse written by *jaraneros* in Veracruz, she modified several lyrics to make them gender neutral and honor the contributions of women in the movement.

Until this point, the entire set had been sung in Spanish, which was important in expressing solidarity and communicating with a predominantly Spanish-speaking farmworker community, but it also excluded a large number of allies who only spoke English and could therefore not understand or participate fully in the performance. In breaking from traditional *son jarocho* and all other previous *Son del Centro* performances with the CIW, *Son Solidario* performed the English only "J-U-S-T-I-C-E" chant developed in the march on stage to improvised chords, thus signifying a major transformation in the "tradition on stage" style to encourage collective singing and participation of diverse allies. The set closed with the lively "*La bamba*," which, having been played by *Son del Centro* at every CIW event since the early days of the Taco Bell campaign, historicized the movement and renewed the solidarity that had been built between the farmworker and *son jarocho* communities over the past decade.

The performance of the *bomba* group *La Justicia* also expressed their solidarity with the farmworker struggle through practices of historicization. In mirroring *Son del Centro's* emphasis on *son jarocho's* Afro-Mexican roots and description of the tradition as being "derived from the struggle for freedom by enslaved people in Mexico," introductions to *La Justicia* similarly stressed *bomba's* roots in the history of slavery in

an effort to bridge the *bomba* community to the CIW and its struggle to eliminate modern day slavery in farm labor. In introducing *La Justicia*, Melody Gonzalez said:

> This group by the name of "*La Justicia*" ("Justice"), that's bringing us a little Puerto Rican *bomba* and *plena*, which has many roots, right, music of slavery… the slaves sang and danced, and they felt free to tell their stories as well. Music has always been very important for the struggle, it's what gives us strength, what allows us to tell our stories, tell our stories of sorrow, and tell our stories of joy.[179]

The lyrics of *La Justicia's* song "*Dieciocho de abril*" further historicized the movement by marking the date of the Farmworker Freedom March and aligning it within the trajectory of broader struggles for human liberation from slavery (Rivera 2010). The emotions that were generated by the recognition that marchers were partaking in a long history of freedom struggles, and were thereby making history themselves, strengthened feelings of solidarity among the participants (see visual appendix 6.30, refer to audio appendix).

Dieciocho de abril [Eighteenth of April]
Hector Luis Rivera and *La Justicia*
Performed at the Farmworker Freedom March Rally in Lakeland, Florida
April 18, 2010

(Introduction *plena*)

Dieciocho de Abril, día de trabajadores	April eighteenth, workers' day
Vamos a luchar contra de esos abusadores	We are going to fight against these exploiters

(*Bomba* in *holandés* duple meter)

Dieciocho de Abril, marcha de trabajadores	April eighteenth, workers' march
Vamos a luchar contra de esos abusadores	We are going to fight against these exploiters
Estamos en la lucha por salarios mejores	We are in the struggle for better wages
Vamos a ganar contra de esos abusadores	We are going to win against those exploiters

[179] Transcription and translation of field recording, April 18, 2010.

(Selection of lyrics)

Together, these examples clearly show how music performances at the Farmworker Freedom March closing rally contributed to the maintenance of collective identity, consciousness, and solidarity of the movement, both among diverse allies and between allies and farmworkers. They also provide a valuable comparison to radio broadcasts and music performances in Immokalee.

Like music practices in Immokalee, public demonstrations such as the Farmworker Freedom March rally featured the diverse and distinct music traditions reflective of the identities of participants present and a heightened articulation of ethnic identity through the use of multiple languages, rather than a negation of difference, to promote and reinforce an interethnic collective identity. In contrast to *Radio Conciencia's* music broadcasts in Immokalee, in which the lyrics of the most played and requested songs increased farmworkers' recognition of a shared experience of migration but did not express indicators of Piven and Cloward's (1979) three "necessary cognitions" of mobilization, the lyrics of the songs performed at the rally identify an injustice, assert rights, and express a sense of political efficacy.

This is significant because it indicates that within the same movement, the content of music changes according to different contexts and needs of mobilization. The songs on *Radio Conciencia* overwhelmingly expressed themes of loneliness and nostalgia, which not only reflected the feelings of immigrant (predominantly single) workers, but also helped lay the foundations of a cohesive group among virtual strangers by enabling workers to recognize their shared experiences of migration. Elements of the three necessary cognitions were not present in music lyrics, but were found in announcements

and accompanying discourse that encouraged workers to come to the safe space of the community center where they could later develop a deeper consciousness through CIW's participatory popular education methods. In contrast, music lyrics in public demonstrations often explicitly named the source of injustice, asserted rights, and expressed a belief that they would "win," which made the elements of necessary cognition accessible to allies and communicated movement frames in the public sphere.

Lastly, in reflecting the festive quality of music performed at CIW's outdoor annual fiestas, the sounds of celebratory music and dancing rhythms of music in CIW's demonstrations – those of *bomba* and *son jarocho* in particular – generated states of collective effervescence among musicians, farmworkers, and ally participants that increased their feelings of solidarity with one another.

While the music performances throughout the Farmworker Freedom March contributed to the successful maintenance of the internal cohesion of movement participants, the demonstration itself failed to generate sufficient pressure to persuade Publix to sign the Fair Food Agreement. However, like they had done throughout the Taco Bell campaign, the CIW celebrated its impending victory with song and dance, and vowed to confront Publix again the following year. When CIW called its next major demonstration against Publix – the "Do the Right Thing" Theater Pageant in March 2011 – new and returning members of *Son Solidario* reunited in Tampa to sing beside farmworkers as they took on one of the most stubborn adversaries in the Campaign for Fair Food.

2011 Publix "Do the Right Thing" Theater Pageant

Like many of the previous mass demonstrations in the Campaign for Fair Food, the Do the Right Thing action was organized to bring together and maintain CIW's diverse ally community and publicly shame Publix in an effort to win material concessions through the Fair Food Agreement. However, in breaking from CIW's previous rally models of alternating speeches and music performances, the entire Do the Right Thing action was instead a mass theater pageant filled with music, totems, and props, in which each one of the thousand participants had a scripted role. While the theater pageant performance ultimately failed to achieve material gains from Publix (success indicator #2, as of this writing), I argue that music and popular theater successfully developed a global consciousness and solidarity among farmworkers and their diverse allies (success indicator #1) and enabled participants to enact their desired social movement community and their aspirations of what "another world" could be (success indicator #3), allowing the community to sustain itself even amidst perceived moments of movement stagnation.

In preparing for the action, the CIW reached out to longtime allies in its transcultural advocacy network: David Solnit and the members of *Son Solidario*. In January, two months prior to the action, David flew to Immokalee to brainstorm with workers about what the action would entail. What they finally decided on for the Tampa action was different from anything they had ever done before:

> … I think I proposed it because we were going to do a little pageant as a piece of the rally. I was like, "let's not have a rally – let's have the whole thing be a pageant." And it was actually pretty significant that they said yes. Because a rally is a traditional form of "that's what you do when you protest." I mean so it was sort of a rally, but the entire thing was a theater pageant really. And we had speakers from labor and community and students/youth and faith come up. But

> that was very significant that the whole logic of the afternoon was a pageant and not a rally – a theater logic…
>
> The core ideas came out of a brainstorm with the farmworkers, so I guess I saw my role as trying to take the ideas from the brainstorm and figure out how we would make them, and how to put them together into a participatory story. And also make lots of stuff so we can involve lots of people…
>
> The pageant – the core idea came out of the PR flack for Publix famously stated, "If there are atrocities in the fields, it's not our business."[180] And sort of the brainstorm we really teased out, that had the most resonance was, okay, they say the atrocities aren't their business. Well let's show them the atrocities, so we actually said, let's make puppets of the atrocities… So we articulated the four atrocities, and then we brainstormed the four things we wanted that were the flip. That's where the idea of all these two-sided puppets, and that created the logic of the pageant, which was, how do we transform these atrocities into the things we want in the world? (Solnit 2012)

Using Publix's own words against them – that "atrocities" aren't the company's "business" – David and members of the CIW thus set out to create a popular theater pageant that would dramatize atrocities in the fields, shame Publix, actively involve hundreds of participants, and perhaps most importantly, present "the things we want in the world" (ibid.).

Planning and pulling off a mass popular theater performance was no easy task, and farmworkers didn't waste a moment in their preparations. In January, under the guidance of David, who demonstrated artistic and carpentry tasks by example, several farmworker volunteers and I gathered in the backyard of the CIW community center and got to work making the puppets. An older farmworker, Alberto, and I were entrusted with making sand molds for the puppets' large hands and faces, while others helped build the puppets' frames and the cloth picket banners (see visual appendix 6.31, 6.32). David Solnit, along with artist Mona Caron (who would later paint the intricate murals on the

[180] Following a CIW solidarity picket at a Publix store in Daphne, Alabama, Publix's Media and Community Relations Manager, Dwaine Stevens, told a reporter of the Baldwin County News, "We don't have any plans to sit down with the CIW… If there are some atrocities going on, it's not our business. Maybe it's something the government should get involved with." See Baldwin County News 2010.

bodies of the puppets), modeled the puppets and banners after those they had made in collaboration with local movement communities in Cochabamba, Bolivia in April, 2010, in a public procession commemorating the 10-year anniversary of their victory in the so-called "Water War" against privatization of their own water systems (Solnit 2011). Comparing the puppetry and visual art of the CIW pageant with those of the Water Wars procession in Bolivia clearly demonstrates how collaborations within transcultural advocacy networks greatly influence CIW's movement culture and ritual demonstrations (see visual appendix 6.33, 6.34).

In the week prior to the theater pageant, while the CIW was traveling on a bus along the East Coast on the "Do the Right Thing Tour," David and Mona stayed in Immokalee to finish the puppets and props, keeping in touch with various CIW staff and event organizers by email. Based on hours of brainstorming and dialogues with CIW worker committees, David prepared and sent out a "storyboard" outlining the final design and script of the pageant, with instructions outlining the needed coordinators for each individual and group role and plans for the Friday night rehearsal (see visual appendix 6.35).

With the storyboard image in hand, Marina Sáenz Luna was delegated to work with members of *Son Solidario,*[181] who represented four different *son jarocho* ensembles around the country, to develop a set list for the theater performance as well as a teachable chorus that hundreds of diverse theater participants could sing. Throughout the daylong *plantones* (protest presence/picket) at Publix on Friday, Marina and Maya worked on

[181] Members included Pedro of *Son del Centro* (Santa Ana, CA), Jorge and Esme (former members of *Son del Centro*) of *Son Mudanza* (Madison, WI), Marina and John-Michael (Rio Grande Valley, TX), Alexis, Peter, and Joanna of *Son Armado* (Austin, TX), Maya and Adrian of *Jarochicanos* (Chicago, IL), and for the first time, a member of the CIW, Rolando, who had been taught how to play earlier that day.

developing a chorus line (Sáenz Luna 2012). Inspired by the image of sun-shaped picket signs and crowns and the significance of the Florida Tomato Growers Exchange's agreement with the CIW several months before, which CIW often described as "marking a new day in Florida agriculture," they developed lyrics in both English and Spanish over a simple repeating Gm-D7 (i-V7) chord progression: "It's a new dawn, it's a new day/*Ya mero llega, el amanecer*."

Later that night, at the big dress rehearsal in a gymnasium, David and Mona debuted the beautiful 14-foot puppets and delivered all the art, banners, flags, crowns, and other props that had been made by CIW members and volunteers over two months. Everyone present was introduced to the theater script and given precise staging directions for their respective roles – as workers, narrators, puppet bearers, coordinators of the faith, fair food, community, or student groups, children, and musicians. During this time, Marina and Maya taught the chorus to their fellow *jaraneros* and agreed on a set list to coordinate with the scenes of the pageant. Over the next two hours, which were filled with plenty of jokes and laughter, the CIW and their allies rehearsed and walked through the pageant script several times (see visual appendix 6.36, 6.37). They went to bed feeling well prepared for the performance the following day.

The action the next day was composed of three marches of various lengths – 1.5, 2.5, and 6 miles – that started at three different Publix stores and converged at the Publix on South Dale Mabry Highway, where the major demonstration and pageant took place. I walked the 1.5-mile march beside *Son Solidario*, who employed the "street march" performance code the length of the march. In an audio recording made in the field, which included a small picket, a march to the central Publix, and a picket with the other two

converging marchers, I captured an improvisatory performance by *Son Solidario* that lasted 59 minutes without stopping. Throughout this performance, *Son Solidario* members primarily employed music "form I" of the "street march" style, in which they developed chord progressions to accompany chants or improvised lyrics. A short clip from this recording captures how a simple C-G7 (I-V) chord progression in a walking rhythm was used to aid singers in improvising lyrics and quickly changing between chants (audio appendix). As the three marches converged, *Son Solidario* took the "stage" of the flatbed truck and introduced the theater pageant with two *sones* in the "tradition on stage" style.

The group's intent to "honor tradition" is evident in Marina's explanation of how they chose which *sones* would open the pageant:

> We started with "*Siquisirí*," because we always do, and that's traditional. So that for us I think, playing in the States, it was trying to remember as much as possible how to honor the tradition. Like elders in Veracruz, every fandango I've ever been to, "*Siquisirí*" was used at the very beginning of a fandango, to revive a fandango… to kind of bring everybody back in – we tried to honor that. (Sáenz Luna 2012)

Siquisirí was followed by "*Luna negra*," [Black Moon] the lyrics of which pay respects to the experience of Afro-Mexicans in Veracruz. In the "tradition on stage" style, dancers in traditional dress performed the rhythmic *zapateado* dance form on the *tarima*, which had been custom built for them by David Solnit (see visual appendix 6.38). The introduction to the pageant closed with a hip-hop performance by *Olmeca*, who, like members of *Son del Centro*, had performed at CIW's 2003 Truth Tour rally outside of Taco Bell's headquarters.

In the "prologue" to the first scene, farmworker staff Nely Rodriguez and Lucas Benitez addressed the crowd. Nelly thanked all of the allies and stressed the importance

of allies acting in solidarity with farmworkers in the history and success of the Campaign for Fair Food. Lucas opened his rousing statement by pointing out the hypocrisy of the motto of Publix's founder George Jenkins – "Don't let making a profit stand in the way of doing the right thing" – and Publix's refusal to work with the CIW to improve farmworker wages and working conditions. He reflected on the CIW's recent bus tour of Atlanta with former SNCC member Charles Black, who shared with the CIW how the Civil Rights Movement was just as much about liberating whites from the burden of trying to continue to uphold oppression as it was about liberating blacks. Lucas then historicized the farmworker movement and connected it to the legacy of the Civil Rights Movement by stating that CIW's struggle was not only about liberating farmworkers, but also about liberating corporations like Publix from their own greed.

> The conditions in the fields of Florida continue to be bad wages, sexual harassment, abuse, but the sun is beginning to rise, a new day is dawning in agriculture in the United States and in Florida. But Publix is trying to block the sun and stop that new day from dawning. We, the workers, will not allow a company to stop us just because of greed! Just as people raised themselves to liberate themselves and struggle for their civil rights, today we are rising together and we are going to liberate ourselves and liberate this corporation from their own greed![182]

The theater pageant that followed was a highly ritualized performance with a well-rehearsed script, a musical score and collective singing that signaled identities and orchestrated emotions, and totemic emblems and props that communicated collective representations to a public audience at the same time as they reified the group itself.[183] Embedded in the music, the emblems, and participant testimonies was a discourse of human rights, which was used to unite allies' diverse struggles into a common cause and

[182] Transcribed from the field recording. All following un-cited block quotations are from the field recording made at the Do the Right Thing Theater Pageant, March 5, 2011.
[183] The field recording from the entire pageant is available in the audio appendix. See also visual appendix for photographs of the pageant.

connect the movement to other freedom struggles around the globe. The pageant was a performance of solidarity, one that was rooted in CIW's tradition of farmworker popular theater developed through transcultural collaborations with *Sna Jtz'ibajom* in the early 1990s, and revived through collaborations with artists David Solnit and Mona Caron to become popular theater with a community of allies. Through the ritual of performance, globalized ideals legitimated in world culture – above all human rights – were enacted and made meaningful to participants. Moreover, the collective representations that communicated solidarity and participants' visions of what they wanted in the world tended a "reality to the group" such that they were not merely representing – they were "effectively lived" (Bellah 2005, 190).

After *Son Solidario* taught the audience the chorus, "It's a new dawn, it's a new day/*Ya mero llega, el amanecer*" (refer to audio appendix), Gerardo Reyes Chávez, as narrator, and Melody Gonzalez, as translator, opened the theater with the statement:

> This is popular theater, participatory theater, where you are not only spectators, but rather, you are also actors, part of this cooperative, democratic process to analyze oppression and power and explore collective solutions. You are part of our history, so you are all a part of this pageant and theater! In this pageant and theater is our history, our struggle, the response from Publix to date, and the change and victory to come that we know are only a matter of time. Enter farmworkers!

Scene one, "atrocities" began. Farmworkers processed down the center isle carrying red tomato buckets and picket signs shaped as tomato-filled buckets (see visual appendix 6.39). As they walked, their backs bent from hard labor, the crowd cheered loudly and *Son Solidario* played several verses from the traditional son "*El presidente*," with lyrics that asserted farmworkers' human rights and targeted the "president" of Publix.

"*El presidente*"
Performed by *Son Solidario*
Do the Right Thing Theater Pageant, March 5, 2011

Señor Presidente	Mr. President
Yo vengo a decir	I come to tell you
Derechos humanos	I've come to claim
Vengo a conseguir	My human rights
Me gusta la vida	I love life
Me gusta trabajo	I love work
En frente de Publix	In the face of Publix
Yo no me rebajo	I won't back down

(Selected lyrics)

When all of the workers had arrived on stage, *Son Solidario* switched from the upbeat "*El presidente*" to the minor chord progressions of "*La caña*" as designated workers described "atrocities" in the fields. As they described each atrocity – abuse, poverty, slavery, and sexual harassment – the puppet bearing the title (in Spanish and English) and painted image of each respective atrocity was carried on stage. At the end, four puppets of atrocities were lined up in front of a vertical banner with the image of a faceless Publix executive painted on the front, with the word bubble saying, "If there are atrocities going on, it's not our business" at its side (see visual appendix 6.40).

Scene two, "hope," commenced with the narrator exclaiming, "But for the first time in our history there is hope on the horizon, with our Campaign for Fair Food, our vision of humane working conditions and fair wages is beginning to become a reality!" Everyone looked up as a sun began to emerge from behind the faceless Publix executive banner. The narrator then declared, "struggle," signifying the opening of scene three, and continued:

> But these historic changes are being threatened by one giant who would push the sun back down and throw us back into darkness. Publix claims that if there are

> atrocities going on, it is none of their business. But we are not alone! And like we have been for many years now, we are joined by our allies who represent the thousands of allies from different sectors from all over the country, with our voices united our struggle continues!

At the moment the narrator ended, *Son Solidario* concluded the accompanying tune of "*La caña*" and began the Gm-D7 (i-V7) chord progression of the "New Dawn" chorus they had developed for the pageant, which signaled the first group of allies to process down the aisle. Behind a white sign that said "faith," a dozen faith allies entered on stage and gave statements explaining why they stand in solidarity with farmworkers. As they finished, one of the "atrocity" puppets, "sexual harassment," flipped to its opposite side, "respect," symbolizing the transformation of one atrocity thanks to the solidarity of faith allies.

As faith allies exited, the narrator proclaimed, "Again we are not alone, our food justice allies!" Behind a green sign with "food justice" painted across it, various food justice allies – including small farmers, and food processing, restaurant, and supermarket workers from across the U.S. – processed down the aisle and took the stage, where they connected their struggles to that of the farmworkers in Immokalee. As the food justice allies exited the stage, the "slavery" puppet flipped to "freedom" and the narrator proclaimed, "Again, we are not alone, our community grassroots allies!" *Son Solidario* ended the "New Dawn" chorus.

Then, at the other side of the long center aisle, Veronica of the United Workers in Baltimore began a call-and-response song on a handheld megaphone as she led the "community" allies toward the stage. Walking behind a yellow sign with their ally name, Veronica sang, "Took away my human rights, who will stand with me and fight? Took away my dignity, who will stick and stay with me?" as members of *Son Solidario* and all

the pageant participants echoed in response. Luis, also of United Workers, addressed the crowd and gave a stirring statement that also emphasized human rights and connected the farmworker movement to "people all over the world":

> We are here to talk about solidarity. We are here to show our solidarity, just like all of you who marched today, that we're here together to bring about change. This world is going through many big changes, and we need to feel proud that we are a part of those changes. We see people all over the world fighting for human rights, people in Egypt, Libya, Wisconsin, Florida, and Maryland! Because people have said, "enough!" So here again we are showing our solidarity with the Coalition, and I want everyone to look that way towards Publix and say, do the right thing, do the right thing! All we're asking is for them to respect the human rights of farmworkers, is that too much to ask for? We are human beings and they make profit from human beings and they need to respect us as human beings! One more time, do the right thing, do the right thing!

As Luis ended, the "poverty" puppet turned around to reveal "fair wages," and the narrator, for the last time, said "But we are not alone, students and youth are with us!" Behind a red sign that read "Students and Youth," the group processed down to the stage chanting, "Ain't no power like the power of the people, 'cause the power of the people don't stop! Say what?" In closing the student statements, a young woman proclaimed:

> We are witnessing revolutions taking place throughout the entire world, from Egypt to Puerto Rico to right here in Tampa, Florida! Sí se puede, sí se puede! Human dignity and human rights can no longer be ignored! And we are proud to be a part of this incredible struggle with all of you here today! Long live youth, long live the workers! *¿Coalición? ¡Presente! ¿Coalición? ¡Presente!*

As the final atrocity puppet "abuse" was flipped to "dignity," signaling the transformation of all the atrocities into achievements, *Son Solidario* and the entire crowd began singing the "New Dawn" chorus louder than ever, and started changing "Do the right thing! Do the right thing!" A while male actor portraying a Publix executive came on stage, and caving to the pressure of farmworkers and their allies, said, "I will do the right thing! I will never let making a profit get in the way of doing the right thing!"

Suddenly, the banner of the faceless executive fell to the ground and was replaced with a single shining sun (see visual appendix 6.41). The narrator proclaimed, "We know that this victory that we can already visualize and taste is not a matter of if we're going to win, but when we're going to win!"

Son Solidario put on their sun victory crowns and broke out into a joyous "*La bamba*" as dozens of farmworkers' and allies' children wearing the same crowns ran down the isle to the stage – and some even had the courage to lead a couple chants (see visual appendix 6.42). The thousand theater participants began waving "victory" flags and dancing in celebration. And, in a variation of the call and response sung years before at the Burger King march, *Son Solidario* improvised over the "*La bamba*" chords:

"*La bamba*"
Improved Call-and-Response Chant
Performed by *Son Solidario*
Do the Right Thing Theater Pageant, March 5, 2011

Singer: *Y salimos a la calle*	And we got out to the streets!
Crowd: *Sí señor!*[184]	Yes sir!
Singer: *A luchar por nuestros derechos*![185]	To fight for our rights!
Crowd: *Sí señor*!	Yes sir!
Singer: *Junto con los campesinos*!	Together with farmworkers!
Crowd: *Sí señor*!	Yes sir!
Singer: *Que vienen de Immokalee*!	Who come from Immokalee!
Crowd: *Sí señor*!	Yes sir!
Singer: *Adelante y venceremos*!	Onward and we will win!
Crowd: *Sí señor*!	Yes sir!

While this popular theater pageant did not lead to material concessions from Publix prior to or immediately following its performance (success indicator #2), the event should not be considered a failure. That the pageant was scheduled far from Publix's

[184] Changed from "sí se puede!" The "sí señor" call and response was adopted by *Son del Centro* after first hearing the call-and-response chant while participating in a South Central Farmers demonstration in Los Angeles in 2006.
[185] Changed from "land" to "rights" from the version performed at the March on Burger King in 2007.

headquarters and on a side street removed from bystanders points to the likelihood that confrontation and recruitment were not the primary goals of the action. Rather, the principal goal of the theater performance was to deepen commitment and maintain solidarity with movement allies, while also increasing pressure on Publix and generating public and social media interest through CIW's website coverage of the event. The pageant's totemic emblems – tomato buckets, *jaranas*, puppets, and group flags and colors – collective singing, and participatory processional form helped accomplish this goal by giving participants the feeling of partaking in a sacred ritual and generating visible and audible states of collective effervescence, which successfully strengthened bonds of social solidarity among them.

In addition to solidarity, the pageant performance also helped contribute to maintaining a cohesive movement with a collective identity and consciousness (success indicator #1). The articulation of ethnic difference in CIW's public demonstrations, which usually takes place through music performances, was stressed less at the event in large part because *Son Solidario* was the only group that performed on stage during the pageant. However, collective identity in ethnic diversity was maintained through a commitment to bilingualism in speech, art, and music. The event tended more to collective identity formation across a diversity of ally groups –faith, food justice, community, and student groups. Yet, in reflecting the means through which unity has been maintained across ethnic diversity in the movement, collective identity across ally groups was achieved through a heightened articulation of difference – signaled by separate processions and different signs, colors, musical chants – rather than an "all allies are the same" approach. Consciousness, measured by the articulation of the three

necessary cognitions, was also developed and maintained through the performance: the source of the injustice was clearly identified as Publix, repeated assertion of rights – human rights in particular – was present in music lyrics and ally discourse, and a belief in political efficacy was clearly demonstrated through the symbolic falling of the Publix executive, statements such as "change and victory… are only a matter of time," and the presence of "victory" flags and crowns at the closing celebration.

At the same time, the music, art, totems, and participatory script of the pageant enabled participants to successfully enact their desired social movement community (success indicator #3), showing that it is capable of resisting and transforming the dominant culture in the United States characterized by competition, consumption, individualism, racism, sexism, nationalism, and political disengagement. The theater performance allowed participants to physically experiment in cooperation, creativity, community, racial and gender equality, global analysis and solidarity, and active participation in group life. This ability of people to act out their desires for another world through participatory theater is stressed by David Solnit, who in an interview, shared with me:

> Even though [the CIW has] a million of incredibly articulate people who can give speeches until hell freezes over, the fact that they actually dropped the whole frame of a traditional Left rally and turned the whole thing into a participatory pageant was very significant. A demonstration is a theater performance – they just tend to be incredibly centralized. Ninety-nine percent of the people are spectators while one person speaks or three people perform. So we were able to, with the four different contingents and all the different roles, probably more than half the people there were actually performing, and then there were music and dancing, which allowed call-and-response and singing that allowed participation from everybody.
>
> So in some ways, the theater reflects the world in which people get to shape and participate in it – which is the core problem about why farmworkers are exploited and why capitalism doesn't give us power over our lives and ecosystems. It's because there is a one percent at the top making all the decisions

> and concentrating power and wealth while the rest of us are just spectators. So how do we make a movement and demonstrations that actually, tangibly, act out the world we want?
>
> I'm a strong advocate that theater is also a way of articulating and realizing your aspirations. Some people would call it magic, in that you're trying to shift the consciousness and make real the things you want. So I actually think you should always create the world, the ending, the social changes you want in the world in your theater. Because theater is kind of like a rehearsal for real life. (Solnit 2012)

Thus, when children came running down the aisle with victory crowns, accompanied by shouts of "*adelante y venceremos*!" [onward and we will win] by *Son Solidario* and "*Victoria*!" flags waving in the air, participants were not only celebrating the successful achievement of a cohesive social movement community of farmworkers and allies, they were also projecting a special type of collective action frame to the public sphere: they were framing political opportunity. In the words of Gamson and Meyer (1996), this suggests that movement participants can be "potential agents of their own history," and furthermore, if they "interpret political space in ways that emphasize opportunity rather than constraint, they may stimulate actions that change opportunity, making their opportunity frame a self-fulfilling prophecy" (Gamson and Meyer 1996, 285-87).

This "magic" of celebrating victories before they happen, the "mak[ing] real the things you want," has been practiced by the CIW since its earliest days in Immokalee and the Campaign for Fair Food, when members of the CIW and *Sna Jtz'ibajom* defeated crewleader "*Don Tomate*" in a popular theater performance on the stage of a flat-bed truck to the numerous celebratory concerts and marches filled with the sounds of *son jarocho* that preceded the victories against Taco Bell, McDonald's, and Burger King. Farmworkers' strong belief that they and their allies have the power to control their own

destiny was evident in the last words spoken at the pageant, when Gerardo said, "Remember, the future is not written, we're writing it today!"

Based on CIW's history of successfully securing Fair Food Agreements with corporate targets following festive demonstrations and pre-emptive celebrations, it is quite possible that the participatory theater pageant in Tampa may prove to be a self-fulfilling prophecy. While at this date, the CIW has not secured material concessions from Publix (success indicator #2), the 2010 Farmworker Freedom March and the 2011 Do the Right Thing Theater Pageant were successful in reaffirming the bonds of solidarity between farmworkers and their allies, deepening their global consciousness, and giving them the opportunity to live out their visions of a better world through performance in a social movement community.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have demonstrated how CIW's ritual demonstrations in the public sphere during the Campaign for Fair Food have mobilized and continually maintained a cohesive movement of farmworkers and their diverse allies (success indicator #1). Like music broadcast on *Radio Conciencia* and performed at fiestas in Immokalee, music performances in CIW's public demonstrations and concerts promoted an interethnic collective identity through a heightened recognition of ethnic difference and strengthened bonds of solidarity among participants by inducing states of effervescence through collective singing and dancing.

However, the genres, forms, and sounds of music in CIW's public demonstrations differed greatly from the music that was requested on the radio or performed in Immokalee. This is because in different social movement contexts, music served different

functions of mobilization. Whereas music in Immokalee served to introduce immigrant workers to one another, encourage collective identity and solidarity between primarily Mexican and Guatemalan workers, and attract workers to the CIW community center where consciousness-raising took place, music in public demonstrations served to mobilize allies and maintain cohesiveness among them, disrupt soundscapes and communicate legitimacy in the public sphere, and help participants enact and express their desired movement community. In other words, music performances contributed to the achievement of movement success indicators #1, #2, and #3. This is evident in the case study of *son jarocho* in the movement, and the performances, growth, and transformation of the group *Son del Centro*.

From the early days of the Taco Bell boycott and throughout the Campaign for Fair Food, the relationship between the CIW and *Son del Centro* and the continued performances of *son jarocho* at CIW events recruited new student allies into the SFA network, deepened their commitment, and maintained their participation over time. The relationship grew from humble beginnings, when the high school members of *Son del Centro* – a group based in Santa Ana, just ten miles away from Taco Bell's headquarters – volunteered to perform at a CIW rally in 2003. With each performance with the CIW, *Son del Centro* generated interest among student participants from around the country – particularly those of Mexican heritage – to learn *son jarocho* and to start or seek out ensembles in their home communities. This spread of *son jarocho* through the SFA network accelerated as *Son del Centro* members left Santa Ana for college or work and established new ensembles elsewhere, and SFA began holding annual *encuentros* in

Immokalee when students and *jaraneros* from around the country would converge in Immokalee.

Over time, many *jaraneros* had become SFA members and many SFA members had become *jaraneros*, and the expansion of the SFA and *son jarocho* networks became intertwined. This proved to be an effective organizing tool, as ally participation in the movement was not based solely on philosophical reasons for standing in solidarity with farmworkers – it also involved alternative incentives and rewards of participating in collective music making and of sharing musical skills and traditions. Thus, similar to the role of the *marimba* ensemble in Immokalee, *son jarocho* helped attract new student allies and maintain their participation in the movement over time.

Beyond mobilizing and expanding the student ally network, the performance of *son jarocho* in the demonstrations themselves also helped develop a collective identity, consciousness, and solidarity among diverse allies and farmworkers. At the Concert for Fair Food, for example, *Son del Centro* performed alongside ensembles with Puerto Rican, Afro-Cuban, Chilean, and African American musicians, all of whom emphasized past social movements and shared histories of migration and racial and ethnic discrimination in their lyrics or introductory statements, which contributed to a process of collective identity formation both among diverse allies and between farmworkers and allies.

More so than any other group, however, *Son del Centro* was able to address the three core tasks of maintaining a cohesive movement by strategically adapting the *son jarocho* music form. At the closing rally at the March on Burger King, members of Son del *Centro* selected a *son* with a simple chord structure to accompany a call-and-response

chant with lyrics – such as "some are Guatemalans, some are Mexicans" and "onward and we will win" – that heightened ethnic difference to promote unity and developed the necessary cognition of political efficacy, or the belief that they would succeed. Throughout the march, *Son del Centro's* simplified instrumentation and employment of the "street march" performance code that the group had developed in the context of CIW mobilization also enabled the ensemble to march beside participants, coordinate their movements with modified walking tempos, and induce collective singing and chants, that effectively synchronized participation and reinforced bonds of solidarity among marchers.

In addition to contributing to building and maintaining the movement's internal cohesion, the performance of *son jarocho* in CIW's demonstrations also worked in concert with the march's visual art and theatrical staging, disrupting and transforming the surrounding soundscapes to draw in bystanders and communicate the movement's framing of the conflict. The loud volume and joyful sounds produced by a dozen *jaranas*, which was further amplified when *Son del Centro* played into the microphones on the flatbed truck, effectively brought people out of their houses, schools, and workplaces – often while smiling – to observe the march. As bystanders, they saw farmworkers carrying red tomato buckets contrasted with a "lying" Burger King puppet, tomatoes stating a reasonable solution of "one penny more," and people dancing around as kings handing them fliers about farmworkers' human rights abuses in the fields. Together, the cultural repertoires of the march were powerful tools because they conveyed the legitimacy of the CIW to the public sphere while it delegitimized Burger King. Like Taco Bell and McDonald's before it, CIW was able to successfully win material concessions

from Burger King not because the campaign wielded power in a traditional sense and cut into the corporation's profits (Burger King's profits increased during the campaign), but because the CIW was able to claim legitimacy based on moral standards on a global scale and effectively shame Burger King to defeat.

While music and popular theater were important means of communicating to the public, they were also key components in which participants were able perform their solidarity to one another and enact their desired movement community. This was most clearly exemplified in the 2011 Do the Right Thing event, in which the demonstration itself was a scripted, participatory performance where ally groups expressed their solidarity to the movement through music and spoken testimonies, *Son Solidario* united the diverse groups in leading the collective singing of "a new dawn, a new day," and all participants acted out their future victory against Publix through popular theater. Thus, even though the demonstration did not result in Publix's concession to CIW's Fair Food Agreement (success indicator #2), CIW's diverse farmworker and ally participants were able to experiment in living out their ideal movement community (success indicator #3).

In considering the lyrics that were sung, the statements that were delivered, and the images and words painted on the artistic props at this event, it is evident that participants have come to conceive of this movement community – its members, its goals, its strategies, and the injustices it fights against – in terms of human rights and in relation to the world as a whole. In the following chapter, I explore what global processes have enabled local movements such as that led by the Coalition of Immokalee Workers to define themselves and analyze their political environments at transnational, as well as

national, levels and how their resulting forms of global engagement may impact local movement success.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Global Engagement: World Culture, Human Rights, and Local Movement Success

> With this sort of practical and political support from elected leaders, consumers and the corporations that purchase produce will be able to demand a new product from the US agricultural industry – not just good, cheap, and safe food, but fair food, food that respects human rights and doesn't exploit human beings. Food is at the very heart of any society. The workers who plant, pick, and pack food throughout the US – and around the world – have suffered generations of poverty and degradation. On this day, the very first World Social Justice Day, let us recognize the fundamental dignity of farm labor and the men and women who put food on our tables.
>
> - Lucas Benitez, speaking on behalf of the Coalition of Immokalee Workers. United Nations Headquarters, New York. February 10, 2009.

In February 2009, Lucas Benitez arrived at the United Nations headquarters in New York to give a speech as an honored guest at the launch of the first World Social Justice Day. The content of the speech reveals the centrality of human rights in CIW's framing of the farmworker struggle, as well as its coupling of poverty and human rights in the context of the United States. However, the CIW has not always defined farmworker poverty and exploitation as human rights issues in its engagement with the public. What influenced them to do so? In what ways, if any, did CIW's interactions with the United Nations, international nongovernmental organizations (INGOs), and individuals and groups involved in transcultural advocacy networks and a growing Global Justice Movement impact their collective action frames, strategies, and movement outcomes?

Although the membership of the CIW is based in the rural, agricultural town of Immokalee and the material benefits of their mobilization have thus far been limited to a small percentage of migrant workers in the United States, the farmworker movement is valuable to the study of world culture and transnational activism for several reasons: first, the farmworker members of the CIW, who are primarily immigrants from Latin America and the Caribbean who hold different citizenship positions in the United States (U.S. citizen, H-2A guest worker, undocumented worker, or survivor of human trafficking), all make claims to human rights and global citizenship on the basis of their shared humanity; second, the CIW enacts world cultural scripts, engages with numerous international nongovernmental organizations in transnational advocacy networks (TANs), and collaborates with individuals and groups in transcultural advocacy networks (TCANs); third, CIW's cultural repertoires incorporate and adapt streams of world culture through a "movement framework," and make them meaningful to diverse farmworker and ally participants through movement rituals; lastly, CIW's strategy of aligning itself with U.S. consumers and targeting multinational corporations (MNCs) – rather than nation-states – involves a critique of global capitalism and signifies contention of world culture.

I address research question #3 by engaging with globalization theory, world polity theory, macro-anthropological perspectives of world culture, and world-system theory to explain how world culture is enacted, adapted, and contested in a local social movement context. Using archival materials, ethnographic data, and interviews that inform a qualitative assessment of CIW's global history, I also draw from and contribute to social movement scholarship that moves beyond state-level and state-centric frameworks to demonstrate how CIW's forms of global engagement, while they have faced challenges

and limitations, have contributed to CIW's progress towards and achievement of its movement goals.

Globalization/World Culture Theory

In analyzing how the complex processes of globalization interact with the Coalition of Immokalee Workers, it is important to understand globalization not as a necessary 'good' or 'evil,' but rather as a "reconfiguration of social geography marked by the growth of transplanetary connections between people" (Scholte 2005, 16). This reconfiguration involves a compression of the world, with more immediate communication, trans-global transportation, and standardization of science and technology around the world. In addition to these more physical aspects, globalization also signifies the "intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole" (Robertson 1992, 8).

The study of globalization that "focuses on the way in which participants… become conscious of and give meaning to living in the world as a single place" is referred to as globalization theory or world culture theory (Lechner 2000). For globalization theorists such as Robertson, world culture signifies the ways in which the four primary units of the "global-human condition" – national societies (nation-states), world system of nation-states, individual selves, and humankind – respond to the problem of "globality," or the "consciousness of the world as a single place" (Robertson 1992, 27, 132). By thinking of globalization in more cultural terms, as opposed to merely material links and flows of trade, we can begin to understand how and why the Coalition of Immokalee Workers has come to frame its struggle in terms of "universal human rights" by virtue of farmworkers' membership in a shared "humanity."

This identification with "humanity" also points to how globalization has influenced people's self-identification and sense of belonging. Scholte (2005) notes that while nation-state identification is still prevalent, "globalization has stimulated a pluralization of identities, with a host of different national and nonterritorial frameworks of being and belonging" such as "transworld national diasporas" and identification with "humankind as a whole" (Scholte 2005, 5). This is evidenced by how farmworkers identify themselves in Immokalee: nation-state identification is widely used in discourse on *Radio Conciencia*, in annual fiestas, and in the central mural at the community center, but it also co-exists and interacts with other forms of identity, as territorial nation-state identity is used as a foundation to create a new sense of belonging to a diaspora of immigrant workers forced from their homelands and to a shared humanity.

This increased self-identification as "human" with connections and responsibilities to other human beings anywhere else in the world has developed with the growth of the global human rights regime. Proclaimed in 1948, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) set forth, in 30 articles, the fundamental human rights to which all individuals are entitled by virtue of their humanity. The principle of humanity and global consciousness as it relates to rights is most clearly exemplified in the words of the Preamble, which states "recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice, and peace in the world" (UDHR 1948). Although not legally binding, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights has been signed by all but a few of the world's nation-states and has served as the foundation for the development of numerous human rights treaties and conventions.

Identification as members of "humanity" and utilization of the global human rights framework are central to how members of the CIW conceive of themselves and frame their movement to the outside world. However, an analysis of CIW's archival materials, statements to the press, and collective representations in public demonstrations reveal that while core principles of human rights ideology – such as identification as "human beings" worthy of "dignity" – were present since the early years of the CIW, the CIW did not publicly employ a global framing of the movement, neither by invoking human rights nor articulating critiques of global capitalism, until after the launch of the Campaign for Fair Food in 2001.

Asbed (2008) describes how the notion of human rights that ultimately gave rise to the CIW was brought to Immokalee in the early 1990s by new waves of workers from Haiti and southern Mexico who had participated in peasant movements back home. That notion of human rights differed greatly from the legalistic rights models employed by existing groups in south Florida, such as Florida Rural Legal Services, that addressed farmworker rights violations on an individual case-by-case basis under existing federal and state laws. Asbed explains,

> Internally, the notion of human rights within the CIW organizing approach is very similar to its definition and role in the Latin American popular movements that inspired the CIW. In those movements, the idea of human rights is not viewed through a legalistic lens, dividing rights into economic, social, and political categories. Rather, it is a much more holistic idea that is rooted in a fundamental belief in the equality and dignity of all human beings…
>
> This new perspective resulted in a shift in Immokalee from an extremely atomized, U.S.-style emphasis on specific farmworker legal rights to a more community-wide, Latin American-style understanding of human rights, and that shift gave birth to the CIW. It's the shift from suing in court to assure that workers receive the minimum wage guaranteed by law, to fighting in the street as a community for a living wage; the shift from accepting as a given that farmworkers are excluded from the laws that protect the right to collective

> bargaining, to organizing general strikes demanding the right to bargain as a collective. (Asbed 2008, 11-13)

This notion of human rights – based on a belief in the "equality and dignity of all human beings" – was expressed by farmworkers during the first strike in November, 1995, even though their struggle was not yet specifically framed in terms of "human rights." For example, asked by a reporter from the *Naples Daily News* what the strike was about, farmworker Ramiro Benitez replied,

> Our strike today is a call for respect. We want the entire world to know we are human beings. We carry Florida's agricultural industry on our backs, and we are only looking to be able to live like human beings for our hard work. (Hernandez 1995)

Similarly, in an article that focused on the unity of diverse workers, the *Fort Myers News-Press* quoted Cristal Pierre of CIW's Committee of Haitian Workers:

> Cristal Pierre… said the coalition was started to encourage unity among the diverse farmworker communities, as well as to be a political voice at the local and national levels. 'Together we can fight for better working conditions, for more respect as workers and human beings,' he said. (Hill 1995).

In the early years of the CIW, the concept of human rights was not used in framing the movement to the public, but rather, as Cristal's statement suggests, it was as an organizing tool to unite diverse workers. Being human, after all, was something that all the workers shared in common, regardless of their homeland, language, race, or citizenship status.

While workers during this period identified themselves and justified their collective action in terms of their membership in a shared humanity, their identification of the source of injustice, their assertion of rights, and their strategy for winning gains were still defined at the local and national level. For instance, in CIW's press release for the 234-mile March for Dignity, Dialogue, and a Fair Wage in the spring of 2000 – which

began in Fort Myers and ended outside the offices of the Florida Fruit and Vegetable Association (FFVA) in Orlando – the CIW targeted the FFVA, the "state-wide lobbying arm of Florida's agricultural industry," and Governor Jeb Bush, and asserted the "right to talk to our employers about our wages and other working conditions" and sought to pressure state-level lobbying groups and politicians by getting "everyday citizens of Florida [to] join us in calling for simple economic justice for our state's hardest workers" (Coalition of Immokalee Workers 2000).[186] CIW's collective representations in the march also expressed a definitive national-level framing of the farmworker movement: farmworkers waved large American flags, carried a heavy totemic, papier-mâché Statue of Liberty[187] (who had brown skin and held a tomato, rather than a torch, in her hand) on their shoulders, and marched behind a banner inspired by the words of poet Langston Hughes: "I, too, am America!" (see visual appendix 7.1).

Similarly, on January 12, 2000, in the first letter sent to Taco Bell – which marked the first communication between the CIW and a corporate buyer of tomatoes – the CIW did not utilize a human rights discourse or other phrases indicative of a global consciousness. Rather, in the singular mention of "rights," the CIW stated, "by virtue of our hard work we have earned the right to talk with our employers about our wages and the conditions of our work" (Coalition of Immokalee Workers).[188] However, by 2002, the CIW was employing a distinct "global framing," or what Tarrow (2006) defines as "the mobilization of international symbols to frame domestic conflicts" (Tarrow 2006, 32). At a rally at Taco Bell's headquarters in March 2002, CIW's collective representations

[186] See reference Coalition of Immokalee Workers 2000, Coalition of Immokalee Workers announces March for Dignity, Dialogue, and a Fair Wage for Florida Farmworkers.
[187] The Statue of Liberty built by the CIW is now housed at the Smithsonian Institution.
[188] See reference Coalition of Immokalee Workers 2000, Letter to Thomas E. Davin, Taco Bell Chief Operating Officer.

inverted Taco Bell's symbols of the talking chihuahua and pink bell to frame the farmworkers struggle: chihuahua picket signs proclaimed, "*Yo no quiero* Taco Bell" and the pink bells were painted with the slogan "*Otro Mundo Es Posible*" [Another World is Possible], which had become popularized on a global scale in 2001 as the motto of the World Social Forum. Taco Bell's logos were indeed internationally-recognized symbols, as the company boasted on its website that at least 147 million people around the world see a Taco Bell commercial at least once a week (Leary 2005).

In mid-November 2003, the CIW partnered with the Miami Worker's Center and Power U Center to participate in The Root Cause People's March in opposition to the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) 8th Ministerial Meeting in Miami and the publication of the Community Impact Report. In the "unity statement" of the report, the three groups jointly declared:

> As poor people and people of color in South Florida who suffer the most direct impacts of corporate globalization, we have united as Root Cause to express our belief that everyone, no matter their ethnicity, place of birth, gender or sexual identity, has the right to healthcare, a living wage, fair working conditions, decent housing, equal access to education, a clean living and working environment, and a voice in the decisions that impact our lives. Although each of us suffers different forms of oppression and exploitation, we are all united by the vicious framework of corporate globalization…
>
> We use our strengths to teach others about the contradictions of corporate globalization and how we can confront these contradictions by organizing locally. The Root Cause of our issues [is] global in scope. As we build grassroots alternatives to free trade, our organizing will have profound global effects… ANOTHER WORLD IS POSSIBLE! (Coalition of Immokalee Workers, Power U Center, Miami Worker's Center 2003)

Here, members of the CIW, along with ally organizations in Miami, employed collective action frames with a distinct global consciousness: they diagnosed the cause of oppression and exploitation to be "corporate globalization," asserted economic and social

rights for people "no matter their ethnicity" or "place of birth," proposed a strategy of "local organizing" that would have "profound global effects," and motivated people to believe they could win by declaring "another world is possible!"[189] The Root Cause/FTAA events were significant in CIW's history because it signaled a transformation in CIW's movement framing strategies and analysis of its political environment from a national level to a global level: farmworkers thus began identifying violations of their rights in the United States as human rights violations, and furthermore, attributing the "root cause" of these violations to corporate globalization.

By 2005, the framing of the movement in relationship to "the world" and of farmworkers as "human beings" was deeply imbedded in CIW's discourse. This is evident in an essay that CIW member Gerardo Reyes Chávez submitted to the collection *Letters from Young Activists*:

> It is our hope that today's farmworker movement will serve as one of many points on the horizon that inspires young people to believe in the possibility of a better world – a world where the struggles of workers are tied to the struggles for dignity for every human being. (Reyes Chávez 2005)

The members of the Coalition of Immokalee Workers thus came to define the farmworker movement in terms of humanity and as part of a larger struggle for a "better world." This process, in which entities redefine themselves in respect to the global, is what Robertson (1992) calls "relativization." Traditionally, in the modern era, individuals are considered citizens of nation-states. However, this relationship has become relativized as citizenship has become "subject to general norms derived from human rights standards pertaining to humankind as a whole" (Lechner and Boli 2005, 49). The human rights framework has contributed a great deal to the interpretive work of the relativization of

[189] For more on collective action frames, see Snow and Benford 1988.

self-identities. In this framework, all individuals are entitled to human rights regardless of their geographic location because of their membership in the human family. It is this process which has led humankind to become a component in the global field, and for individuals to claim global citizenship. Of course, at the same time that individuals may make claims to universal human rights, nation-states have also become relativized to the global condition, and often appeal to universal claims of national sovereignty. While such claims pose serious barriers to the implementation of human rights in practice, the majority of human rights advocacy in the past several decades has continued to focus on pressuring nation-states to abide by global norms and sign on to human rights treaties rather than creating mechanisms for enforcement (Hafner-Burton et al., 2008).

However, in CIW's process of relativization and development of global consciousness, the movement developed a strategy that neither targeted nation-states nor appealed to the United Nations, an institution epitomizing a nation-state-based system. Rather, the CIW targeted multinational corporations, collaborated with other movement groups, and gained legitimacy when INGOs aligned themselves with the movement's goals of securing farmworkers' human rights.

While Robertson's units of the "global-human condition" are helpful in understanding the impact of globalization on CIW's consciousness in respect to nation-states and ideas of humankind, globalization theory does not fully capture the scope of CIW's global engagement due to its lack of serious consideration of interaction of groups such as INGOs and other social movement organizations in the world polity.

World Polity Theory

While world culture as conceived in Robertson's globalization theory is the symbolic arena in which global actors become "relativized" in the emerging global condition, world polity theory goes a step further and claims that as a symbolic arena, world culture contains a cognitive framework, or a template of models, that generates significant similarities throughout the globe. These similarities arise because global actors *enact* world culture, abiding by scripts that are defined and legitimated by culture organized on a global scale, rather than *act* out of purely rational, self-interested behavior (Meyer et al. 1997, 151; Lechner and Boli 2005, 44). Moreover, the principles of the world culture framework are embodied in international nongovernmental organizations (INGOs), which are the central actors in the constitution of an increasingly global society, or "world polity" (Boli and Thomas 1997). These INGOs reflect "five fundamental cultural themes" in world culture, namely "universalism, individualism, rational voluntaristic authority, progress, and world citizenship" (ibid., 35).

While many INGOs are concerned with business and economic activity, less numerous sectors such as environmental and human rights organizations often receive more attention due to their high-profile political activities (Boli and Thomas 1999, 42). Human rights INGOs, which are of primary concern for an analysis of the Coalition of Immokalee Workers, are effective because they make claims based in the global moral order and draw attention to violations of universal human rights that are legitimized on a global scale to rally "world public opinion" and put pressure on states and other violators to abide by human rights standards (ibid., 43).

In addition to INGOs, world polity theorists identify three other "elements of collective world society" that implement the modern world cultural order of universally applicable scripts and models that define legitimate actors, principles, goals, and behavior in global society. Lechner (2000), in citing Meyer et al. (1997), identifies these elements as "nation-states, which engage in copying that leads to diffusion; voluntary associations in many different fields, some operating as social movements; and scientists and professionals, as experts whose own authority derives from world-cultural principles" (Lechner 2000). The focus of human rights advocacy research that employs a world polity analysis is primarily on human rights INGOs' interactions with each other, nation-states, and the U.N. system, how they spread and institutionalize legitimated human rights norms, and how discrepancies arise between human rights consensus in the world polity and nation-state implementation of human rights in practice (Berkovitch and Bradley 1999; Koo and Ramirez 2009; Cole 2005; Hafner-Burton and Tsutsui 2007; Hafner-Burton et al. 2008; Tsutsui and Wotipka 2004). However, what is lacking in the literature is a specificity of research that addresses the scripts that local movements follow when enacting world culture and how these scripts may change over time.

Keck and Sikkink (1998) observed that local movement and organizational engagement in human rights advocacy in the global arena often follow what they call a "boomerang pattern" (Keck and Sikkink 1998). While the Keck and Sikkink (1998) do not theoretically ground their model or engage with world polity theory, their description of what they see as a "pattern" in how domestic NGOs interact with human rights INGOs to generate pressure on targeted nation-states provides a valuable example as to how local human rights campaigns follow globally-legitimated scripts that determine which goals

they can pursue (human rights) and how they interact with other legitimate actors in world society (INGOs and nation-states).

Keck and Sikkink (1998) describe the "boomerang pattern" as follows:

> It is no accident that so many advocacy networks address claims about rights in their campaigns. Governments are the primary "guarantors" of rights, but also their primary violators…
>
> When channels between the state and its domestic actors are blocked, the boomerang pattern of influence characteristic of transnational networks may occur: domestic NGOs bypass their state and directly search out international allies to try to bring pressure on their states from outside. This is most obviously the case in human rights campaigns. (Keck and Sikkink 1998, 12)

Keck and Sikkink (1998) situate the boomerang pattern as functioning within communicative structures they call transnational advocacy networks (TANs). Primary actors in TANs, who work together "on an issue" and are situated in either domestic or international arenas, may include: "(1) international and domestic nongovernmental research and advocacy organization; (2) local social movements; (3) foundations; (4) the media; (5) churches, trade unions, consumer organizations, and intellectuals; (6) parts of regional and international intergovernmental organizations; and (7) parts of the executive and/or parliamentary branches of governments" (Keck and Sikkink 1998, 9). These actors work together in an effort to "change the behavior of states and of international organizations" by "promot[ing] norm implementation, by pressuring target actors to adopt new policies, and by monitoring compliance with international standards" (ibid., 2-3).

While the boomerang pattern and the concept of TANs provide a more detailed account of local movement behavior in the global arena, they, along with world-polity theory, fail to take into account what I identify as a fundamental shift in local social movements' strategies of global engagement: not only do local movements bypass the

nation-state in collaborating with advocacy networks and INGOs, but they are increasingly bypassing the nation-state as a target of their campaigns. Instead, local social movements are targeting multinational corporations and other institutions representing the interests of global capitalism (i.e. World Trade Organization), who, like states, often commit or are complicit in human rights abuses and are subject to pressure in the world polity to conform to global human rights norms.[190]

One example of this type of social movement activism is United Students Against Sweatshops (USAS). Founded in 1997, USAS has spearheaded the North American anti-sweatshop movement and is comprised primarily of college students organized in a network of campus chapters who target multinational corporations (MNCs) such as Nike and Gap for "better wages and working conditions for the workers who make hats and sweatshirts bearing their school logos," and other MNCs who do business on their college campuses (Featherstone 2002, 2).

In 2000, after a significant period of targeting local growers and state-level politicians with only minor success, the Coalition of Immokalee Workers began employing a similar model of targeting multinational food corporations that buy the tomatoes that farmworkers pick. But the form, demands, and framing of what became known as the Campaign for Fair Food differed from other movement's MNC-targeted campaigns, as well as other farmworker boycotts, in important ways.

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[190] One example of this is Sodexo, which was targeted by the CIW in 2009 and 2010 and eventually signed CIW's Fair Food Agreement in August, 2010. Sodexo, a multinational food service corporation based in France, published and instituted a "Human Rights Policy" in February 2009. Sodexo states, "Though governments have the primary responsibility for promoting, respecting and protecting Human Rights, the Sodexo Group, as an international company present in 80 countries, recognizes its own responsibility to promote and guarantee human rights as stated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights." See Sodexo (2009).

First, unlike campaigns led by USAS, which represented the demands of relatively privileged consumers acting on the interests of workers elsewhere, the Campaign for Fair Food was led by and represented the interests of workers themselves. Second, unlike farmworker boycott campaigns of the past, such as the United Farm Workers' historic grape boycott in California, the strategy was not to build consumer support to stop buying a specific product (grapes or tomatoes) to put pressure on local growers to sign union contracts with farmworkers. Rather, CIW's strategy was to build consumer support to boycott (in the case of Taco Bell) and pressure targeted corporate buyers of tomatoes, not to demand that they then pressure local growers to negotiate with workers, but to get corporate buyers to actually pay[191] workers at the bottom of their supply chains and implement a zero-tolerance policy for slavery in those supply chains. Such a strategy was built on an analysis that corporate buyers were responsible for workers' low wages because of their high-volume purchasing practices,[192] as well as solidarity building with consumers who were also being exploited by these same corporations as mindless automatons who did not care how their food was harvested or produced.

And third, unlike the majority of other farmworker movements and advocacy organizations in the United States, the CIW began utilizing a human rights discourse legitimated in world culture to frame its struggle. A human rights discourse, rather than a civil rights discourse prominent in U.S. based social movements, captured the full

[191] Participating corporations do not physically pay workers directly, rather, they pay a penny more per pound premium on the tomatoes they purchase, which then gets passed on to workers by growers in the form of a bonus in their paychecks.
[192] See Oxfam America 2004. Section III.

spectrum of civil, economic, and social rights that the CIW was fighting for, including among others:

> - The right not to be held in slavery
> (Article 4 of Universal Declaration of Human Rights and Article 8 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights Article 8)
>
> - The right to just and favorable conditions of work and the right to fair wages and remuneration that ensures persons and their families an existence worthy of human dignity
> (Article 23 (1) and (3) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 7 (a) and (b) of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights)
>
> - The right of everyone, including immigrants, to be entitled to all human rights regardless of their national origin
> (Article 2 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights)

CIW's strategy of targeting multinational corporations with demands framed in a human rights discourse deviated from dominant human rights advocacy scripts in world culture because it not only bypassed nation-states, but it also bypassed efforts to seek out "regional and international intergovernmental organizations" (IGOs) such as the Organization of American States (OAS) and its affiliated human rights institutions[193] or pressure U.S. ratification of pertinent U.N. human rights conventions such as the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (Migrant Worker Convention).[194]

The CIW did, however, follow human rights advocacy scripts in that it worked with several human rights NGOs and INGOs. While the CIW did not seek out collaboration with these organizations, a number of them came to interact with the CIW

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[193] These institutions include, among others, the Inter-American Court of Human Rights, the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, which includes a "Rapporteurship on the Rights of Migrant Workers and Their Families," and the Inter-American Program for the Promotion and Protection of the Human Rights of Migrants, Including Migrant Workers and Their Families.

[194] Adopted by General Assembly resolution 45/158 of December 18, 2000. See United Nations, Treaty Series, Vol. 2220, p. 3; Doc. A/RES/45/158

after its launch of the Campaign for Fair Food and successful work combating slavery in Florida, including its contributions to the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000.[195] In November 2003, the Robert F. Kennedy Center for Justice and Human Rights awarded CIW members Lucas Benitez, Julia Gabriel, and Romeo Ramirez the RFK Human Rights Award. In March, 2004, Oxfam America, an affiliate of Oxfam International, released a report, "Like Machines in the Fields, Workers without Rights in American Agriculture," that profiled the CIW and conditions of farm labor in Immokalee, detailed violations of farmworkers' rights, and provided an analysis of how the structure of corporate buyers and growers in the industry impacted farmworker conditions. In 2005, the Carter Center's Conflict Resolution Program worked with the CIW and Taco Bell, helping to negotiate the first agreement in the Campaign for Fair Food. In 2007, the CIW received the prestigious Anti-Slavery Award by Anti-Slavery International, which, having been founded by abolitionists in 1839, is considered to be the world's first international human rights organization. In 2008, in partnership with CIW's campaign against Burger King, Oxfam America sent 36,482 signatures gathered through its own network to the Burger King CEO calling on the corporation to implement CIW's demands.

While INGO cooperation and recognition of the CIW likely reinforced the movement's enactment of global citizenship and gave legitimacy to the movement, these examples reveal that the majority of INGO activity came only after the CIW had already mobilized farmworkers in Immokalee and diverse allies from around the United States and begun framing their struggle in terms of universal human rights. This does not

[195] One partial exception is when former President Jimmy Carter offered to help negotiate with growers to end CIW's 30-day hunger strike in 1998. The strike resulted in temporary increases in piece rates: 25 cents by Gargiulo, and about 13-15 percent by other growers. Ultimately, the hunger strike and support from President Carter failed to pressure growers to engage in dialogue with the CIW or to improve working conditions. See Asbed 2008, 17.

contradict the world-cultural foundations of CIW's strategy, but rather, it illustrates that local enactment of world-cultural principles can occur outside the influence of INGOs, the United Nations, and even nation-states.

While the concept of human rights rooted in CIW's work – one that is focused more on collective meanings of humanity than an individualistic legal framework – was brought to Immokalee by farmworkers who had previous experiences in peasant and *campesino* movements in Haiti and Latin America, the impetus for the transformation that led the movement to target multinational corporations, attribute farmworker poverty to global capitalism, and frame the farmworker struggle in terms of human rights came from CIW's perception of events that signaled global political opportunities and its interaction with movements, groups, and forums operating in transcultural advocacy networks.

As I mentioned in the previous chapter, members of the CIW were influenced to believe that multinational corporations were legitimate targets and were vulnerable to social movement mobilizing by the display of resistance against the WTO at the Battle of Seattle in 1999. In the early 2000s, the CIW collaborated with individuals and groups including David Solnit of the Art and Revolution Collective, the Prometheus Radio Project, and the Landless Workers Movement (MST)[196] of Brazil, among others. These groups and organizations did not constitute a unified campaign for a specific policy change, but were locally committed cultural or worker-led groups who shared human rights values and aligned themselves with the emerging Global Justice Movement, and

[196] The CIW interacted with members of the MST at the World Social Forum, and incorporated MST's use of "mistica" a silent popular theater form, into actions in 2003 and 2009. A representative from the MST came to CIW's first "Our World, Our Rights" conference at the Taco Bell victory in Louisville, Kentucky in 2005.

collaborated with the CIW by sharing cultural knowledge and skills. The CIW also participated in multi-issue global-oriented forums such as the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, Brazil (2002, 2003), the School of Americas Watch (SOAW) annual gathering in Fort Benning, Georgia (2001-present), the USAS annual conference (2001), and the Root Cause march against the FTAA in 2003. CIW's collaboration with groups and participation in forums in transcultural advocacy networks – rather than INGOs, U.N. conferences, or single-issue transnational advocacy networks described in world-polity literature and by Keck and Sikkink (1998) – explains the timing of CIW's transformation in consciousness whereby it began attributing blame of injustices to multinational fast-food corporations instead of growers and asserting human rights instead of labor rights.

Dellacioppa (2009) introduces the TCAN as a "concept" and "variant" of the TAN, and like Keck and Sikkink (1998), does not provide theoretical grounding for the concept. Dellacioppa writes that she developed the concept of TCANs "in order to capture the more cultural aspects of social change introduced by the Zapatista movement" (Dellacioppa 2009: 5). While many members of the CIW and their allies testify that the Zapatista uprising inspired them, it is a gross overstatement to say that "cultural aspects of social change" were introduced or created by any one group. Despite Dellacioppa's lack of theoretical framework and overly ambitious attribution of the "origins" of transcultural advocacy networks to the Zapatista movement, the TCAN concept accurately captures the form and character of CIW's collaborations within networks that have "translocal and transcultural connections across national and cultural borders" and do not necessarily organize around single-issue campaigns (Dellacioppa 2009, 5).

Drawing from CIW's history and quality of global engagement with advocacy groups, multinational corporations, INGOs, and states – as well as its commitment to mobilizing and maintaining a cohesive social movement community among farmworkers and national allies – and incorporating insights from studies on transnational and transcultural advocacy networks, I propose the following model of local movement human rights advocacy. While the model is specific to the experience of the CIW's Campaign for Fair Food, its inclusion of a revised "boomerang" model against multinational corporations and its collaborative relationships among transcultural advocacy groups – in addition to its interactions with nation-states, INGOs, and IGOs presented in world-polity literature – captures CIW's global interactions that are likely to be emulated by other local movements in world society. The models below show CIW's local/national advocacy model that it employed 1995-2000 and the human rights advocacy model of the Campaign for Fair Food, 2001-present.

Figure 7.1
CIW Advocacy Model, 1995-2000

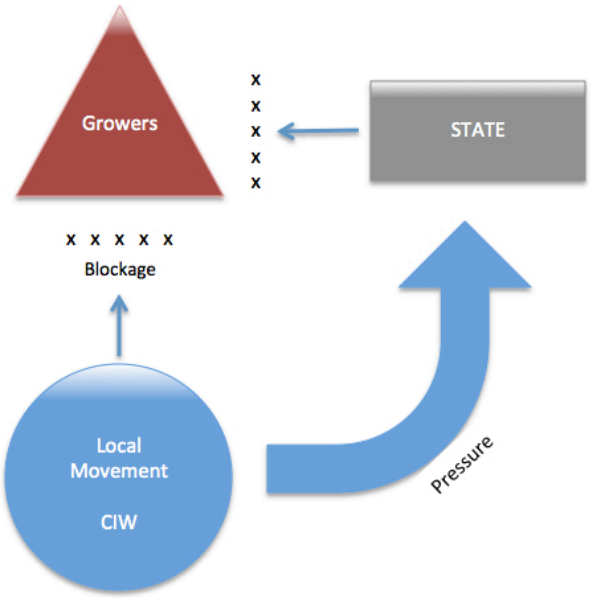
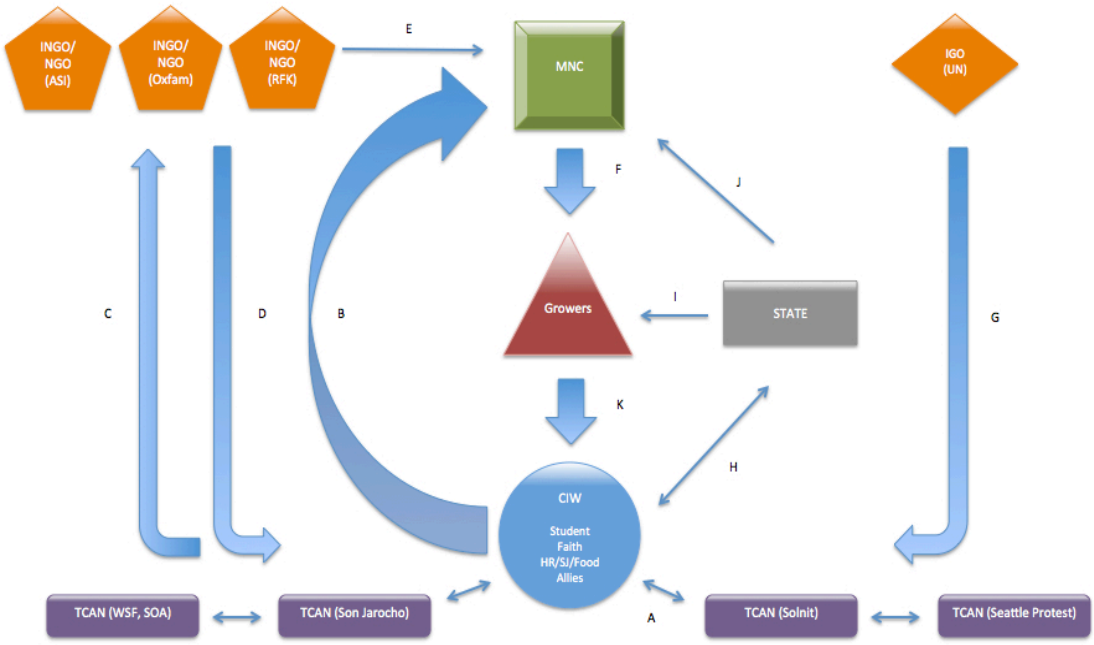


Figure 7.2
CIW Human Rights Advocacy Model, 2001-Present



A. Ongoing sharing of global analysis, knowledge, skills; site of impetus for global framing and engagement
B. Pressure, shaming of MNC by social movement base
C. Information, testimony of farmworker rights violations
D. Legitimacy, reports, funds, awards
E. Pressure, delegitimizing of MNC by INGO
F. Concessions through Fair Food Agreement, to be passed through growers to farmworkers
G. UN confers CIW with legitimacy at 2009 World Social Justice Day
H. CIW shares expertise on farmworker slavery to state; state confers CIW with awards, legitimacy
I. State delegitimizes growers for farmworker slavery and repressive tactics
J. State delegitimizes corporations that profit from slavery
K. Growers pass on concessions from MNCs, signs on to new Fair Food Program

While I will discuss why this model was successful later in the chapter, the model emphasizes CIW's participation in transcultural advocacy networks and its strategy of targeting multinational fast-food corporations. Although the model does not show

causation or time-lapse in great detail, the ordering of the letters provides a general order in which processes took place. For example, it is important to take note in letter A that it was CIW's perception and interaction with TCANs[197] rather than interactions with or assistance from INGOs, that explains the timing and form of CIW's transition from targeting growers and the nation-state in the 1990s to a strategy of global engagement that occurred between 2000 and 2002. In the spring of 2000, the CIW was targeting Florida growers and local politicians with demands for "dignity, dialogue, and a fair wage"; by the spring of 2002, the CIW was targeting a multinational fast-food corporation and beginning to articulate demands that varied in their specificity and global framing: "dignity" became "human rights monitoring mechanism in the fields and a zero-tolerance policy for slavery in a Supplier Code of Conduct"; "dialogue" became "farmworker participation in negotiation and implementation" of the Fair Food Agreements; and "fair wage" became paying "a penny more per pound of tomatoes."

CIW's framing of farmworker poverty and cases of slavery in terms of universal human rights attracted INGOs such as the RFK Center and Oxfam in late 2003-early 2004, who awarded the CIW a human rights prize and published reports on farmworker rights violations in the United States, increasing CIW's legitimacy in the world polity. Taco Bell's decision to sign with the CIW in 2005 was a result of: 1) the threat of CIW's continued mobilization of its national network of allies and its persistent public shaming of the corporation, as evidenced by the timing of the concession at the eve of CIW's planned demonstration at Yum Brand's headquarters; and 2) increasing pressure to

[197] In particular, its analysis of the Battle of Seattle in 1999, participation in the World Social Forum (2002), SOA Watch conference (2001), and USAS conference (2001), and collaboration with David Solnit (2001), and later, *son jarocho* groups (2003).

conform to human rights standards, as evidenced by the content of Yum Brands Vice President Jonathan Blum's speech at the joint press conference: "Human rights are universal and we hope others will follow our company's lead."[198] The Taco Bell victory solidified the model of global engagement that CIW employed for the duration of the Campaign for Fair Food. With each passing victory over a corporate target, the model gained legitimacy as more INGOs came to support and legitimize the CIW, resulting in recognition from the United Nations[199] in 2009 and the U.S. State Department[200] in 2010.

World polity institutionalists argue that "the power of world culture is evident in the extent to which local practice depends on global norms" (Lechner and Boli 2005: 44). The CIW's global engagement is a valuable case study for world polity theory because it shows that local movements enact world culture by framing local struggles in a globally legitimated discourse of human rights. However, it also demonstrates that local movements may be able to change world cultural content and create new legitimized movement scripts by shaping the priorities and activities of INGOs.

The success of CIW's strategy was improbable: human rights implementation is regarded as a task of nation-states, and in the context of the United States, human rights violations are seen as occurrences that happen elsewhere, and economic and social rights are often not even recognized as legitimate rights claims. However, the multiple cases of modern slavery that the CIW was uncovering in Florida allowed the CIW to couple a demand for economic justice (a penny more per pound of tomatoes) with a demand to end slavery – one of the first practices to be seen consensually as a violation of human

[198] See Coalition of Immokalee Workers 2005, CIW/Taco Bell Joint Press Release, March 8.
[199] The CIW was invited to present at the launch of the U.N.'s World Social Justice Day, February 10, 2009.
[200] The U.S. State Department named Laura Germino of the CIW its Anti-Trafficking Hero of 2010.

rights in the world polity (Keck and Sikkink 1998, 41). The CIW made the case that MNCs are legitimate targets because their large purchasing practices drive down farmworker wages and put considerable pressure on growers to produce more at an ever-lower cost to break even, creating conditions ripe for farmworker abuse and slavery. CIW's demand that MNCs use their considerable influence over growers to create consequences that discourage slavery in their supply chains and reward growers who respect farmworkers' human rights resonated with human rights NGOs and INGOs.

INGOs' recognition of CIW's human rights claims in the United States, their framing of economic rights and fair wages as human rights, and their efforts to hold corporations accountable as human rights guarantors had two significant outcomes: they increased CIW's legitimacy in the world polity, giving them leverage over their opponents, and they also marked a shift in the content of INGOs' human rights priorities and activities.

To illustrate, prior to their interaction with the CIW, human rights INGOs such as the Robert F. Kennedy Memorial, Oxfam, the Carter Center, and Anti-Slavery International focused their human rights work outside of the U.S. domestic arena. When members of the CIW won the Robert F. Kennedy Human Rights Award in 2003, it was the first time the award had recognized human rights advocacy in the United States in the 20-year history of the prize. Similarly, when Anti-Slavery International awarded the Anti-Slavery Award to the CIW in 2007, it was the first time that the award had been given to a group in the United States. Such recognition of the CIW by INGOs in turn shaped the work and priorities of those organizations, and further legitimized addressing poverty and targeting multinational corporations with the human rights framework.

Because world polity theory is based on the assertion that actors in world society follow rules and scripts, the perspective is often critiqued for not accounting for how world culture changes. World polity theorists respond that because no single actor controls world culture and that actors are culturally constructed and embedded in world culture rather than solely engaging in power relations, there are opportunities for innovation in world society (Meyer et al. 1997, 169). Moreover, they specify that INGOs, which are carriers of core world cultural tenants, are also key forces of change, as they often mobilize around violations of globally-legitimated rules, elaborate world-cultural principles, and pressure states to change and act according to those principles (Meyer et al 1997, 175; Boli and Thomas 1997, 187). What theorists do not address, however, is how INGOs themselves come to articulate new interpretations of human rights violations and violators, strategies of redress, and variations of world cultural scripts. As is shown by the case of the CIW, local movements – and especially those that successfully achieve their goals – often influence the agendas of INGOs and can serve as the source of change in world culture.

Thus, change in world polity scripts can result from adaptations of world culture at the local level. While world-polity theoretical frameworks focus on structures and isomorphism at the global level and are insufficient in analyzing the process in which local groups may adapt world culture, the concepts of "glocalization" and "creolization" in globalization theory and macro-anthropological perspectives are well-suited to address how local social movements, like that led by the Coalition of Immokalee Workers, absorb and reconstitute world culture, develop a global consciousness, and make world cultural elements like human rights meaningful to participants in local contexts.

Macroanthropological Perspective

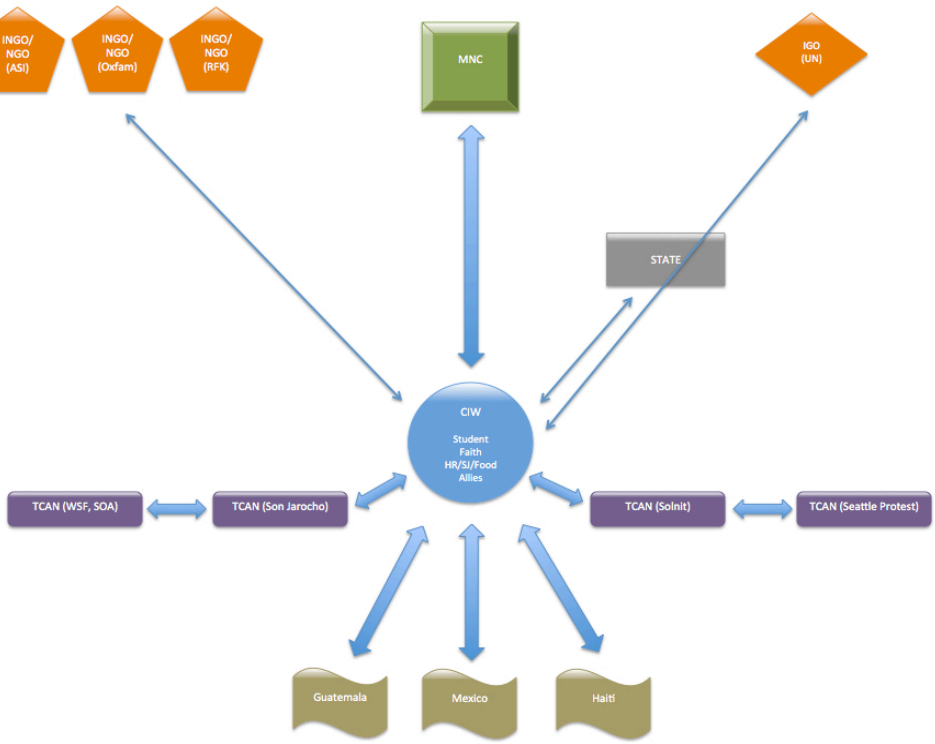
While world-polity theorists see world culture as deeply embedded in the world polity, providing a global moral order that constitutes actors, interests, and purposes through the enactment of legitimated scripts, scholars who employ a macroanthropological perspective conceive of world culture as the "organization of diversity" on a global scale, or the "complex flows of meaning between people" (Hannerz 1992, 13; Hannerz 1991, 112). This perspective has much in common with Robertson's concept of "glocalization," which emphasizes the ways in which world culture functions in the daily lives of people in localities and produces heterogeneity (Robertson 1992, 173).

Based on his field research in the small town of Kafanchan, Nigera, in the late 1970s, Hannerz develops an alternative scenario for studying the nature of cultural flow in a globalized world (Hannerz 1991). This scenario is in part a response to what Hannerz considers to be two dominant perspectives that analyze global cultural processes: the global homogenization scenario, in which globalized culture is seen as a type of cultural imperialism spread by the market, and the peripheral corruption scenario, in which the high ideals and knowledge of the global culture are "corrupted" and misinterpreted by local "periphery" cultures (ibid., 108-9). Hannerz proposes an alternative scenario that does not rely on ethnocentrism or disregard the creativity of the periphery, and instead focuses on the various streams of global culture that interact with a local culture through a combination of market, state, form of life, and movement frameworks (ibid., 111-16). Hannerz concludes that as a result of this interaction, a locality is susceptible to "saturation", or assimilation to globalized culture, but is likely to undergo a process of

"maturation," in which local cultural forms and imported globalized culture become hybridized (ibid., 122-25).

This process of maturation and hybridization, or creolization, of culture is evident in the case of the Coalition of Immokalee Workers. Its local movement cultural repertoire and human rights perspective incorporate complex cultural flows from 1) farmworkers' homelands, brought to Immokalee along pathways of transnational migration, 2) collaborations with ally groups in transcultural advocacy networks in the emerging Global Justice Movement, 3) confrontations with multinational corporations in the global marketplace, and 4) to a lesser degree, interactions with INGOs, the UN, and the nation-state.

Figure 7.3
CIW World Cultural Flows



While a comprehensive analysis of the refraction of world cultural streams through the market, state, forms of life, and movement frameworks that operate in Immokalee is beyond the scope of this study, I provide examples of how world cultural streams flowing into the CIW community via farmworkers' transnational migrations, allies in transcultural advocacy networks, and global market commoditization are creolized in the local context through the dominant "movement framework" at play in the community. Moreover, I demonstrate how imported elements of world culture, such as ideas of human rights, are made meaningful to participants through movement rituals.

World Culture Creolization in Immokalee: Transnational Migration, Rituals, and *Radio Conciencia*

While the highly transient and multi-ethnic community of Immokalee is by all accounts an organizer's nightmare, it is a fascinating locale in which to study the flows of world culture. As I have emphasized previously, the farmworkers who first united as the Coalition of Immokalee Workers spoke several different languages, but many shared a common experience of participating in peasant, *campesino*, or indigenous rights movements in their home communities in Haiti, Mexico, and Guatemala. In considering only the geographical origins and immigration patterns of CIW's members, it becomes clear that Immokalee is a place with "transnational connections" (Hannerz 1992).

In the early years of the CIW, world cultural flows entered Immokalee by way of farmworkers' transnational migrations and were deliberately adapted through a goal-oriented "movement framework" that had developed in the community. Asbed (2008) identifies "three key tools" that CIW's earliest members employed to "forge a movement for grassroots, democratic, worker-led change in the United States": popular education,

leadership development, and powerful protest actions (Asbed 2008, 7). This movement cultural repertoire, or what Swidler (1986) calls a "toolkit" of styles and skills "from which people construct 'strategies of action,'" was in fact a creolized repertoire originating from workers' diverse transnational origins (Swider 1986, 273).

Popular education forms such as Mexican *corridos*, drawings and murals by *animateurs* trained in the Haitian peasant movement, and popular theater developed in transcultural collaborations with a Mayan theater troupe became creolized, not only in the sense that separate parts came to form one cohesive popular education repertoire of the CIW, but also, they were adapted to address the needs of a diverse movement community. For example, the lyrics of the *corrido* "*Los decididos*" paid tribute to the alliance formed between "Mexican and Haitian" workers in the 1995 strike and the mural in the community center honored the interethnic coalition by recognizing farmworkers' different countries of origin. Similarly, CIW's model of leadership development, in which leaders come from the worker base, was imported from the Haitian peasant movement and adapted to a more shared-leadership style ("we are all leaders") to account for the high farmworker turnover rate resulting from the demands of migrant labor.

In addition to these more tangible "tools" brought to Immokalee along transnational migration routes, farmworkers also carried with them a "holistic" understanding of human rights (Asbed 2008, 11). Without ethnographic data from that era, it is impossible to determine which individuals or which immigrant group introduced or emphasized the discourse of "humanity" to the farmworker community. However, such a determination is also of little concern to this study, as farmworkers' identification as "human" demonstrates the extent and depths to which world cultural elements have

diffused across the globe. The more significant question asks, how was this conception of human rights shared and made meaningful to the farmworker community?

Drawing from archive materials and insight I gained observing CIW actions in the Campaign for Fair Food era, the idea of the farmworker struggle being about reclaiming or asserting one's humanity was likely spread and internalized by workers through participation in CIW's "powerful protest actions," or ritual demonstrations. Take, for example, the general strike of December 1999. At this time, the CIW was still targeting growers, with demands including "dialogue and respect" and an increase of the piece-rate from 45 cents per bucket to 75 cents, rather than demands for "human rights" and a "penny more per pound" they would later develop in the Campaign for Fair Food. While the CIW was not yet framing the movement in explicit human rights terms, basic principles of the human rights framework prevalent in world culture – namely "dignity" and membership in "humanity" – were central in the collective representations of CIW's protest actions. In the general strike, farmworkers wore white headbands across their foreheads that read, "no soy tractor" [I am not a tractor]. The phrase was a response to a grower who explained why he refused to talk with the CIW members who had participated in a 30-day hunger strike the previous year: "I'll put it to you this way: The tractor doesn't tell the farmer how to run his farm" (Krueger 1999).[201]

The statement provoked a unified response from workers, one that asserted that they were human beings, not farm equipment. In addition to hundreds of cloth headbands, CIW members painted an image of a large green tractor on a 6x10 foot canvas that was hung at the community center and paraded in the streets during the strike. Inscribed

[201] Also documented in the Coalition of Immokalee Workers' Florida Modern-Day Slavery Museum.

prominently on the wheel of the tractor were the words, "NO SOMOS TRACTORES, SOMOS SERES HUMANOS, MERECEMOS RESPETO Y DIGNIDAD" [we are not tractors, we are human beings, we deserve respect and dignity], and hundreds of workers signed their names across the canvas (see visual appendix 7.2). Through the use of cultural repertoires in CIW's protest rituals, world cultural elements such as "humanity," which were brought to Immokalee in cultural flows from social movements in Latin America and the Caribbean, were made meaningful to farmworker participants in the early years of the CIW.

In the era of the Campaign for Fair Food (2001-present), world cultural flows entering Immokalee changed, as increased contact with groups in transcultural advocacy networks led to a more explicit global framing of the movement in terms of human rights, and shifts in transnational migration patterns led to decreased numbers of Haitians and increased numbers of Guatemalans – and particularly those of Mayan descent – arriving in Immokalee. CIW's collaboration with Prometheus Radio Project and the establishment of *Radio Conciencia* not only had a profound impact on the movement's popular education, leadership development, and farmworker recruitment to protest actions outside Immokalee, it also established the radio as the principal mechanism through which world cultural flows from below (farmworker migrations), horizontally (TCANs), and from above (MNCs, INGOs, IGOs, states) were absorbed and recombined into a creolized movement culture that organized diversity and made human rights meaningful to farmworkers in the local movement context.

As I detailed in Chapter Five, *Radio Conciencia* is a low-power, farmworker-run community radio station that broadcasts a mix of music programming, news, deejay

commentary, interviews, and pre-recorded announcements. The music is a combination of commercial hits from Latin pop-charts that *Radio Conciencia* acquires through licensing agreements, as well as older commercial and traditional music compiled from the CDs farmworkers bring with them to Immolakee that contain music they grew up with "back home." As a result, the music library of *Radio Conciencia* contains music representing cultural flows from both the commercial music industry and the diverse cultural flows of transnational labor migration. In passing through the movement and forms of life frameworks operating in the farmworker community, the cultural flows are not simply saturated or imported whole. Rather, the music selections are filtered and reshaped by "cultural entrepreneurs" – the deejays and listeners of *Radio Conciencia* – to accommodate the needs of an interethnic movement and the daily lives of immigrant workers (Hannerz 1991).

Radio Conciencia's musical organization of diverse cultural flows from workers' home regions is not simply a haphazard mix of various kinds of music. Deejays strategically filter and redirect music cultural flows through a movement framework to recognize farmworker differences and provide sonic spaces for the musical assertion of underrepresented ethnic – and later, gender – identities, so that all farmworkers feel represented and included in the movement; thus, the marimba program features Guatemalan deejays who play only marimba music and the women's program *Las Voces* features women deejays who play only music sung by women.

An analysis of the music most frequently played and requested on *Radio Conciencia* in the 2010-2011 harvest season revealed that the large majority of the songs were commercial songs whose lyrical content did not contribute to the development of

"necessary cognitions" for mobilization. At face value, it appeared that the movement framework was not functioning in this context, and that a dominant market framework was saturating local culture with commercial tripe. However, upon coding the songs for lyrics about love, separation, and loneliness, it became clear that deejays were playing and listeners were requesting music that spoke to their experience as immigrant workers torn from their families back home. The forms of life and movement frameworks were thus functioning in tandem: by playing music that spoke to a daily reality of nostalgia and a shared experience of migration, farmworkers came to see themselves in each other and recognize *Radio Conciencia* – and by extension, the CIW – as being in tune with their lives.

This belief among farmworkers that *Radio Conciencia* was truly "*del pueblo, para el pueblo*" [of the people, for the people] allowed a human rights discourse that was imported from external world cultural flows – which was absent in music lyrics but utilized frequently in deejay commentaries, in CIW pre-recorded announcements, and in guest interviews – to be viewed as legitimate among listeners. An-Na'im (1990) stresses this importance of having human rights perceived as legitimate by the people:

> If international standards of human rights are to be implemented in a manner consistent with their own rationale, the people (who are to implement these standards) must perceive the concept of human rights and its content as their own. To be committed to carrying out human rights standards, people must hold these standards as emanating from their worldview and values, not imposed on them by outsiders. (An-Na'im 1990, 431)

While An-Na'im is specifically referring to states and problems of cultural relativism, this need for human rights to be viewed as one's own also applies to this diverse group of farmworkers: if they are to fight together for human rights, win human

rights standards, and participate in their implementation, they must all come to see human rights as "their own."

CIW's framing of farmworkers' rights as human rights – beyond a general understanding of belonging to humanity – came about between 2000 and 2002 as a result of exposure to TCANs, awareness of events in the emerging Global Justice Movement, and reinforcement by INGOs. However, the human rights framework was not imported whole into the local context of Immokalee; rather, it underwent a process of maturation, as CIW members "reshaped" it to the specifications of the movement and to increase its resonance with the diverse farmworker community (Hannerz 1991, 124). This selective reshaping of world cultural flows took place primarily by farmworker deejays on *Radio Conciencia*, who in their commentary and recorded announcements emphasized collective rights that needed to be asserted and fought for, rather than individual rights that needed to be secured by the state through legal channels.

For example, as a participant listener of *Radio Conciencia*, I heard how this collective aspect of rights was communicated through an emphasis on "our" rights, instead of "your" rights. I also noted how deejays stressed the right to a living wage, the right to bargain with employers as a collective to secure better wages and working conditions, and how human rights apply to immigrants – regardless of their status or where they come from – because "we are human beings." I observed how deejays on the marimba program and *Las Voces* affirmed cultural rights and women's rights, rights that are often violated among certain groups within the farmworker community itself, as being part of a shared struggle for human rights. This is important for understanding how human rights can come to be viewed as legitimate and "one's own" in a diverse group of

people who experience different forms and degrees of rights violations in their daily lives. In the case of the CIW, farmworkers were able to achieve this not only by selectively emphasizing relevant components of human rights for each group, but also by articulating them in farmworkers' native languages or expressing them with women's own voices.

Thus, the maturation of the human rights framework in Immokalee involved an emphasis on collective human rights that were not recognized by the nation-state and a recognition of rights specific to farmworkers' various experiences and identities, that together worked to unite the community under a common framework that motivated collective action. What is fascinating about the case of the CIW is that the primary site in Immokalee where human rights and world cultural flows were adapted was also a site of music production and exchange. It is likely that the CIW's strategic reshaping of human rights was successfully adopted by diverse farmworkers "as their own" because it was paired with farmworkers' desire to listen to music from back home, one of the most popular and deeply embedded "forms of life" practices in Immokalee.

These understandings of human rights were reinforced and made meaningful to workers at the *Fiestas Patrias* and *Fiesta del Año del Trabajador* in Immokalee, where radio deejays-turned-MCs educated workers about their human rights between performances by Guatemalan and Mexican music ensembles on a stage decorated with flags from workers' home countries. In the Campaign for Fair Food era, the fiestas were also opportunities for the CIW to invite and recruit workers to attend public demonstrations with movement allies where musical, theatrical, and artistic

collaborations further exposed farmworkers to human rights discourses and world cultural flows.

World Cultural Flows in Transcultural Advocacy Networks: Farmworker and Ally Rituals Beyond Immokalee

In addition to world cultural flows that entered Immokalee by way of farmworkers' transnational migrations, the CIW was also exposed to world culture through collaborations with groups in transcultural advocacy networks that were associated with the emerging Global Justice Movement in the early 2000s. Not only were these collaborations in large part responsible for CIW's adoption of the human rights framework (which underwent a process of maturation in Immokalee via *Radio Conciencia*) and deepening CIW's analysis of global capitalism, but the ritual form of the collaborations themselves, filled with music and participatory theater, gave immense meaning to the world cultural flows that the workers encountered and eventually led to a creolization of CIW's cultural repertoires in public demonstrations.

In the 2001-2002 harvest season, the CIW participated in several worldwide and regional gatherings dedicated to bringing together diverse groups and movements around issues of globalization, social justice, and human rights. In early 2002, several CIW representatives traveled to the second annual World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, Brazil. It was here that CIW's recent shift to targeting multinational fast food corporations like Taco Bell was likely validated and CIW representatives were encouraged to frame farmworkers' rights in terms of human rights. The promotion of human rights and opposition to corporate globalization were central tenants of the World Social Forum's

"Charter of Principles" that were drafted the previous year. For instance, principle #4 reads,

> The alternatives proposed at the World Social Forum stand in opposition to a process of globalization commanded by the large multinational corporations and by the governments and international institutions at the service of those corporations' interests, with the complicity of national governments. They are designed to ensure that globalization in solidarity will prevail as a new stage in world history. This will respect universal human rights, and those of all citizens – men and women – of all nations and the environment and will rest on democratic international systems and institutions at the service of social justice, equality and the sovereignty of peoples. (World Social Forum)

When asked what the CIW took away from their participation at the World Social Forum, one of the CIW representatives responded,

> Our visit with [the Landless Workers' Movement of Brazil] was very moving, to see how they organize and the drama of their fight for land and human rights. While we were there, their members performed a wordless theater, known as a "mistica", about the struggle to preserve their traditional seed stock against the spread of GMOs. It was very powerful and we used the form to produce a theater during the Taco Bell hunger strike in Irvine. (Email communication with CIW representative present at World Social Forum. October 11, 2012)

CIW's attendance at the World Social Forum not only provided the movement with models of framing their struggle in terms of human rights, but it introduced the CIW to an entire network of local movements worldwide, including the Landless Workers' Movement (MST) of Brazil. The friendship formed between the two groups did not lead to direct participation in each other's movements, it did result in the sharing of knowledge and elements of their cultural repertoires – such as the *mistica* popular theater form – that could be adapted to other local movements.

Indeed, the CIW adopted the *mistica* form and reshaped the content to represent the farmworker struggle. The following year, CIW members and student allies on hunger strike staged a *mistica* performance outside Taco Bell's headquarters depicting

farmworkers' exploitation and abuse in the fields. And again in 2009, the CIW staged a *mistica* performance depicting the conditions of the 2008 Navarrete slavery case directly outside the Florida State Capitol in Tallahassee (see visual appendix 7.3).[202] Not only did *mistica* become a part of CIW's creolized public demonstration repertoire, but farmworkers' performance of this theater form allowed world cultural flows shared with them by the Landless Workers Movement to take on deep significance, as it reignited feelings of belonging to a larger global struggle for workers' human rights.

In November 2001, the CIW attended the annual conference and vigil of School of the Americas Watch (SOAW, or SOA in common usage) outside the School of the Americas[203] at Fort Benning near Columbus, Georgia. While the SOAW is a human rights non-profit organization that formed in 1990 to monitor human rights abuses committed by military graduates of the school and coordinate efforts to shut down the SOA, the annual weekend conference in mid-November is more accurately described as a human rights gathering that brings together groups and movements working in various transcultural advocacy networks throughout the Americas. The SOAW describes the mission of the gathering as follows:

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[202] In CIW's only action against a state official – Florida Governor Charlie Crist – in the years of the Campaign for Fair Food, the CIW performed the *mistica* after a spokesperson from the Florida Department of Agriculture responded to a reporter's question about recent slavery cases by saying, "Of course, I say any instance is too many, and any legitimate grower certainly does not engage in that activity (slavery) but you're talking about maybe a case a year." See "Specter of slavery persists in fields," *Ft. Myers News-Press*, December 14, 2008. The performance and CIW press conference pressured Governor Crist to meet with the CIW and release a letter that stated his support of the Campaign for Fair Food, his intolerance of slavery or abuse of farmworkers in any form, and his encouragement that the Florida Tomato Growers Exchange work with the CIW. See figure 7.4 in appendix for the letter. Also available online, http://interfaithact.org/sites/interfaithact.org/files/Gov%20Crist%20Letter%20to%20CIW.pdf (accessed October 2, 2012).. This marked the first time in Florida's labor history that a governor supported and sided with farmworkers.

[203] The School of Americas was renamed the Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation (WHINSEC) in 2000.

> As we converge each year at the gates of Fort Benning, Georgia, we are creating a strong community and a powerful force that will close the SOA, end U.S. militarization in the Americas and dismantle the broader system of oppression of which the SOA is a part. Our movement unites vast sectors of society, including union workers, immigrants, people of faith, anarchists, pacifists, students, torture survivors, and many others. We recognize the existence of the School of the Americas as an example of the pervasive culture of militarization. We stand together with many justice movements in our joint struggle for social change. (School of Americas Watch)

In contrast to the World Social Forum, where the CIW was encouraged to frame farmworkers' struggles in the United States in terms of human rights, the SOA forums provided a space for farmworkers of the CIW to meet with other groups and analyze and articulate how human rights abuses committed by US-trained military personnel in their home countries caused the political violence and economic hardship that forced many people to emigrate in order to find safety and work in Florida. A member of the CIW described the movement's relationship with SOA Watch as follows:

> Our relationship with the SOAW is a perfectly logical one: Our members are for the most part from Mexico, Guatemala, and Haiti, and especially in the case of Guatemala and Haiti, they have seen the impact first hand of widespread human rights violations at the hands of military personnel trained at the SOA. From 1988 to 1990, Haiti was run by General Prosper Avril, a brutal dictator who was a graduate of the SOA. Our support for the SOAW goes to our broader fight to end human rights violations in our members' lives. (Email communication with a CIW member. October 11, 2012)

CIW's participation with SOAW, which began in 2001 and continues to the present, has also allowed the CIW to educate fellow attendees and groups about the Campaign for Fair Food. In 2010, I traveled from Immokalee to the SOA gathering with about 30 CIW members and a dozen of their children. On the afternoon of Saturday, November 20, the entire CIW contingent took the stage at the mass rally at the gates of Fort Benning to address the crowd of over two thousand people. CIW member Oscar Otzoy gave a rousing five-minute speech that connected the struggle to close the SOA to

the struggle of farmworkers, many of whom were displaced from their communities in Latin America due to the violence waged by graduates of the SOA, and thanked the crowd for their continued support of the Campaign for Fair Food. He closed with the following statement and the CIW call-and-response rallying cry (available in audio appendix):

> We know that together, we are not only going to improve the lives of farmworkers and bring a new day in Florida's fields, but we are going to close the School of Americas too! Unity is strength, and that strength is going to make change! *¿Coalición?* (Crowd: *¡Presente!*) *¿Coalición?* (Crowd: *¡Presente!*)[204]

Later that evening, the CIW gave a two-hour presentation in a workshop session packed with conference attendees. The presentation began with two CIW members from indigenous communities in Guatemala, who described how their families and friends back home had been directly impacted, or even massacred, by U.S.-backed Guatemalan state military regimes. Another worker from southern Mexico described how his family's farm went under after NAFTA went into effect, causing an influx of cheap, U.S. subsidized corn to saturate Mexican markets. They explained how the violence in their home communities and the destruction of local economies forced them to emigrate and find work as farm laborers in Immokalee, where they found themselves working in exploitative conditions brought about by a food system dominated by multinational corporations. Common to both the pre- and post-immigration global narratives was a discourse of human rights, which was able to capture the rights to life and cultural identity that were violated by the Guatemalan military, as well as the rights to fair wages, safe working conditions, and freedom from slavery that were violated in the United States.

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[204] Transcribed from field recording, November 20, 2010.

In addition to providing a space for groups in transcultural advocacy networks to share information, testimonies, and ideas, the SOAW gatherings also feature a ritualized vigil and a popular theater performance that strengthen bonds of solidarity among participants and give deep emotional significance to concepts such as human rights and global justice that are prevalent in world cultural flows at the gathering. The vigil, held on the Sunday morning of the conference weekend, takes the form of a mass funeral procession outside the front gates of the SOA on Fort Benning Road.

On November 21, 2010, I arrived at the vigil with members of the CIW. Each of us was given a small wooden cross bearing the name and age (and on some, nationality) of a person assassinated or killed in Latin America as a result of military violence perpetrated by graduates of the SOA (see visual appendix 7.4). Some names were well-known, like Bishop Óscar Romero, who was assassinated in El Salvador in 1980, and singer Victor Jara, who was tortured and shot to death during the CIA-backed Chilean coup in 1973. Others, like the name "Maria Mejia, Age 8" on my cross, were ordinary civilians. The morning opened with a "memorial service" filled with alternating music performances[205] and short speeches that emphasized a human rights discourse. For example, prior to the funeral procession, one of the speakers addressed the crowd:

> We may feel today a weight of sadness and a weight of righteous anger. Where are our rights? There are those who believe our rights come from the law. We know this is half true, but our rights our recognized in the law, but they do not come from the law. They come from simply being alive. Take a deep breath right now. That breath gives you inalienable rights – it is your birthright, and there is no law, no oppression, no threats that change that![206]

[205] Music selections included original songs and bi-lingual adaptations composed for the SOA such as "Paz y Libertad" (by José-Luis Orozco) and "No Más, No More" (an adaptation of a song by John McCutcheon), as well as freedom songs from South Africa and the U.S. Civil Rights Movement.
[206] Transcribed from field recording, November 21, 2010.

For the next two hours, the CIW members in attendance participated with five thousand others in a solemn funeral procession that circled the half-mile stretch along Fort Benning Road to the barbed-wire fence marking the entrance to the SOA. At the front of the procession were actors dressed in black robes, with their faces painted white, carrying caskets on their shoulders (see visual appendix 7.5). Behind them, the rest of us walked shoulder-to-shoulder, with crosses in hand and singing in unison. On stage, a handful of song leaders sang the names and ages of those who had died one by one. After each name, all of us raised our crosses to the sky and sang together, "*¡presente!*" (see visual appendix 7.6, refer to audio appendix). Repeated hundreds of times throughout the ritual, singing the response "*presente*" produced deep emotional responses among the participants, as the word took on various individual and collective meanings during procession. In one sense, it signified the cry of the individual person killed many years ago in a distant place, who was now present in the memory of the living. In another sense, it signified the unified call of commitment by the living, of those walking in solemn procession, who were present to seek justice for those killed. This ritualized funeral procession focused on the relationship between the living and the dead also made the discourse of human rights that was prevalent throughout the gathering palpable and meaningful to participants: by virtue of being alive – of being able to breathe and to sing in remembrance of the dead – they were encouraged to recognize their inalienable rights.

Ideas of human rights and global justice were also given meaning and shared between groups at the SOAW gatherings through participation in popular theater. Since 2000, various groups of puppeteers, including Spiral Q Puppet Theater, Paper Hand Puppets, and David Solnit of Art and Revolution, converged at the SOA. Adopting the

name "Puppetistas" from the East Coast puppeteers who had formed after the Battle of Seattle (named out of respect for the Zapatistas), the SOA Puppetistas organized a theater performance every year at the SOAW gathering. In 2004, David Solnit encouraged the Puppetistas to collaborate with the CIW in order to "tell the story of an actual struggle" (Solnit 2012).

Leading up to the performance at the SOA, members of the CIW worked with the Puppetistas to develop the script and prop ideas for their theater performance, "Democracy or Empire: A Story of Migration." At the 2004 SOAW gathering, members of the CIW and 300 other participants staged a theater pageant in front of a crowd of nearly 10,000 people. The story of the CIW was told in eight scenes – Subsistence Farming, Empire Rises, Uprooted, Exploited, Organize, Democracy Rises, Empire Falls, A Better World – and featured farmworker actors, children dressed up as corn, a narrator, musicians,[207] and numerous other roles. The narrator's lines in the script reveal how the CIW had begun to present its history, the source of injustice, and its movement goals in global terms:

> I lived in rural Mexico. My family lived on a subsistence farm for generations. We sustained ourselves in harmony with nature. We always had to fight to keep our land from those who wished to oppress us.
>
> In 1994, NAFTA was ratified and Mexico was flooded with cheap subsidized US corn so we could no longer subsist on what we grew.
>
> We were forced to leave our homes to seek work in the US.

[207] The musicians included those from American folk music bands scheduled to perform the following day at the concert prior to the funeral procession; they were not *son jarocho* musicians. While further research is needed about *son jarocho's* specific presence at SOA, early research suggests it did not become prominent until 2008. The internet marketing for the 2012 SOAW gathering features *son jarocho* prominently, and groups *Son Solidario* and *Son Altepee* (both include members from *Son del Centro*) from Mexico are scheduled to perform. Although there are overlapping networks between them, the presence of *son jarocho* at SOAW is most likely a result of *Son del Centro's* participation in the farmworker movement led by the Coalition of Immokalee Workers.

> In the US we are employed by farmers who pay us pennies to pick tomatoes all day for Taco Bell, a subsidiary of YUM foods. Yum gets rich, while we have no rights, no healthcare and not enough money to feed our families.
>
> In the US, we continue to organize, despite great risk... We band together to demand our rights.
>
> CIW reaches out to unite with other movements for justice. We realize our fate is tied to yours. We join in the struggle to close the SOA, to bring real democracy to the US and the world.
>
> Everyone, Democracy needs your help! Democracy can't exist without you! Together! A better world is under construction. We have to build it together. A better world is under construction!
>
> (Full theater script available in Figure 7.5)

For the first time, through transcultural collaboration with the Puppetistas at the SOA gathering, members of the CIW were able to incorporate a global analysis into a full narrative of farmworkers' struggle – from the cause of their uprooting and migration (neoliberal free-trade agreements), to the source of their exploitation (multinational food corporations), to their strategy (unite with other movements), and to the ultimate goal (building a better world) – and effectively communicate it in the public sphere. Moreover, performing this narrative shared CIW's story to an audience of 10,000 people active in transcultural advocacy networks, and also gave farmworkers a tangible vision of global justice and the opportunity to rehearse their desired end – a victory against Taco Bell in the short term, and "a better world" in the long term – in preparation for the struggle ahead.

CIW's exposure to transcultural advocacy networks at gatherings such as the World Social Forum and the School of Americas Watch encouraged the CIW to analyze and frame farmworker abuse in terms of human rights and farmworker migration in terms

of neoliberal globalization. However, the means through which these ideas in world cultural flows were made meaningful to CIW members was their participation in MST's *mistica* theater and Puppetistas' theater pageant and the adaptation of these elements in the cultural repertoire of the Campaign for Fair Food. Just as the CIW adapted the silent *mistica* into performances about farmworkers' human rights abuses at public demonstrations in 2003 and 2009, the CIW adapted the popular theater pageant at the SOAW gathering depicting the "fall of empire" into a theater pageant depicting the fall of Publix at the Do the Right Thing public demonstration in 2011.

The Publix theater pageant, which I detailed in Chapter Six, represented a creolization of world cultural flows introduced to the farmworker movement through its participation in transcultural advocacy networks. Not only was it an adaptation of the theater pageant form the CIW had first performed with the Puppetistas at the SOA gathering, it also involved the music of *Son Solidario*, the hybrid ensemble of *son jarocho* groups that had grown out of the movement's development of a musical transcultural advocacy network. A brief consideration of the lyrics of the songs and the collective representations of the theater props in the pageant reveals that the world cultural flows containing human rights ideology underwent maturation and became embedded in local movement cultural repertoires. Just as importantly, it was their collective performance in ritual that gave these ideas of human rights significance to movement participants.

In *Son Solidario's* performance of "*El presidente*," for example, the singers improvised "I've come to claim my human rights, in the face of Publix I won't back down" into their lyrics, marking the first time that they incorporated an explicit human

rights discourse into traditional *son* lyrics at a CIW event. Similarly, during the closing "*La bamba*" call-and-response, the singer also revised the line "to fight for our lands," to "to fight for our rights." Veronica, a labor/community ally of the CIW representing the United Workers in Baltimore, also incorporated an explicit human rights discourse into her improvised call-and-response riff: "Took away my human rights, who will stand with me and fight?"

While it cannot be determined if musicians' incorporation of human rights into their lyrics resulted solely from their participation with the CIW, it is apparent that, as allies, they employed a human rights discourse – through song – to express their solidarity with farmworkers. Moreover, their incorporation of human rights was not a wholesale import of a general concept legitimized in world culture. Rather, their songs reflected a local adaptation of human rights as they had been reworked and understood in the context of the local farmworker movement: human rights are to be fought for, not defended in court, and they are to be claimed from corporations – who profit from human rights violations and are therefore responsible for them – even when those rights may not be recognized by the nation-state. These human rights meanings were embodied by participants and given emotional significance through the act of singing and repeating these phrases in unison.

These local adaptations of human rights ideology were also embedded in the pageant's collective representations, the puppets in particular. During the performance, the four "atrocity" puppets with artistic renderings of farmworkers' human rights violations – slavery, abuse, sexual harassment, and poverty – turned around to reveal the "realization of rights" puppets – freedom, dignity, respect, and fair wages – when each of

the farmworkers' ally groups mobilized and joined the collective struggle. Similarly, the human rights abuser was represented by a faceless Publix executive with a big dollar sign on his chest, who caved to the movement's demands when farmworkers' and allies' unified singing of "It's a new dawn, it's a new day" and chanting of "Do the right thing!" reached fever pitch. Through a collective performance of this theater script, participants not only came to regard human rights as their own, they also came to believe that this human rights-based strategy would lead to victory over Publix. As the narrator proclaimed at the end of the performance, "We know that this victory… is not a matter of if we're going to win, but when we're going to win!"

Consideration of cultural repertoires in the Campaign for Fair Food's public demonstrations reveals that movement participants were not only interacting with and adapting world cultural flows from transcultural advocacy networks and farmworkers' transnational migrations; they were also adapting cultural flows from global capitalism and shaming multinational food corporations as human rights violators in the global public sphere.

Maturation of Market Culture: Reconstituting Logos and the "Brand-busting" Boomerang Strategy

Cultural repertoires in CIW's public demonstrations throughout the Campaign for Fair Food provide particularly rich examples of how the movement framework interacts with transnational commodity flows originating from multinational food corporations. They also support Hannerz's findings that people in the periphery are not subject to an inevitable process of world cultural saturation or global homogenization, but are instead

able to adapt world cultural flows to accommodate local realities through a process of maturation (Hannerz 1991, 123-25).

Hannerz explains the process of saturation as one version of the global homogenization scenario whereby transnational market influence "pounds on the sensibilities of the people of the periphery," causing them to increasingly assimilate to imported meanings and forms, and become indistinguishable from the globalized market culture (Hannerz 1991, 122). In contrast, in a process of maturation, the periphery takes its time "reshaping metropolitan culture to its own specifications" (ibid., 124). Based on his observations in West Africa, Hannerz described,

> Local cultural entrepreneurs have gradually mastered the alien cultural forms which reach them through the transnational commodity flow and in other ways, taking them apart, tampering and tinkering with them in such a way that the resulting new forms are more responsive to, and at the same time in part outgrowths of, local everyday life. (Hannerz 1991, 124)

This process of maturation is evident in CIW's interaction with cultural forms projected into world cultural flows by multinational fast food and food-service corporations and regional supermarket corporations. Since the early days of the Campaign for Fair Food, farmworkers have imported globalized logos and slogans of food corporations and tweaked them to signity both farmworkers' daily lives in Immokalee and corporations' shameful business practices.

For example, during the Taco Bell campaign, the CIW reworked the Taco Bell logo by replacing the "B" of bell with an "H," making the logo read "Taco Hell."[208] The CIW also tweaked the "Yum!" logo of Taco Bell's parent company Yum Brands by replacing the letter "M," making it "Yuk!" instead. Similarly, during the Burger King

[208] To see CIW's modified "Taco Hell" image, refer to http://media.portland.indymedia.org/images/2003/12/277041.jpg (accessed November 8, 2012)

campaign, the CIW tinkered with the hamburger bun logo, replacing "Burger King" with "Exploitation King" in the bun.[209] The CIW also adapted corporations' heavily marketed and valuable slogans: "McDonald's, I'm lovin' it!" became "McDonald's, I'm leavin' it!" and "Publix, Where Shopping is a Pleasure" became "Publix, Where Shopping is Oppression."

As opposed to the less intentional maturation processes that occurred under the "forms of life framework" Hannerz observed in Nigeria, the maturation of globalized commodity culture within the CIW community occurred through a more deliberate, mission-oriented "movement framework" that was prevalent in Immokalee. As such, CIW members not only reworked corporate cultural flows, they also consciously sent the creolized cultural forms – the strategically tinkered-logos and slogans – back into the global public sphere. Coincidentally, in a variation of Keck and Sikkink's (1998) description of the "boomerang pattern" that human rights advocacy groups employ against states, the CIW calls this strategy – importing a food corporation's brand image, subverting it, and projecting it publicly as a "weapon" against that corporation – its "boomerang strategy" (Leary 2005).

CIW carried out this strategy by holding brainstorming sessions among farmworker member committees and collaborating with the Student Farmworker Alliance, which held "brand-busting" workshops at its annual *encuentros* in Immokalee. Together, they developed clever revisions of logos and slogans that communicated the realities of farmworkers' poverty and exploitation. Next, they presented these altered cultural forms to the public sphere by posting them on the websites, blogs, and social

[209] To see CIW's modified "Exploitation King" image, refer to http://www.mediamouse.org/wp-content/plugins/old-imgs/features/photos/120307-burger_king.jpg (accessed November 8, 2012).

media sites of the CIW, SFA, and groups in their ally networks, and incorporating them into the art, theater props, and uniform t-shirts of CIW's mass public demonstrations. In an interview with David Solnit following the Taco Bell victory, members of the CIW explained how these images in public demonstrations served as an effective means of "communicating [their] story," despite the movement's lack of resources relative to their corporate targets:

> The corporations who we are fighting have multi-million dollar advertising budgets, we the farmworkers from a small and resource poor community don't have the same kind of access to the media. We have to be creative about communicating our story. Art, images, and theater played a very important role. We were able to show through their use what the reality of our lives is really like. We were able to catch people's attention by making our marches and protests colorful and fun. And through the images and signs we were able to more effectively communicate our message to anyone who might have driven by or seen us on the news or in the newspapers. (Solnit 2005)

However, what made these movement-created images so effective over those created with the "multi-million dollar advertising budgets" of targeted food corporations was not simply the fact that they communicated the "reality of [farmworker] lives." Rather, these "realities" were communicated in a way that successfully delegitimized the corporation. Specifically, in the process of maturation of world cultural flows in the local movement context, the CIW recombined the newly subverted corporate branding with a human rights discourse, which simultaneously delegitimized the corporate target and increased the legitimacy of the movement in the world polity.

Throughout the CIW website – in weekly updates and press releases – and in the speeches, art, and musical chants of public demonstrations, the CIW strategically coupled a human rights discourse with satirical adaptations of corporate logos. For instance, during the Taco Bell campaign, marchers carried picket signs of bells inscribed with "No

Quiero Taco Bell" while singing chants such as "Boycott the Bell and join the fight, let's stop the abuse of human rights!" (see figure 6.2 in appendix). Similarly, during the Publix campaign, marchers wore matching green shirts that replaced "Publix" with "Poverty" in the logo, and sang, "Publix, there's no excuses for human rights abuses!" (see figure 7.6 in appendix). The performance and projection of this recombination of elements in world cultural flows – the reconstituted corporate logos originating from global commodity flows coupled with a human rights discourse incorporated into the movement via transnational migrations and TCAN collaborations – demonstrates the creativity of local movements in their interactions with world culture. Moreover, it demonstrates how deviations from dominant world cultural scripts in human rights advocacy, such as the targeting of corporations rather than states for human rights implementation and material concessions, occur in the world polity.

World-System Theory

Thus far, I have demonstrated how CIW's global engagement, and its claims to human rights and world citizenship, can be understood both by its enactment and local adaptations of world culture. However, what globalization theory, world polity theory, and macroanthropological perspectives lack are serious considerations of global economic disparities and how world culture functions in an expanding capitalist world-system. While world polity theorists emphasize the cultural and normative bases of world integration, world-system theorists focus on the "importance of political and economic institutions at the world-system level which produce and reproduce material life" (Chase-Dunn 1991, 89). World-system theory is well situated to analyze CIW's sustained

mobilization against multinational corporations and its strategy of educating consumers and publicly contesting dominant ideologies of modern global capitalism.

Unlike other definitions of globalization, world-system theory conceives of globalization as an expansion of the capitalist world system across the globe, with a 'world-system' being understood as a historical social system with a distinct structure and rules of operation (Wallerstein 1974). In the current world-system of global capitalism, the driving forces are the accumulation of private capital and exploitation through a global division of labor. Like globalization and world polity theorists, world-system theorists recognize a similar problem facing the implementation of universal human rights: the development of the United Nations and the principles articulated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights on one hand, and the simultaneous construction of sovereign states on the other (Wallerstein 1990, 42). Yet, in contrast to world polity theory's emphasis on world culture as a set of legitimized cultural scripts that is often embodied in and elaborated by INGOs, Wallerstein views culture as an ideological tool of the capitalist elites in the world-system, especially in the form of universalisms:

> We can assert, if we wish, that the principle of universalism both on a world-wide scale and within each of the sovereign states that constitute the interstate system is hypocritical. But it is precisely because there is in reality a hierarchy of states within the interstate system and a hierarchy of citizens within each sovereign state that the ideology of universalism matters. It serves on the one hand as a palliative and a deception and on the other as a political counter-weight which the weak can use and do use against the strong. (Wallerstein 1990, 43)

Thus, from a world-system perspective, cultural universalisms are a tool of ideological control that helps maintain elites' privileged positions and wealth. However, they can also serve as a basis for political contention for the weak and exploited of the capitalist world-system; culture is thus the "ideological battleground" of the modern

world-system (Wallerstein 1990). For Wallerstein, the failure of antisystemic movements is that they have "hesitated to go all the way" (ibid., 53). He states,

> As long as the antisystemic movements remain at the level of tactical ambivalence about the guiding ideological values of our world-system, as long as they are unsure how to respond to the liberal dream of more science and more assimilation, we can say that they are in no position to fight a war of position with the forces that defend the inequalities of the world. (ibid.).

Wallerstein argues that the focus of resistance for social movements must be on the cultural justifications for global inequalities, such as the ideologies of the universal work ethic (ibid., 46). By analyzing CIW's ritual demonstrations and popular education strategies – both in Immokalee and in the public sphere – I demonstrate how the CIW has sought to improve the human rights of its workers by implementing a strategy that confronts the cultural justifications of economic inequality and fighting creatively within the ideological battleground of the capitalist world-system.

According to Wallerstein, the cultural ideology of the universal work ethic justifies all existing inequalities and reinforces the domination of capitalist elites. This ideology spreads the belief that the poor are poor because they are lazy and work less than those who are rich (ibid.). The CIW publicly challenges this ideology by utilizing creative theater props that communicate farmworkers' poverty despite their hard work and portray the wealth of targeted corporations as due to greed and exploitation.

In the 2007 March on Burger King, for example, the CIW walked behind a trailer filled with hundreds of pesticide-soaked shoes they had gathered from farmworkers in Immokalee with a sign that read, "Doubt Our Poverty? Walk in Our Shoes," and paraded a giant burger "king" puppet with a big dollar sign on its chest through the streets of Miami. This theatrical tactic was also employed in the early days of the Taco Bell

boycott. In 2004, in a march to the Taco Bell corporate headquarters in Irvine, farmworkers carried a clothesline a quarter-mile long that strung together shirts covered in dirt and pesticides (see visual appendix 7.7). When they arrived at the headquarters, they hung the clothes along the fence surrounding Taco Bell and constructed a 20-foot high pyramid of 125 red tomato buckets in front of a sign that read "2 Tons of Tomatoes = $50 = Unfair Pay" (see visual appendix 7.8). And in 2011, at the Do the Right Thing pageant, farmworkers portrayed their hard work in the fields by walking down the center aisle with their backs bent from the weight of the tomato buckets on their shoulders as the narrator contrasted this hard labor with their sub-poverty wages. Through these theatrical props and performances, the CIW contested the ideology of the universal work ethic with presentations of physical evidence that hard work is not correlated with fair pay in global capitalism.

The CIW further challenged this ideology by emphasizing that the high volume purchasing practices of food corporations operating under the rules of global capitalism actually create the conditions at the end of their supply chains that demand more labor for lower pay – which, in extreme cases, leads to forced labor, or modern slavery. In the past fifteen years, the CIW has been involved in the discovery, investigation, and prosecution of seven slavery operations in Florida, that have led to the liberation of more than 1,200 workers from forced labor. In the recent slavery case *U.S. v. Navarrete,* prosecuted in 2008 by the U.S. Department of Justice, crew leaders chained Mexican and Guatemalan immigrant farmworkers to a post, beat them repeatedly, locked them in a box truck every night, and forced them to work while driving them into debt (U.S. Department of Justice 2008). Rather than being satisfied with state prosecutions of individual crew leaders who

enslaved their workers, the CIW sought to hold corporations accountable for these horrific conditions in their supply chain to address the market conditions that allow slavery to persist. To do so, the CIW not only incorporated themes of farmworker slavery into the art, theater, and musical chants of its public demonstrations, it also employed a creative form of public popular education: in late 2009, the CIW created the mobile "Florida Modern-Day Slavery Museum" (see visual appendix 7.9).

Built as a replica of the cargo truck used to hold enslaved workers in Immokalee in the *Navarette* case, the slavery museum traveled extensively throughout Florida and along the East Coast from early-2010 to mid-2011, stopping at hundreds of universities, places of worship, historic landmarks, and even the National Mall in Washington, D.C. (see visual appendix 7.10). The content of the museum covered the history of slavery in Florida, from the era of chattel-slavery prior to the Civil War, to the convict-lease system of the post-Civil War era, to debt-peonage of the early- to mid- 20th century, and proposed solutions to ending slavery in its modern form by calling on food corporations to participate in CIW's Fair Food Program to implement a zero-tolerance policy for slavery in their supply chains. In serving as one of the drivers, docents, and translators of the museum from September 2010 until April 2011, as well as the archivist of the museum,[210] I became very familiar with its content and how the CIW educated public visitors about farmworkers' hard labor, exploitation, slavery, and corporate responsibility.

[210] As part of my fieldwork in Immokalee, I photographed and archived the contents of the Florida Modern-Day Slavery Museum for the CIW. The complete 154-page manual is available in CIW's organizational archives in Immokalee.

In particular, two components of the museum made daily farmworker exploitation and cases of slavery tangible for visitors. The first was the museum's red bucket filled with 32 pounds of tomatoes, which had a sign encouraging people to try to lift it shoulder-high (see visual appendix 7.11). To visitors' surprise, a very small percentage of people could actually do so. The docent[211] would instruct the person or the group to imagine having to run and throw it up ten feet onto a truck, and then ask them to guess how many times they would have to repeat it to earn $50. When they were told the answer – 125 times – their mouths would drop and they would shake their heads in disbelief. The docent then stressed that while not all forms of farmworker exploitation involve slavery, slavery is the outermost point along a continuum of farmworker exploitation, often quoting Senator Bernie Sanders (I-VT), [212] who said upon his visit to Immokalee in 2008, "The norm is a disaster, and the extreme is slavery" (vanden Heuvel 2008).

The second item was the set of iron chains hanging in the museum under the section detailing the 2008 *Navarrete* slavery case – a replica of the chains used to shackle workers together inside a truck in downtown Immokalee, a few blocks away from the CIW community center. When President Jimmy Carter visited the museum during its stop at Emory University in Atlanta, Georgia in March, 2011, he was particularly drawn to the chains – distraught that they had been used on farm laborers just several years before in the U.S. South – and listened intently as Laura Germino, the coordinator of CIW's anti-slavery work, told him how the CIW had helped uncover and investigate the

[211] The museum docents were primarily CIW farmworker staff members and various ally staff from the Student Farmworker Alliance or Interfaith Action, who translated from Spanish to English when necessary.
[212] Senator Bernie Sanders, I-VT, is the only U.S. Senator to have visited Immokalee to date.

case (see visual appendix 7.12). In both of these examples, docents emphasized to visitors how fast-food restaurants and supermarkets – no matter how "green" or "organic" they may claim to be – not only buy the tomatoes that are harvested under conditions of exploitation or slavery, but they make profit off of these conditions and are therefore ethically responsible for them.

In addition to these physical objects that undermined the myth of the universal work ethic and brought to light the connection between farmworker exploitation and corporate profits, the museum's content framed both slavery and poverty in terms of violations of universal human rights and emphasized a human rights discourse in its reading material. For example, in the 17-page "museum booklet" that was provided to visitors, the CIW included quotes from notable supporters and its own analysis of Publix's refusal to adopt the principles of the Campaign for Fair Food after it was discovered it was purchasing tomatoes from farms implicated in the 2008 slavery case:

> Today, as in the past, many Florida field workers lack the basic civil rights, and human rights, that would guarantee them fair treatment and fair compensation for their strenuous labors…
> -- Dr. Jacqueline Jones, Professor of History, University of Texas at Austin
>
> Four hundred years of slavery in Florida, and 145 of those coming after the Civil War, are the result of the continued violation and debasement of workers' human rights…
> -- Dr. Carol Anderson, Associate Professor of African American Studies, Emory University
>
> When asked why, Publix spokesperson Dwaine Stevens told the St. Augustine Record: "…the chain does purchase tomatoes from the two farms but pays a fair market price." But there can be no "fair market price" for slavery, and there will be no end to modern-day slavery until companies like Publix stop turning a blind eye to human rights abuses in their suppliers' fields. (Coalition of Immokalee Workers 2010).[213]

[213] See reference Coalition of Immokalee Workers 2010, Florida Modern-Day Slavery Museum booklet.

Through the creative use of cultural repertoires in public demonstrations and public forms of popular education such as the Florida Modern-Day Slavery Museum, the CIW engaged in the ideological battleground of the world-system by contesting the ideology of the universal work ethic and by employing a universal human rights ideology as a "political counter-weight" against powerful corporations.

While world-system theorists identify world culture as the ideological battleground, they regard culture as primarily a by-product of ideological hegemony that has no causal significance of its own. To them, the world is held together through market trade, political bargaining, and military force, not by consensual understandings or "agreed-upon reciprocal obligations" (Chase-Dunn 1998, 93). Changes that do occur in the world-system are either a result of economic and military force exercised by capitalist elites and nation-states, or global antisystemic movements that lead to regime change and provide alternatives to the capitalist world-system. As such, world-system theorists would consider CIW's past participation in the broader Global Justice Movement contesting neoliberal globalization – as evidenced by its drawing inspiration from the Battle of Seattle, attendance at the early World Social Forum gatherings (and adoption of its motto, "Another World is Possible"), and collaboration with groups in the Root Cause March against the FTAA in 2003 – as indications of CIW's involvement in antisystemic movements that have the potential of transforming the world-system.

However, such theorists would also likely view CIW's agreements with multinational corporations with skepticism, seeing them as a way of further strengthening global capitalism by allowing elites to market themselves as human rights-friendly, or "socially responsible," in competition with other global capitalists. They would also point

to CIW's relative retreat from participation in antisystemic or anti-globalization movements and forums, beginning with its agreement with Taco Bell in 2005, as an indication that the CIW has hesitated to go "all the way." In other words, the CIW could be critiqued for not advocating for or participating in a movement that seeks alternatives to an immensely consolidated and capitalist global food system, where, for example, a system in which farmworkers and others could own, control, harvest, and reap the benefits of their own land and locally distribute food according to human needs, whether in rural Guatemala or South Florida.

While these might be considered valid critiques given CIW's expressions that they share a belief that "another world is possible," it is important to assess the CIW, an organization of poor workers displaced from the periphery and exploited in the core, with regard to its own stated goals. CIW's goal has never been to overthrow capitalism, but to improve farmworkers' wages and working conditions, and to secure a seat at the table with their employers so that they may participate in decisions that impact their work environment. Fifteen years ago, if a crew leader beat a worker, any other worker risked losing his job if he reported the abuse. Today, under the new Fair Food Program that came about in 2011 after the watershed agreement with the Florida Tomato Growers Exchange – which is overseen and audited by the independent Fair Food Standards Council (FFSC) – the consequences of abuse fall on the crew leader and the grower who employs him, rather than the worker, as workers are now able to report abuses to the FFSC, which investigates cases using a "human rights based code of conduct" (Fair Food Standards Council).

For farmworkers in Immokalee, this dramatic shift in the power relations between crew leaders and workers is almost like "another world,"[214] something unimaginable just several years ago. In order to get to this point, the CIW endured the failure of 30-day hunger strikes, work stoppages, and a 234-mile march across Florida. They petitioned state senators, governors, and even a former President to come to their aid, but wages and working conditions still did not significantly improve. It was not until the CIW bypassed growers and the nation-state political system and implemented a strategy of global engagement that targeted multinational food corporations at the top of the tomato supply chain that it finally achieved its goals.

While world-system theory sheds light on the ways that global capitalist ideology justifies farmworker poverty, its predetermined position that world culture is merely an ideological project of the global capitalist elite cannot adequately account for how this local farmworker movement, which has mobilized impoverished immigrant workers in the global economy against multi-billion dollar food corporations, has achieved such impressive results – including as much as a 70 percent wage increase and new enforcement mechanisms against violations of workers' rights – without an increase in economic or military power or an overthrow of capitalist world-system. This is because world-system theory neglects the existence of a global moral order and the power of legitimacy in the world polity, and the ability of local movement participants to strategically engage with these aspects of world culture to secure material improvements and the changes they desire in their lives.

[214] In the Wednesday worker meetings at the CIW community center, I often heard this expression used to describe the changes in the work relationships and rights that farmworkers now have in the fields.

Global Engagement and Movement Success

Drawing from globalization and world polity theory, macroanthropological perspectives, and world-system theory, we see how the Coalition of Immokalee Workers has enacted, adapted, and contested world culture. Lechner and Boli (2005) emphasize that while these theories present different views on how world culture operates – whether it be a process of relativization, an enactment of scripts, an adaptation of intersecting flows, or an imposition of or resistance to capitalist ideology – they share a view that culture is organized and socially constructed on a global level, a "product of a collective process of defining a common situation" (Lechner and Boli 2005, 58). They also share the idea that "world culture is inherently contentious" because world culture often contains opposing values and tendencies, such as justice versus liberty, individual rights versus state interests, and national sovereignty versus international law (ibid., 59). Because world culture is both socially constructed and contentious, it has increasingly become the site of conflict and social movement mobilization.

However, as the case of the CIW makes clear, the expansion of global capitalism alongside the growth of the human rights regime in world culture has also spurred a new arena of contention in world society. In response to the second part of research question #3, I argue that CIW's transition from a national-level strategy to a strategy of global engagement in this arena of contention – one marked by the targeting of multinational food corporations, the utilization of a human rights discourse, and participation in transcultural advocacy networks – had a significant impact on the movement's achievement of its goals.

The global strategy of targeting multinational food corporations explains how the CIW was able to secure substantial material improvements, including a penny more per pound increase in the piece rate (roughly a 70 percent wage increase), a human rights monitoring mechanism in the fields, and continued farmworker participation in negotiating and securing workplace standards (indicator of success #2). This strategy led to Fair Food Agreements with 11 major food corporations and generated sufficient pressure to convince the Florida Tomato Growers Exchange – which represents 90 percent of the Florida tomato industry – to work with the CIW in establishing the Fair Food Program in 2010. Additionally, these agreements, along with CIW's anti-slavery work, established stronger enforcement mechanisms against violators of workers' rights (success indicator #4).

CIW's utilization of a human rights ideology also helped form and maintain a collective identity (we are all human beings) and consciousness (we have rights because we are human, regardless of ethnicity or citizenship) among diverse farmworkers and allies (indicator of success #1), and their participation in and adaptations of group rituals within transcultural advocacy networks strengthened bonds of solidarity and enabled them to act out their desired movement community and visions of a better world (success indicator #3).

While the abolition of involuntary servitude (success indicator #5) and the development of a socially responsible food industry held accountable to human rights standards (success indicator #6) are large-scale and long-term goals, the CIW's strategy of targeting food corporations to implement human rights standards in their supply chains, including zero-tolerance policies for slavery and fair wages, serves as a new

advocacy model that can be followed and adapted by other human rights, labor, and food justice movements. Already, CIW's Anti-Slavery Campaign and Campaign for Fair Food have contributed to the development of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (2000), heightened public awareness of modern slavery in the United States, and received recognition by the U.S. State Department that has led to increased federal resources dedicated to work towards uncovering, prosecuting, and abolishing slavery in its many forms. Similarly, the Campaign for Fair Food is largely responsible for introducing a human rights perspective into the growing food movement in the United States, transforming a movement once focused on food quality, organic production, and environmental sustainability to one that also considers the human beings who harvest the food and the working conditions they face. Thus, the success of the global strategy of the Campaign for Fair Food has not only increased public recognition of human rights abuses in the United States more generally, but through its influence on intersecting social movements and federal laws and institutions, CIW's initial work towards these long-term human rights goals will likely grow through other channels as well.

CIW's transition to a strategy that targeted multinational corporations, utilized a discourse of universal human rights and global citizenship, and involved active participation in transcultural advocacy networks, which began to take shape between 2000 and 2002, was critical to the movement's achievement of or progress towards all six of the movement's goals, and particularly, its attainment of considerable material gains. However, the fundamental question remains: Why was this the case? In other words, why were CIW's forms of global engagement successful while its previous strategies of targeting local growers and the nation-state failed?

The answer to this question is complex. First, a global strategy enabled the movement to bypass obstacles and a closed political opportunity structure at the nation-state level. Targeting multinational corporations with human rights demands circumvented the impasse farmworkers faced in appealing to a nation-state that did not recognize them as workers worthy of basic labor rights or as citizens. As immigrants without voting rights or representation at local, state, and federal levels, their numerous efforts of petitioning elected officials proved futile. Social movement theorists call the relative presence or absence of obstacles social movements face in their domestic political environment a "political opportunity structure" (Kreisi et al 1992; Kitschelt 1986). Political process theorists of the resource mobilization perspective attribute social movement failure or success to changes in political opportunities, accounting for factors such as the relative openness of the institutionalized political system of the nation-state, the stability of elite alignments, the availability of elite allies, and the state's capacity for repression (McAdam et al. 1996, 10). For instance, Jenkins and Perrow (1977) explain that the rise and ultimate success of the United Farm Workers depended on the opening of political opportunities, such as the dissolution of the Bracero Program in 1964, rather than on the "internal characteristics of the movement organization" (Jenkins and Perrow 1977, 249).

However, in the case of the CIW, very little changed in federal or state-level policies in the years preceding or during the years of the Campaign for Fair Food that modified the political opportunity structure in farmworkers' favor. Workers still received sub-poverty wages, were denied basic labor rights such as the right to collective bargaining and the right to form a union, and were still excluded from participating in

institutionalized electoral politics. Furthermore, the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, which occurred the same week the CIW had planned to embark on its first major action in the Campaign for Fair Food, drastically closed political opportunities for social movement mobilization – especially those led by immigrants. In October 2001, journalist Naomi Klein wrote, "Post-September 11, tactics that rely on attacking – even peacefully – powerful symbols of capitalism find themselves in an utterly transformed semiotic landscape" (Klein 2001).[215]

Yet, during this period of continued exclusion from federal rights protections and a closed political opportunity structure for economic or social justice activism in the U.S. political landscape, the CIW was able to mobilize farmworkers and a diverse ally network and win considerable gains. Therefore, CIW's success cannot be attributed to the opening of domestic political opportunities. Rather, it was the result of a radical change in strategy that bypassed the lack of domestic opportunities in search of global opportunities, and transformed declarations of "I, too, am America!" directed at local growers and state politicians to assertions of "We are Human Beings!" to multinational food corporations.

CIW's particular strategy of global engagement – a worker-led movement demanding human rights protections from multinational corporations who profited from their exploitation – was successful because it resonated with domestic allies, groups and movements in transcultural advocacy networks, and with INGOs, effectively harnessing the power of legitimacy and global moral authority embedded in world culture against its multi-billion dollar adversaries.

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[215] See also a similar citation by Sellers 2009, 110.

I emphasize the word "strategy" in describing CIW's global engagement because although the CIW has enacted world culture in many ways – defining workers as human beings, utilizing a human rights discourse, working with INGOs, and practicing globally-legitimated movement tactics such as non-violence[216] and hunger strikes – it is also crucial to acknowledge that the idea of targeting multinational corporations and the commitment necessary to continue sustained mobilization against those corporations for over a decade came from the farmworker base. They did not come from INGOs, U.N. officials, or other elite carriers of world culture. Moreover, the CIW strategy signified important variations of and adaptations to dominant human rights advocacy scripts that increased its legitimacy, garnered INGO support – and later, even state support – and effectively shamed both corporations and growers, which ultimately led to their concession to all three components of CIW's demands.

CIW's global engagement strategy took shape around 2002 and developed from a creolization process of farmworkers' "holistic" perspectives of human rights and the global framings and analyses the CIW encountered in collaborations with other groups in TCANs. The strategy also involved CIW's perception of possibilities of political activism on a global scale, or what might be called global political opportunities. These opportunities included the availability of new movement allies, such as domestic and international groups in TCANs as well as "elite" INGO allies in TANs, and the feasibility of new movement targets, such as powerful multinational fast-food corporations that had both worldwide recognition through their brand-images and a desire – and market imperative – to maintain prestige and legitimacy in world society.

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[216] For a discussion on non-violence as a movement tactic legitimated in the world polity, see Gallo-Cruz 2011.

CIW's strategy of targeting multinational corporations was an important variation of the dominant advocacy script that targets states. Like states, multinational corporations seek legitimacy in the world polity and enact world cultural rules and scripts that compel them to implement policies and practices "in pursuit of globally defined progress," which includes notions such as human rights and global citizenship, even though they may be at odds with narrowly-defined rational interests such as increasing profit (Lechner and Boli 2005, 45). This is evident in initiatives such as the U.N. Global Compact, which gathers signatories from companies, not states, in an effort to get companies "to embrace universal principles and to partner with the United Nations" (United Nations), and the International Labor Organization's Tripartite Declaration of Principles Concerning Multinational Enterprises and Social Policy, which contain provisions that "social partners are urged to bear in mind and apply, to the greatest extent possible" (International Labor Organization).[217] However, like many human rights mechanisms involving states, the efforts of these compacts and declarations are largely focused on symbolic achievements, such as increasing the number of signatories, rather than on the enforcement of the principles in practice.

Regardless of the challenges of enforcement, the CIW perceived that multinational corporations, in addition to states, were concerned about their reputations – or brand images – in world society and correctly assessed that they were therefore susceptible to social movement mobilizing that associated their brands with practices widely perceived as shameful and immoral.

[217] International Labor Organization (ILO) is a specialized U.N. Agency focused on social justice and labor rights.

CIW's strategy of targeting multinational corporations alone does not explain its effectiveness. Rather, it was the strategy's combination of a highly visible target paired with a movement framing that garnered legitimacy in world culture that the CIW was able to bring powerful corporations to the negotiating table. By framing farmworker injustices in terms of human rights violations committed by specific actors, the CIW increased its legitimacy in world society at the same time that it delegitimized its targets as human rights violators. It was CIW's reliance on legitimacy rather than its reliance on traditional forms of power, such as having more material resources than its target or the capacity to undermine its target's profit margin, that gave the CIW leverage over its corporate adversaries.

To date, no other social movement has ever attempted and successfully pressured a corporation to sign human rights agreements that included providing material concessions to increase wages and working conditions of workers at the end of the supply chain. There was very little reason to believe that this adaptation of dominant human rights advocacy models would succeed: convincing a company to essentially pay workers they didn't employ – in the CIW's case, by paying a premium for tomatoes and passing the increased payment down to the farmworkers – had never been done before. Yet, the CIW was able to accomplish this by framing their injustices and coupling demands in a way that resonated with and attracted other actors in the world polity – particularly human rights INGOs – and severely delegitimized their targets.

Specifically, the CIW defined farmworkers' sub-poverty wages and inability to collectively bargain and negotiate with their employers, which are usually framed domestically as labor rights, as human rights as articulated in Article 23 of the Universal

Declaration of Human Rights. To reverse these human rights violations, the CIW demanded that its target pay a penny more per pound premium for tomatoes and ensure farmworker participation in the negotiation and implementation of the agreements. However, these rights violations were unlikely to spark global outrage or gain support in the public sphere, as poverty is often attributed to individual failure and powerlessness to farmworkers' status as immigrants. To overcome this lack of frame resonance with the public, the CIW coupled these demands with the demand that corporations must take responsibility for and help abolish slavery in the supply chains.

The use of the term "slavery," of course, was not rhetorical – the CIW used the term to accurately describe the multiple cases of forced labor that had been discovered on farms in or near Immokalee and prosecuted by the U.S. Department of Justice since the mid-1990s. Slavery, as opposed to poverty, is perhaps one of the most highly illegitimate human rights abuses in the world polity. The anti-slavery movement of the 19th century, after all, is considered the forerunner to modern human rights advocacy (Seck and Sikkink 1998, 41). But rather than engaging in a campaign based solely on farmworker slavery, the CIW made the case that slavery was a result of farmworkers' "poverty and powerlessness," and therefore solutions to abolish and prevent future cases of slavery must also address farmworkers' low wages and lack of voice or participation in the enforcement of workplace standards. Through this strategic emphasis on the human rights violation of slavery, and the coupling of demands to end slavery with demands to increase wages and farmworker participation, the CIW successfully framed the movement in a way that positioned itself as a legitimate actor in the world polity and

attracted the support from NGOs such as the RFK Center in 2003 and INGOs such as Anti-Slavery International in 2007, which further conferred legitimacy upon the CIW.

The human rights framing of slavery also implicated corporate targets not only as profiting from slavery, but as the driving forces behind local conditions that demand more work for less pay due to their high-volume purchasing practices. Published studies such as Oxfam's (2004) "Like Machines in the Fields" detailed corporate buyers' direct role in driving down farmworker wages and creating conditions ripe for slavery, which further delegitimized corporations like Taco Bell as human rights violators. While INGOs were indeed crucial in delegitimizing corporate targets in the world polity, they were preceded and supplemented by sustained mobilization at the base: farmworkers, students, people of faith, as well as musicians and puppeteers and other allies from transcultural advocacy networks, who creatively and relentlessly shamed the corporate targets as human rights violators in the public sphere.

In the case of Taco Bell, this required multiple cross-country journeys, a 10-day hunger strike, a 44-mile march, and students kicking Taco Bell off 23 high school and college campuses. Taco Bell's decision to sign with the CIW in 2005 occurred at a time when the corporation was making record profits, so it was unaffected financially by the CIW boycott. The corporation's repeated statements that it was now a human rights leader underscore the power local movements can wield by relying on legitimacy rooted in global moral principles. At the same time, Taco Bell's decision to sign at the eve of CIW's planned mass demonstration outside Yum's corporate headquarters also emphasizes the importance of having a mobilized base that can sustain local pressure, accountability, and pubic shaming. Similarly, the imminent threat of a mass

demonstration in Chicago in the spring of 2007 brought McDonald's to the table, despite its increase in profits throughout CIW's campaign.

Thus, through a strategy of targeting multinational corporations with a human rights framing and sustained mobilization in the domestic arena, the CIW was able to bypass major obstacles posed by a closed political opportunity structure on the national level and harness the power of legitimacy in global moral principles to win all of their demands, including a penny per pound increase in the tomato piece rate, a zero-tolerance policy for slavery in corporate supply chains and funding of a third-party human rights monitoring mechanism, and farmworker participation in the implementation of the agreements.

However, as CIW's global strategy against multinational food corporations was proving effective, the CIW began to experience resistance and repression at the local level. In the fall of 2007, the Florida Tomato Growers Exchange (FTGE) – a growers cooperative and lobbying group that represents 90 percent of Florida's tomato growers – threatened to assess a $100,000 fine on any of its grower members if they cooperated with the CIW by passing the penny per pound from Yum Brands or McDonald's down to farmworkers.[218] Citing anti-trust laws for its non-compliance (a claim that was later debunked by numerous legal scholars and U.S. senators[219]), FTGE vice president Reggie Brown stated, "I think it is un-American when you get people outside your business to dictate terms of business to you" (Greenhouse 2007). This statement echoed the "planter's theory of value" that combined deeply held beliefs of "natural" racial

[218] The threat specified that a grower would be fined $100,000 for *each worker* who benefited from the penny per pound pay increase.
[219] Refer to United States Senate 2008, Full Committee Hearing – Ending Abuses and Improving Working Conditions for Tomato Workers.

inferiority and "natural" laws of economics, which had pervaded in the agricultural industry of the U.S. South for more than 300 years. "Un-American" was now code for immigrants of color; like the white planters one hundred years before who believed that "black people worked less the more they were paid," for Reggie Brown and other Florida tomato growers, an "increase in wages seemed unnatural – proof of a world turned upside down" (Hahamovitch 1997, 82).

As a result of FTGE's decision, the penny per pound surcharge that had successfully been passed down to workers for two years under the Yum Brands and McDonald's agreements was redirected away from workers and accumulated in an escrow account. Rather than accepting defeat, the CIW continued to animate new waves of farmworkers, mobilize allies in local and transcultural networks, and coordinate with its numerous INGO supporters in an effort to win more corporate agreements and pressure growers from the top down. Over the next three years, the CIW remarkably won agreements with seven more food corporations, including Burger King, Subway, Whole Foods, Bon Appétit, and three of the world's largest foodservice corporations, Compass Group, Aramark, and Sodexo.

With each victory in the campaign, the CIW increased its legitimacy in the global public sphere and garnered support from the U.N. and elite allies in the U.S. federal government. For example, in 2009, the United Nations invited Lucas Benitez of the CIW to its headquarters to mark the First World Social Justice Day. To the CIW's surprise, the success of its global strategy also attracted the attention and support of U.S. elected officials and the State Department, who had all but ignored Florida farmworkers' mobilizing efforts in the fifteen years prior to the victories in the Campaign for Fair Food.

In 2008, Burger King and the CIW held a signing ceremony at the U.S. Capitol with the support of Senator Bernie Sanders (I-VT) and Senator Dick Durbin (D-IL). In 2009, U.S. Secretary of Labor Hilda Solis hosted a signing ceremony between the CIW and Compass Group in Washington D.C. In the summer of 2010, the U.S. State Department hosted CIW's Florida Modern-Day Slavery Museum at the National Mall in coordination with the release of its annual *Trafficking in Persons (TIP) Report*. For the first time in the ten-year history of the publication, the State Department reported on trafficking in the United States. Moreover, the State Department honored Laura Germino of the CIW with the annual TIP Report Hero Award, making her the first recipient from the United States to receive the prize. At the award ceremony, Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton validated CIW's efforts to hold businesses accountable to modern slavery in their supply chains and pledged the support of the U.S. government in combating modern slavery both "at home and around the world":

> Today we release the 10th annual Trafficking in Persons Report. I remember very well when we got the wheels in motion for this process because we wanted to document the persistent injustice of modern slavery. We wanted to tell the stories of men, women, boys, and girls held in forced labor or sexual servitude around the world. And for the first time ever, we are also reporting on the United States of America because we believe it is important to keep the spotlight on ourselves.
>
> Human trafficking crosses cultures and continents… Traffickers must be brought to justice. And we can't just blame international organized crime and rely on law enforcement to pursue them. It is everyone's responsibility. Businesses that knowingly profit or exhibit reckless disregard about their supply chains, governments that turn a blind eye or do not devote serious resources to addressing the problem, all of us have to speak out and act forcefully…
>
> We reaffirm the commitment of the United States to do everything we can at home and around the world to end modern slavery and I hope this report galvanizes further action. (Clinton 2010)

With support for the CIW coming from the Secretary of State, U.S. senators, INGOs, the United Nations, as well as from their corporate buyers, individual growers

began to feel uncertain about their association with the FTGE. In addition to condemnation from elite officials and institutions, CIW's Florida Modern Day Slavery Museum began traveling extensively around the state throughout 2010, presenting to hundreds of schools, churches, and civic groups about recent farmworker slavery cases linked to the names of specific farms.[220] As a result, local growers began defying FTGE's policy against cooperating with the CIW.

On October 14, 2010, Pacific Tomato Growers – one of the five largest growers in the U.S. – held an outdoor press conference with the CIW to announce that they would work directly with the Coalition to implement the penny per pound premium as well as new rights and conditions in the fields, including a complaint resolution system, a participatory health and safety program, a worker-to-worker education program paid on company time, which are the three primary principles of what is now known as the "Fair Food Program" between growers and farmworkers. At the press conference, Jon Esformes of Pacific quoted Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel, "Few are guilty, but all are responsible." He continued, "The transgressions that took place are totally unacceptable today and they were totally unacceptable yesterday. Now is the time to ask responsible agricultural companies to join in the effort to bring positive change to our industry."[221] One week later, Six L's, Florida's largest tomato grower, also came to the table. With major grower-members opting out of their directives, the FTGE finally caved. On November 16, 2010, Reggie Brown arrived at the CIW community center to announce in a press conference that the FTGE had reached an agreement with the CIW, and that it

[220] According to Bennett Williams' (2010) article in the *Fort Myers News-Press*, "Tomato grower, harvesters strike historic accord," the workers enslaved in the Navarette slavery ring were brought to work in fields owned by Pacific Tomato Growers and Six L's.
[221] Recorded as participant observer at the press conference. See also "The Wall Comes Tumbling Down" *The Nation*. Greg Kaufmann. October 18, 2010.

would pass on the penny-per-pound premium from corporate buyers to farmworkers and extend the principles of the Fair Food Program throughout its membership, representing 90 percent of the Florida tomato industry (see visual appendix 7.13).[222]

While a more comprehensive analysis of the recent implementation of growers' participation in the Fair Food Program and the third party human rights monitoring of the program by the Fair Food Standards Council that began in 2012 is beyond the temporal scope of this study, the fact alone that growers are paying workers while they attend human rights trainings by the CIW on company property is indicative of the immense transformations that have occurred in the fields as a result of CIW's social movement mobilization. This dramatic change in the relationship between farmworkers and their employers, however, came about only after nearly 20 years of continuous struggle and the implementation of a strategy that involved both global engagement in the world polity and persistent, creative mobilization of farmworkers and their allies at the local level.

As opposed to dominant human rights advocacy models in world culture where INGOs/NGOs mobilize on behalf of local groups experiencing rights violations by their nation-state, and work with other states, INGOs, and IGOs to pressure the state to stop violating those rights, the case of the CIW presents a model in which INGOs and states were secondary to a local movement mobilizing on behalf of rights violations experienced by its own members. INGOs joined the cause after the CIW had already implemented a strategy of targeting multinational fast-food corporations and articulated its demands, which were informed by its own members' understanding of human rights

[222] These changes were implemented in a two-step process. In the 2010-2011 season, participating FTGE members began passing through the penny-per-pound premium from participating corporate purchasers. Also, Pacific Tomato Growers and Six L's and the CIW worked collaboratively as a "Working Group" to develop systems of implementation and evaluation of the new "Fair Food Code of Conduct" which were applied to all participating FTGE members in the 2011-2012 season.

and collaborations with other movements in transcultural advocacy networks. Through the publication of reports and the conferring of awards, INGOs such as Oxfam and the RFK Center amplified CIW's demands for human rights, which simultaneously increased CIW's legitimacy and delegitimized the target in the world polity. However, it was only when these efforts were combined with mobilizing and shaming of the target at the local level that targets were successfully pressured to concede to CIW's demands.

The CIW successfully attained significant material concessions from global targets through the Campaign for Fair Food even though it was unable to win similar concessions – "dignity, dialogue, and a fair wage" – from its local targets in the 1990s. Its eventual success was made possible by CIW's perception of global political opportunities, such as corporations' widely recognized brand images and desire for prestige and a world polity highly receptive to addressing human rights abuses, especially slavery, that violate global moral principles. CIW's increased legitimacy and success at the global level actually had the effect of opening national political opportunities in its favor: when the movement faced repression from local growers, it found itself attracting elite allies such as U.S. senators, the Secretary of State, and the Secretary of Labor, who were now eager to support the CIW. While these political elites' support for CIW's work and denunciation of the FTGE – most notably in the 2008 U.S. Senate Hearing "Ending Abuses and Improving Working Conditions for Tomato Workers" – likely had an impact on diminishing growers' confidence in the FTGE, it was through local, creative mobilizing and public popular education initiatives such as CIW's Florida Modern-Day Slavery Museum that growers were finally compelled to defy the FTGE and work with the Coalition.

CIW's human rights advocacy model was thus successful because it employed both the shaming of global targets and sustained mobilization at the local level. CIW's maintenance of a mobilized social movement community of farmworkers and consumer allies was a crucial factor in achieving human rights agreements with corporate targets in the Campaign for Fair Food and with local growers in the Fair Food Program. And, unlike dominant human rights advocacy scripts that focus on acquiring nation-state signatories to human rights conventions but lack practical mechanisms of enforcement, CIW's continued mobilization of its farmworker base and advocacy networks is the mechanism through which corporate signatories are held accountable and human rights agreements are enforced. For the first time in Florida's fields, human rights abuses in growers' operations – which are now reported by farmworkers educated by the CIW and verified through the third-party Fair Food Standards Council – carry great consequences for growers rather than workers: corporate buyers must cut business with abusive growers as dictated in the terms of the zero-tolerance policy in the Fair Food Agreement or risk triggering a new campaign of global and local public shaming led by the CIW and its allies.

Conclusion

The global engagement undertaken by the Coalition of Immokalee Workers presents a valuable case study with which to deepen our interdisciplinary understanding of how world culture is enacted, adapted, made meaningful, and contested in local movement contexts. My analysis of world cultural processes at the local level reveals that elements in the movement's cultural repertoires, such as music programs on *Radio Conciencia*, ritual demonstrations, and visual art, were key sites where meanings in world

culture, such as human rights and global capitalism, were imported, adapted, contested, and expressed. Moreover, CIW's strategic utilization of the human rights framework in both its targeting of food corporations and its mobilization of diverse farmworkers and allies is valuable to the study of social movements, as its centrality was crucial to the achievement of movement success.

From the earliest years of the Coalition, farmworkers had a consciousness of the world as a single place: their experiences of transnational migration to escape the violence and poverty of their homelands caused by imperialism and neoliberal globalization gave them an intimate understanding of globality. In early strikes against local growers, farmworkers did not frame their injustices as human rights. Rather, human rights as a holistic concept of possessing dignity by virtue of their common humanity helped unite ethnically diverse workers. Despite CIW's successful formation of a cohesive movement, their strategy of targeting local growers and state officials with demands for "dignity, dialogue, and a fair wage" proved ineffective, as farmworkers' exclusion from labor rights protections and voting rights in the United States enabled growers and state officials to ignore them without consequence.

Beginning in 2000, CIW's perception of the recent Battle of Seattle and participation with individuals, movements, and events in transcultural advocacy networks – most notably with puppeteer David Solnit, the Landless Workers' Movement (MST) at the World Social Forum, and the School of Americas Watch – encouraged the CIW to pursue a strategy of global engagement whereby it would target multinational fast-food corporations with a framing of farmworker injustices of slavery and poverty in terms of human rights. CIW's utilization of a human rights framework and eventual collaboration

with INGOs signified its enactment of human rights advocacy scripts legitimated in world culture. However, its strategy of targeting multinational corporations instead of nation-states to sign human rights agreements with the CIW directly and its focus on maintaining a mobilized social movement community of farmworkers and allies also signified important deviations from dominant human rights advocacy scripts.

This human rights strategy and form of global engagement was successful because it enabled the CIW to bypass the obstacles posed by a closed political opportunity structure at the nation-state level and take advantage of global opportunities opened by a world polity that legitimizes actors that enact global moral principles and delegitimizes actors that violate them. One of the primary ways through which the CIW communicated its legitimacy to the global public sphere was through mass demonstrations that were covered extensively in print and digital media. When the CIW mobilized farmworkers and allies in public demonstrations filled with music, theater, and art, they were not waging power against their adversaries, they were communicating their legitimacy as people fighting for the human rights and dignity of hard-working farmworkers and delegitimizing their adversaries as greedy, exploitative violators of human rights. This was communicated through collective representations that reflected the creolization of world cultural flows originating from farmworkers homelands, transcultural advocacy networks, and global commodity culture. These included traditional *sones* with "human rights" improvised into the lyrics, cardboard crowns inscribed with "dignity," and corporate logos such as the "exploitation king" bun that were modified to portray corporations as human rights violators.

These demonstrations and resulting media coverage attracted the attention and support of elite allies in the world polity, including human rights NGOs and INGOs and the United Nations. Through INGOs' conferring of awards for combating modern slavery and publishing of reports on human rights violations in farm labor, the CIW gained considerable legitimacy in the world polity while its adversaries were increasingly shamed and delegitimized. As the strategy began to show signs of success, as corporations began joining the Campaign for Fair Food and signing human rights agreements with the CIW, the national political opportunity structure shifted in CIW's favor. Thus, when the CIW started to experience repression from the FTGE, elite allies in the U.S. Congress expressed support and exposed FTGE's illegal tactics of suppression in a full Senate hearing, and the Secretary of State and the Secretary of Labor similarly expressed their support of the CIW. Again, it was when this pressure from elite allies was combined with the local mobilization of CIW's base and its creative shaming of growers through the Florida Modern-Day Slavery Museum that growers, and eventually the FTGE, came to the negotiating table.

In securing agreements and concessions from both corporate buyers and growers, it was therefore crucial that the CIW was able to maintain a cohesive social movement of diverse farmworkers and allies who were conscious of their human rights and committed to the movement for the long term.

In Immokalee, *Radio Conciencia* was a vital resource in reaching new waves of workers each season, educating them about their human rights, and recruiting them to participate in protest actions and weekly meetings. *Radio Conciencia* was particularly effective in validating a human rights discourse among diverse workers because deejays

combined human rights messages with music programs that resonated with farmworkers' daily "forms of life" and that were also inclusive of farmworkers' ethnic and gender minorities. Beyond Immokalee, in ritual demonstrations in the Campaign for Fair Food and in TCAN gatherings such as the School of Americas Watch conference, participation in music and theater performances – from the March on Burger King in 2008, to the Do the Right Thing Pageant in 2011, to the funeral procession held every year at the front gates of the School of Americas – generated states of heightened emotional intensity and strengthened bonds of solidarity among farmworkers and their diverse allies in national and transcultural networks. Moreover, collective singing and performance of skits depicting oppression, mobilization, and victory made a discourse of human rights that was deeply embedded in these practices meaningful to participants, and it also gave them the joy and the determination needed to fight for more than fifteen years as well as reason to believe that "another world is possible."

Today, CIW's model of global engagement and human rights advocacy model has become so successful that it is almost easy to forget how improbable success once was. Dominant models in the world polity feature NGOs and INGOs who coordinate with each other, as well as IGOs like the United Nations and other nation-states, in order to put pressure on a human rights abusing nation-state. Often, human rights activism has the goal of pressuring states to sign on to human rights conventions that have no mechanisms of enforcement. In contrast, the CIW set out to pressure multinational corporations to sign on to the movement's own human rights agreement – the Fair Food Agreement – which not only moved beyond a symbolic agreement by requiring corporations to cut business with growers who violate human rights, but also demanded that corporations

pay more for tomatoes to increase farmworkers' wages and include farmworkers' participation in the implementation and enforcement of the agreement. Moreover, the CIW was attempting to secure these human rights from corporations when they continued to be denied these same rights by the nation-state.

Yet, remarkably, the farmworkers of the CIW won all of their demands. They did so despite their continued poverty and powerless: at the commencement of the Campaign for Fair Food, farmworkers still picked tomatoes at a piece-rate that had remained stagnant for 30 years and remained excluded from basic labor and citizenship rights from the nation-state. CIW's implementation of a human rights framework, however, allowed farmworkers to fight for these rights that were still not respected by the U.S. government.

Ultimately, the CIW was successful and won these rights because it implemented a strategy of global engagement that relied on legitimacy from global cultural principles in the world polity and the determination of a cohesive movement base. CIW's victory over multi-billion dollar food corporations and a Southern agricultural industry that had profited from poor and disenfranchised workers of color for generations is a testament to the strength of world culture: powerful opponents can be defeated by determined people who have few material resources but possess immense legitimacy.

While harnessing legitimacy from world cultural principles has been very effective in campaigns against global targets such as multinational fast food and food-service corporations, it has shown to have its limitations in campaigns against local targets, such as the Florida-based supermarket company Publix. The CIW has held three mass demonstrations against Publix in 2010, 2011, and 2012, each time changing the tactic and location of the action – yet to no avail. This is likely because Publix, as a

company with a limited geographical reach of operations in the Southeast region of the United States, is less exposed to the normative pressures of conforming to global cultural norms as its multinational fast food counterparts and is therefore less immediately vulnerable to the impact of being shamed as a human rights violator.

However, because the CIW has continuously maintained a conscious and committed movement base alongside its global-oriented efforts, the CIW has been able to adapt to changing opportunities and experiment with tactics and framing to undermine its target. While a human rights framing and mobilization of youth – fast food corporations' target market – was effective against Taco Bell and McDonald's, the CIW has recognized that it must adapt its efforts to mobilize more broad-based community groups and coordinate with the growing sustainability and food movements to engage supermarkets' target market and effectively undermine their branding of being "green" and "sustainable." These efforts have shown signs of success: Whole Foods, and most recently, Trader Joe's supermarkets – both of which heavily depend on green and fair trade branding – have joined the Campaign for Fair Food. And like every campaign of the past, we should expect to see determined farmworkers and their new and longtime allies outside of Publix's headquarters, holding demonstrations filled with the sounds of *son jarocho* and images of suns, acting out their visions of a victorious new dawn until it becomes reality.

CONCLUSION

While participating in the popular theater pageant in Tampa in 2011, watching members of *Son Solidario* perform around the painted *tarima* constructed by David Solnit and singing along to the chorus "*ya mero llega, el amanecer*," I was suddenly struck by the word "*amanecer*" [dawn]. I realized I had reflected on it before. The following morning, I ruffled through my notes and found what I was looking for: the lyrics echoed the closing lines of the *corrido* that Lucas had written fifteen years before to commemorate CIW's first strike.

No hubo nada que temer	There was nothing to fear
Siendo el 12 de noviembre	It was the 12th of November
En el mero amanecer	At the very break of dawn

(Closing lines of "*Los decididos*," a *corrido* by Lucas Benitez. Autumn, 1996)

Through the music of the movement, the image of the dawn – which farmworkers see every morning as they gaze out their bus windows en route to the fields – first came to symbolize farmworkers' unified defiance against local growers. Fifteen years later, it came to symbolize the victories farmworkers had achieved by uniting with consumer, music, and artist allies to demand human rights standards and fair wages from the corporate food industry. Farmworkers were triumphant over these powerful adversaries because they had shown they were, in fact, "*los decididos*" – the determined people.

Interdisciplinary Contributions to the Study of Social Movement Culture

In this dissertation, I conduct an interdisciplinary investigation of the Coalition of Immokalee Workers that brings together three intersecting areas of research: the formation and maintenance of ethnically diverse movements, the meaning, form, and function of music and cultural repertoires in mobilization, and the relationship between local movements and global cultural processes. The major findings of this research project make several important contributions to the study of social movements and culture.

First, I demonstrate that CIW's cultural repertoires have been crucial in the formation and maintenance of an interethnic farmworker movement with a collective identity, consciousness, and solidarity (indicator of success #1). In the early years of the movement, cultural repertoires such as murals, popular theater, and songs animated workers and initiated dialogues about workers' shared troubles and the root causes of their exploitation. In the era of the Campaign for Fair Food, programming on *Radio Conciencia* raised consciousness by articulating a discourse of human rights and participation in rituals such as the annual *Fiestas Patrias* and the *Fiesta del Año del Trabajador* generated states of collective effervescence and strengthened bonds of solidarity among workers. Common to all of these cultural repertoires, in both eras of the movement, is a heightened articulation of ethnic difference. The mural in CIW's community center specifies the workers' different countries of origin, song dedications on *Radio Conciencia* articulate the homelands or ethnicities of the recipients, and national anthems of farmworkers' home countries are played while workers salute the national flags of their home countries during the annual *Fiestas Patrias* celebrations.

This case study accords with the findings of Jung's (2006) research on the interracial labor movement in Hawaii. For the study of social movements in general, it suggests that the achievement of unity in ethnically diverse labor movements does not require the erasure of ethnic differences. Farmworker unity amidst ethnic diversity has been achieved through a heightened articulation and "reworking" of difference, whereby the recognition of ethnic identity signifies membership in a coalition of workers united by their shared immigrant experience.

Unity among diverse student allies, who were particularly vital to the success of the fast-food campaign, was achieved through a similar process. At the 2007 Concert for Fair Food, for example, ally musicians of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Chilean, Afro-Cuban, and African American descent, in song and in spoken introductions, emphasized their ethnic and racial identities, stressed the need for unity, and shared their common histories of migration, exile, and displacement. This practice shows that collective identity formation grounded in the heightening of race or ethnicity among diverse movement participants can also occur among participants other than workers in labor movements, and that this process can be promoted through music practices.

Second, I find that the form and function of music practices in the movement vary depending on the context of mobilization. For example, in Immokalee, the sounds of the marimba group rehearsals and the soundscapes created by *Radio Conciencia* that were reminiscent of farmworkers' homelands attracted new workers to the CIW community center. In contrast, the sounds of *son jarocho* performed by movement allies in demonstrations around the country helped generate solidarity among participants and attract bystanders in the public sphere. Moreover, as these examples demonstrate, it is the

sound of music, more than the content of its lyrics, which is most significant in both contexts of mobilization.

My findings on the lyrics of songs broadcast on *Radio Conciencia* makes this point clear. Unlike Roscigno and Danaher's (2001) study of radio and the mobilization of textile mill workers in the early 1930s, where song lyrics articulated concerns about working conditions and low wages and identified managers and owners as the source of their exploitation, the songs on *Radio Conciencia* were about nostalgia, lost love, and loneliness. Indeed, not a single song in either of the two song data sets contained lyrics pertaining to exploitation or injustice. But workers did not tune in to the radio to listen to words: they tuned in to listen to music. It was thus the combination of these lyrics and the sounds of familiar music that reminded farmworkers of home that helped workers see themselves in each other and recognize a shared experience of migration.

In contrast to the lyrics broadcast on *Radio Conciencia*, the lyrics of songs in public demonstrations often identified the source of injustice, asserted rights, and expressed a belief in the movement's efficacy – the three necessary cognitions of mobilization (Piven and Cloward 1979). But these same cognitions were also articulated in the numerous speeches that accompanied the music performances at the rallies. Thus, what distinguishes music from other social movement practices is the quality of sound it produces.

By employing critical listening and music participation as part of my participant observations, I observed that in public demonstrations, the sounds of *son jarocho* – whose established form was adapted to produce steady walking rhythm and call-and-response phrases – synchronized participants' physical movements and elevated their

emotional state, helping to strengthen feelings of solidarity among them. I also observed that the volume and sound quality of the music disrupted the surrounding urban soundscapes, attracting bystanders to witness the march and even join in sometimes. In combination with other elements of cultural repertoires such as puppetry, visual art, and theater, music is thus a crucial means of communicating collective action frames and presenting the movement as legitimate in the public sphere.

While my work provides the first musical analysis of this movement, it also responds to existing literature on radio and social movements, and on music and social movements more generally, by emphasizing the need to study different arenas of mobilization and focus more seriously on the relationship between musical sound and social movement processes.

Third, I demonstrate that even though the farmworkers of the CIW remained powerless in relation to growers and the nation-state, constrained by obstacles that have long characterized the agricultural industry of the South – exclusion from basic federal labor rights protections, a formal and informal labor importation program that denies them full citizenship rights, and a diverse labor force – they were able to make considerable gains and achieve their movement goals.

As a local movement, they accomplished these gains by implementing a globally oriented strategy that involved targeting multinational corporations with a human rights framework, thereby bypassing obstacles at the nation-state level and relying on the power of legitimacy in the world polity. The success of this approach calls into question basic claims of the resource mobilization and political process literature, including existing research on farmworker social movements. The opening of national-level political

opportunities or the acquisition of power and resources independent of the movement were not of much relevance to CIW's success. Rather, its remarkable gains – a 70 percent wage increase, new human rights protections in the field and enforcement mechanisms against violators of those rights, and worker participation in the negotiation and implementation of these gains – involved two primary components: the implementation of a global strategy that effectively shamed powerful adversaries and conferred legitimacy on the movement, thereby attracting INGO support, resources, and elite allies, and the sustained mobilization and determination of a farmworker and ally base.

My research also shows that CIW's cultural repertoires were central to both its global strategy and the development of global consciousness and solidarity among its members and supporters. Collaborations among individuals and groups in transcultural advocacy networks – from the Haitian *Mouvman Peyizan Papay* and the Mayan theater group *Sna Jtz'ibajom* in the early era to the Landless Workers Movement of Brazil, the School of Americas Watch, the Mayan rock band *Sobrevivencia*, puppeteer David Solnit, and the ensemble *Son del Centro* of the Campaign for Fair Food era – helped farmworkers recognize their shared membership in the human family, frame the movement in terms of human rights, effectively shame CIW's corporate targets in the public sphere, and articulate a critique of neoliberal globalization. Moreover, it was through participation in movement rituals – from the "I am not a Tractor" demonstration in Immokalee during the general strike of 1999 to the singing of "*presente*" in unison during the annual funeral procession outside the School of Americas – that movement participants came to embrace the idea of human rights and use that idea to strengthen bonds of solidarity that were critical to movement success.

This case study is also the first elaboration of the concept of transcultural advocacy networks (TCANs), which Dellacioppa (2009) proposed in her research on the Zapatista movement. The idea of transcultural advocacy networks, as a variation of transnational advocacy networks, is an important contribution to the literature on activism in global networks because it captures the nature of collaboration among groups who do not necessarily coordinate on single-issue campaigns, but who exchange ideas, skills, and cultural repertoires to advance a shared political vision of global justice. I incorporate the concept into a human rights advocacy model that captures CIW's global engagement. This model includes CIW's collaboration within TCANs, its bypassing of the state in favor of multinational corporations as the target of mobilization, the legitimating function of INGOs, and the secondary roles of the state and the United Nations. While this model is specific to the CIW, the success of the model in achieving local movement goals will likely lead to its replication and adaptation by other movements.

This dissertation contributes an important case study that sheds light on the processes through which world cultural elements are enacted, adapted, contested, and made meaningful at the local level. Through participation in TCANs, the CIW came to enact elements of world culture, such as framing farmworker injustice in terms of human rights and demanding justice based on shared membership in the human family. Local movement frameworks operating in Immokalee led to the maturation and adaptation of world cultural flows, such as when CIW and its student allies strategically modified logos and slogans of multinational food corporations to accommodate the needs of the local movement.

Through visual art, theater, and music in public demonstrations, creative initiatives such as the Florida Modern-Day Slavery Museum, and its website, the CIW not only shamed and delegitimized its adversaries, it also contested world culture and countered ideologies of global capitalism – such as the myth of the universal work ethic – that serve to justify inequalities in the world-system. And finally, it was through local radio programming combining human rights discourse with song selections, and participation in movement rituals such as the performance of the Do the Right Thing theater pageant in 2011, that ideas of human rights and human dignity legitimated in world culture were made meaningful to movement participants. This case thus provides a significant contribution to world culture literature, as it illuminates the relationships between local movements and global cultural processes and the possibility of local movement involvement in transformations of world culture.

Opportunities for Further Research

This research project opens up several promising paths for further research, both for general studies of social movement culture as well as continued research on the Coalition of Immokalee Workers. These include a long-term analysis of the music and song dedications on *Radio Conciencia*, the experience of women in the movement, the impact the farmworker movement has had on the *son jarocho* tradition, and the influence that local movement adaptations of world culture may have on the creation and legitimation of new advocacy models in the world polity.

Radio

My investigation of *Radio Conciencia* provides the first substantive examination of the content of music and discourse broadcast on 107.9 FM in Immokalee. It

contributes to previous work on radio and social movements pioneered by Roscigno and Danaher (2001), revealing that song selections that do not contain lyrics pertaining to measures of political consciousness can still be significant to mobilization. In the case of *Radio Conciencia*, the music contributed to the process of collective identity formation by helping workers see themselves in each other through their shared experience of migration and separation from loved ones. While the data set is limited to one harvest season, it shows that a heightened discourse of ethnic difference was more prevalent in group dedications than any other category and contributed to the process of building interethnic unity. Moreover, the group dedications data indicate that over the course of the 2010-2011 harvest season, *Radio Conciencia* also contributed to a process of place-making – or the construction of "home" – for farmworkers in Immokalee.

However, further research that can produce more statistically robust data sets is still needed. This research should implement data collection across seasons and more systematic or computerized methods of generating dedication data. However, because deejays often have difficulty keeping up with incoming dedications, requiring them to type in the details of song dedications as they are called in would be a significant burden, and would therefore necessitate a researcher's presence in the radio station throughout the data collection process. The data that such a method would produce, however, could generate more conclusive results pertaining to collective identity formation across ethnic and gender differences and contribute greatly to the study of radio and social movements and the formation and maintenance of diverse movement communities.

Women

Another promising area of further research is the study of women's experiences in the movement – both among female farmworkers in Immokalee and female allies, particularly the women of *Son del Centro*. The importance of such a study became apparent to me in my observations in Immokalee as well as my interviews with participants of both the CIW women's group and *Son del Centro*. While an abundance of studies have been conducted on the Coalition of Immokalee Workers, not one of them focuses on the experiences or contributions of women in the movement.

Research on women in farmworker movement could document the history of their participation and measure the impact women's initiatives such as the CIW women's group and the radio program *Las Voces* have on the experiences, viewpoints, and behaviors of both women and men in the movement. Research could also focus on CIW's recent shift to emphasizing sexual harassment and women's human rights in its framing of farmworker abuses during the supermarket campaign and investigate the efficacy of such a framing strategy in garnering further support and legitimacy for the movement, shaming regional corporate targets, and possibly contributing to the attainment of future Fair Food Agreements.

A study of women in the movement could also consider the experiences of women in music groups such as *Son del Centro*. *Son del Centro* is unique among *son jarocho* groups because of the prevalence of women in the group. Interviews with women in the group indicate that this has shaped the perceptions of women in *son jarocho* in the United States, as well as the practices among *son jarocho* ensembles in Veracruz who have collaborated with *Son del Centro*. Moreover, it has led to innovations in the lyrics

and themes of traditional *sones*, which, until recently, have been written and sung overwhelmingly by men.

Thus, a study dedicated to an investigation of women and gender in the movement could lend valuable insight into the effectiveness of CIW's most recent adaptation in its framing strategies as well as how movement participation may contribute to transformations in gender dynamics in Immokalee as well as in related cultural practices.

Impact of the Movement on *Son Jarocho*

In this project's case study of *son jarocho*, I analyze how music performances function in social movements and how they contribute to processes of mobilization. Focusing on *Son del Centro*, and later, *Son Solidario*, I demonstrate how musicians' adaptations of traditional *son jarocho* music forms contributed to the maintenance of a cohesive movement by helping to build a collective identity, raise consciousness, and strengthen solidarity among participants. Specifically, call-and-response chants over the music structure of traditional *sones* enabled musicians to improvise lyrics that heightened a discourse of ethnic difference in the promotion of unity and developed a belief that they would win. Furthermore, the "street march" performance code – which features a simplified instrumentation for portability, a specific tempo to unify marching, and a highly improvisatory lyrical form to incorporate sporadic march chants – synchronized mass participation and generated feelings of solidarity through collective singing and dancing.

However, this project does not fully analyze the reverse: how movements influence and contribute to music traditions. One specific impact that *Son del Centro's* participation in the movement has had on *son jarocho* practices is the development of a

distinct "street march" performance code. Another important outcome is the spread of *son jarocho* through the student network of the farmworker movement.

For example, several new *son jarocho* groups in the United States – such as *Son Armado* in Austin, Texas – developed after being exposed to *son jarocho* at gatherings or events in the farmworker movement. *Son del Centro* also politicized members of existing *son jarocho* ensembles that had developed independently from the group, such as *Jarochicanos* in Chicago, and recruited them into the SFA network. For instance, Maya, a young member of *Son del Viento* and *Jarochicanos*, first learned about the CIW when Melody Gonzalez gave a presentation at her middle school during the McDonald's campaign in 2006. Although she was very young at the time, watching *Son del Centro* perform at the Concert for Fair Food and hosting them at a fandango at her family's home later that night left an indelible mark on her. She and fellow *jaranero* Adrian attended their first CIW event at the 2010 Farmworker Freedom March as members of *Son Solidario*, and in 2012, Maya became a member of the SFA Steering Committee and Adrian was hired as a staff member of the CIW. Further research can more thoroughly map out the spread of *son jarocho* in the United States as a result of *Son del Centro's* participation in CIW's transcultural networks.

As *son jarocho* spread through movement networks, rooted in the deep relationship formed between *Son del Centro* and the Coalition of Immokalee Workers, the "street march" performance code also spread, leading to its practice and further development in related labor and immigrant rights mobilizations in *jaraneros'* home regions. Following the Farmworker Freedom March, musicians from *Son del Centro* and *Son Solidario* performed at the Arizona immigrant rights protests in the summer of 2010,

the U.S. Social Forum in Detroit in June 2010, the labor protests in Madison in the spring of 2011, and the most recent Chicago teachers strike in September 2012. Furthermore, the upcoming 2012 School of Americas Watch is hosting a gathering of various *son jarocho* ensembles, including *Son Solidario* and *Son Altepee* from Veracruz. Thus, for ethnomusicologists or *jaraneros* interested in understanding and conducting research on the growth of *son jarocho* in the United States, the prominence of *son jarocho* in contemporary social movements, or the development of modified *son jarocho* music structures and performance codes in contexts of public demonstrations, the history and performances of *Son del Centro*, and later that of *Son Solidario*, within CIW's Campaign for Fair must be considered.

The farmworker movement has also shaped the *son jarocho* tradition in that the diversity of ensembles present at CIW concerts and demonstrations encouraged *Son del Centro* and *Son Solidario* to interact with other traditions – particularly that of the Puerto Rican *bomba* and *plena*. The 2007 Concert for Fair Food was the first time that members of *Son del Centro* had performed in the same space with *bomba* and *plena* musicians, and the first time that Hector Luis Rivera and other members of *Buya* had performed in the same space with *son jarocho*. Their interaction was limited, however, and they would likely not have come together again in the farmworker movement had it not also been for the relationship formed between Hector Luis Rivera and Melody Gonzalez. Their marriage and move to Santa Ana, California, has led to sustained collaboration between *son jarocho* and *bomba* communities at El Centro Cultural de México. In the last two years, Hector has worked with *Son del Centro* to host several "*Bombaso Fandangos*" at the Centro (see visual appendix 8.1).

While the events feature performances and presentations by *bomba* and *son jarocho* groups, members say they are not intentionally trying to create a "fusion" between the two music genres, but rather, to bring Mexican and Puerto Rican communities "together in song" to share their traditions (San Roman 2012). However, the experimentation in combining musical elements across genres, such as when a *son jarocho requinto* player accompanies the chorus lines of *bomba* or when *son jarocho's zapateado* is danced to *bomba* rhythms (see visual appendix 8.2), it is possible that ongoing collaborations in "*Bombaso Fandango*" gatherings at the Centro, which resulted from encounters and relationships made in the context of the farmworker movement, may eventually lead to reinterpretations or variations in both music traditions in the future. Further investigations into the interaction between *son jarocho* and *bomba* traditions in Santa Ana would provide a fascinating case study on the relationship between movements and the hybridization of music traditions.

Global Advocacy Models

My analysis of CIW's forms of global engagement in this study also opens up opportunities for future research regarding the impact that local movement adaptations of world culture may have on the creation and legitimation of new advocacy models in the world polity.

In this project, I demonstrate how CIW's employment of a human rights discourse helped unite ethnically diverse workers and attract and unify a diverse ally movement. A human rights framing of farmworker injustices was also a powerful tool against CIW's corporate targets, as it resonated with a world polity that legitimizes actors who enact global moral principles and delegitimizes actors who violate them. Moreover, I argue that

CIW's strategy of targeting multinational corporations with a human rights framework and demands for increased wages, combined with deep commitment from a mobilized base, explains how the CIW was able to achieve its movement goals.

The success of CIW's advocacy model of a worker-led movement that targets corporate buyers and enforces human rights and social responsibility standards from the bottom up has been recognized and legitimated by numerous INGOs, NGOs, and the nation-state through the conferring of awards. The influence of CIW's success is also apparent among many other human rights and social justice groups in the United States, where activists can frequently be heard referring to "the CIW model." However, research is needed to determine if and to what degree CIW's adaptation of dominant human rights advocacy models is spreading or being adopted by other movements and organizations. Such a study could analyze and map out CIW's involvement and collaborations in transcultural advocacy networks and examine the programs of INGOs and statements by representatives who have worked with the CIW to assess if and through what mechanisms the CIW model may become institutionalized in the world polity. The results of such research could generate significant insight into the specific processes through which transformations of world cultural scripts occur.

A Living Movement

There are many opportunities for further research on the Coalition of Immokalee Workers because its influence in the areas of human rights, labor, food justice, modern slavery abolition, and movement repertoires is so far-reaching. This study is but one small part of CIW's story. New opportunities for research will continue to emerge because the Coalition of Immokalee Workers is still a vibrant movement. The CIW is just

now beginning a new era of its history in which it is implementing the provisions of the Fair Food Program and the extraordinary gains it has achieved through decades of constant struggle. While the future of the CIW is yet to be written, it is likely that the innumerable farmworkers, allies, and children who have responded to the call "*¿coalición?"* with a resounding "*¡presente!*" will have a say in how that future unfolds.

ORAL HISTORIES

Selected Oral Histories

Mathieu Beaucicot
The author conducted this oral history on October 18, 2010 with assistance of a Kreyòl-English translator. The following is a selection from the oral history.

The region that I am from in Haiti is called La Gonâve. It's an island in the middle of the sea… When I was in Haiti I worked for an organization by the name of "*Vision sur le Monde*" [Vision on the World]. We worked together in farming fields and we built pig pens. After that, I began a literacy school for adults… In 1990, we participated in the election campaign for Aristide. Well, you know, a campaign worker provides information, goes to speak to people to convince them to vote for a presidential candidate. After the coup d'état, we realized that our lives were in danger…

We found a way to get on a boat. We came through Guantanamo – a boat had picked us up. We spent one month in Guantanamo… this was in December 1991. When immigration came to interview me… this lasted several days. I was so very tired, but they interviewed us. They saw that what I was saying was true. I had my two brothers, three cousins, plus myself. Also I had two other friends. The ship carried around 48 people… They separated us in different camps. They called me up first for the interview.

On January 3, 1992 I came to the United States. My brother made it to Fort Pierce, but the other people returned back home… Remember in Haiti at that time there was the army. The army was responsible for the coup d'état that deposed President Aristide. Everyone who was a supporter of Aristide – if they didn't go into exile, if they didn't run away – were being killed. A lot of people were killed. There were many people who were victims. We were leading the campaign in La Gonave, but when we went to Port-au-Prince we saw these things often. We lost people to them. I have a sister who even till now we have never found. She was a partisan of the movement. We could never find her… we still don't know where she is. You know, the Haitian Army, when they take you away, you don't have any chance of escape. During this period, you couldn't go to the prison to ask for information. You had to escape so they wouldn't catch you. We spent several days sleeping out in the wild, in the forest.

I was in the camp in Guantanamo for one month. One month and three days. Immigration brought us to Miami, Florida. I came in a military plane. There was something like 86 people on board with me. After I came to Miami, I had a female cousin who lived here in Immokalee. She came to Miami and told me I would find work here much faster. It is for this reason that I came to Immokalee. By the time she came to Miami I had filled out a lot of job applications, but I couldn't find a job. My cousin said if I came here to Immokalee, I would immediately find work. During this time period, work was indeed available. I came here in February 1992.

I went to work in the fields and in packinghouses. This organization, the CIW, has done a lot of good work, because when I first came here, there was a lot of violence… The bosses in the field, they always had a little fear of Haitians. But they abused the Mexicans and the Guatemalans. They used to beat them. But the bosses had some fear of Haitians. They understood the Haitians were legal immigrants. Also, the bosses were Mexicans and Guatemalans, you understand. It was Mexicans and Guatemalans who were bosses in the field. They used to beat them and mistreat the workers. Some were beaten with a hammer. They did all that; they committed these abuses.

The bosses made them work like slaves. They could put more pressure on them. There was one Guatemalan who was thirsty. He said he was going to drink some water but the boss said "no!" He repeated that he was thirsty and had to go drink some water. The boss said "no!" but the worker went anyway. The boss grabbed him and beat him with a hammer… The police came and those of us who were part of the organization went. His shirt was full of blood…

Sometimes the bosses did not want to pay the workers. This happened to Haitians too, but they did not beat them. Sometimes workers would work and not get their check. When the coalition was formed, workers would come in and the organization would call the work place and would make them pay the workers. Since the organization was created the bosses are not as violent as they used to be in the past. Before, the bosses were free to do anything – the workers had no means of defense. So the workers had no one… However, little by little, when the organization came into existence, the bosses could not do things like that again to Mexicans and Guatemalans.

When I first came to Immokalee, I did packing for the company Six-L's. We loaded tomatoes. We took those that were in boxes and we packed and stacked them. After my work permit ran out, they told me I could return to work for them after I got a new permit from Immigration. During this time I went off to work in the fields. They did not send me the work permit quickly. While I was in the fields, I picked tomatoes, cucumbers, peppers, and I also worked with the shovel. You worked wherever you found work. We would come here (points to the open parking lot directly across from the CIW community center) and wherever we found work we would go work. We didn't need to choose, well, we really didn't choose at all! (Laughs at the irony of technically having many choices, but having no voice in the matter) During that time working the field was very hard. You're picking tomatoes, and you know, they are entwined with wires, like that (shows with his hands). As you're picking them, even if you have gloves on your hands, your fingers are being cut. When you're done your hands are all cut-up. After this you have the right to no longer go to work, but you really need to… The sun would get very hot. There were times when there were no breaks, so you would not be allowed to step out. It's for this reason the bosses would abuse the workers. They would say "work, work, work!" to further their interest. As for us, how much were they paying us? (laughs) Now it's a little better because of the organization. After they pick you up, you get to the field at 6am. Sometimes you would sit in the field awaiting work. They didn't clock you in for that time. You were clocked in when you began picking. So even if you're there for 12 hours, you often get paid for only 6 or 8 hours, thus "fulfilling" the minimum wage laws.

[Formation of CIW and Farmworker Diversity]

Greg, who's over there, Gregory. He was in an organization in Haiti. He spent three years in Haiti, that's why he speaks Kreyòl so well. He went to work with an organization with Chavannes Jean-Baptiste, *Mouvman Peyizan Papaye*. Chavannes actually came here for a discussion. So Greg knew the situation well; he could speak with Haitians. When he came to see the situation in Immokalee, after having worked with the movements in Haiti, he understood. So he came here. He spoke to Haitians. There was also someone by the name of Crystal, who also had come from working in a peasant organization in Haiti… They brought together Haitians, Mexicans, and Guatemalans to form the organization. Well, that's how the CIW came to be… The companies were always trying to find ways to find problems with us workers. As workers we were all in the same boat, trying to earn a little money. The companies thought they could do whatever they wanted because Haitians, Mexicans, and Guatemalans spoke different languages. But Greg spoke Haitian Kreyòl, so he could speak to Haitians. He spoke Spanish- he could speak to everyone! He sat down with all of us at the meetings…

During the time of those meetings we always worked together. Greg would explain to Haitians in Haitian Kreyòl what was said, and the Spanish-speaking people were told everything we said in Haitian Kreyòl. We used to meet in the Catholic Church. The Haitians sat with the Mexicans. When we came to have the office, we still worked together. When we organized parties, we were together… We used to have parties for the organization, for the Coalition. We ate, we played music, and there were Haitians who also came to play music. Either Spanish or Haitian music, you understand. We mixed up the music. We used to play over there. And there were a few Haitians who also spoke Spanish. Those who didn't speak were told by those who did. We never met separately, like Haitians to themselves and Mexicans to themselves. We met together. Everything was explained, people knew all the facts, the goals we were working on, and the advances we were making.

During that time, the early years of the organization, the majority of the Haitians who had arrived were coming from Guantanamo. These young Haitians were younger, physically stronger. Now for the most part, it is just old folks (Haitians) who have remained. I was 35 when I first came, and now I'm 54. I'm on my 19th year here, you understand. When Haitians first came, we were much stronger in numbers. But now these people are not here anymore. They've all gone and spread out… The difference is that when you're younger, you're physically stronger. Older people leave things as they are. When Greg came from Haiti, he was also young. Now he is going to be in his forties… back then, he was young! And all the young people, when they heard about the organization, they joined in the movement.

I like change. In Haiti, when I was in Haiti, whenever I saw a section chief arrest someone, others and myself would gather a little money so they would free that unfortunate person. So ever since I was in Haiti I thought like this. I don't like to see people abuse others. When I came here and saw the organization, I joined in.

[Early CIW Strikes]

During the time of the strikes, I always gave my support. I used to come to protest here, but at that time I worked at a place where they cut flowers. Each morning we came to protest at 4am! I went to work at 8am. During the protests, we were trying to stop people from going to work for the field bosses. We asked for them to raise our wages. We came here every morning. Then the bosses could no longer come pick up workers here anymore… Every morning we came with posters, the television news covered us. When we protested here we tried to pressure the growers, we told them to raise our wages, and if they didn't raise our wages no one would go to work. It was workers who struck. Sometimes [crew leaders] tried to sneak to different places to find workers… It was like a big rara band. Walking in the street is not something you do in a small group. Back then there were a lot of Haitians! We formed bands and played music… we would beat drums to keep our spirits up. We demanded $5.25 an hour. At that time we were only getting $4.00. So we made noise, sang, made more noise, because you know, your spirit has to be up! We have to be in high spirits- Haitians, Mexicans, and Guatemalans- we have to make noise when doing a protest, and walking here and there.

That's the reason why the slogan we have is written in three languages. The slogan says "We are all Leaders." One time we were protesting here they called immigration. But we all stood up. When immigration came they could not arrest anyone. When they saw everyone stand up, they turned around and went away… The field bosses called immigration - they wanted to scare us. There's a video – you'll see the police arresting Greg. They put Greg inside the police car. Other workers, however, went to open the police car door to get him out!!! (chuckles) Brother (speaking to translator), this was no vacation. We were defending a just cause. So after they placed Greg in the car, some of the protesting workers tried to open the police door to retrieve Greg. The police took them and pushed them here and there. After this they let Greg go. It was as if they were terrorizing us so we would do nothing. You know, a lot of the police officers have fathers working as field bosses. They did this to scare us.

The organization's goal, our goal, was to change the behavior of the bosses towards us, you understand, so that they would treat us better, because they used to mistreat us too much. We did not want this any longer. We also wanted them to raise our wages. This is the goal of the organization. After that, people found out that workers were being made to work without being compensated. So the organization worked on these slavery cases and a lot of people were saved. So the goal of the organization is to ensure people their rights – the right they have to be respected, and increased worker salaries in order for them to be justly compensated.

Greg Asbed
The author conducted this oral history on November 7, 2010. The following is a selection from the oral history.

Haiti… You know, the first time I was there I was working for an orphanage – it was a Catholic church in Providence (Rhode Island) that hooked me up with that opportunity. But there was an American guy actually who lived in Haiti, who I got to know in Port-au-Prince, and he decided that it made sense for me to do something besides an orphanage, you know? So he was involved with the Peasant Movement of Papay, which is the MPP. When I first got to Haiti, Duvalier had not yet fallen, June 1985. He was in his last six months or so, and I actually didn't start working with the peasant movement until after he fell, which was maybe the hottest period, because at that point, the movement was much more open and public about their work than they had been, when they had to be much more clandestine during the Duvalier period, when the political oppression was much worse… there was a military junta that took over when Duvalier fell, they just pretty much grabbed power, they were absolutely horrible… and they were supposed to lead the way to elections, which they didn't do for a couple of years. So most of the time, I was in the country. But in the end, right before I left, they had elections, which ended up being a bloodbath. Horrible. Massacres.

So during that time, during the organizing for democracy in the countryside, through this incredible peasant movement, I had the opportunity to be trained in popular education and popular organizing… which was very much some of the exact same principles as here – using popular education to develop consciousness for critical thought and action and developing leadership from the base. Now, beyond that, there were a lot of micro-approaches that were different than what we do now, because it was based in the place where people lived, in their communities, in their villages. So you had people who had lived there for generations who were not going to move anywhere, but if they were going to move anywhere, it was to come (to the United States). But it was a stable community where people could form small groups, which is what they did. And so their approach was to form these small groups, made of 12 to 15 people, they had a consciousness building process… and each of those small groups would be a node in this regional network of groups, and each of them was formed by animators that were joined in the center, who would then form several groups. So you would have regional networks and then national networks. So the leadership base and control was very widely distributed. But at the same time, they sort of identified with this one center. And that was very powerful, cause they could mobilize around elections, around resistance to the repression, and were very effective at doing it. And when the elections came, they were very effective in helping people think through the morass of candidates – 1988. Just a ton of candidates, you know, cause everyone wanted power, and to think through what each candidate's platform was, what they were pretending to offer or not, and to become a political force in that sense.

So, I learned I could sort of draw (laughs), because I needed to be able to contribute in some way. That and theater, those were the things I was good at producing for popular education. So those are the things I kind of practiced and developed while I was there,

you know, the work of the animator. I lived with an animator, I worked his land with him for a couple seasons, and worked with groups in this one little town, so I had a very micro-level exposure to it, but I was also very aware of how it was functioning at the higher level. So that was an incredible experience, and a very useful workshop for seeing how critical analysis and critical thought gets converted into action. And action that took an incredible amount of courage, you know, cause people were getting… people would go to protest and not come back. And it was like that. And people kept going to protests, So that was, for a young person coming from this country at the time, which in 1985 was a sleepy little country, you know, the Reagan years, it was just – to see all that was eye-opening, you know? To see people willing to put everything aside to try and create democracy and individuals really engaged in the political process in that country. Not just like "I might vote, you know, I don't know, I'd rather go to the mall." You know, engaged to the very core! It was really intriguing and bumped me off of the path I was on before that – which was neuroscience! (laughs) And it moved me into this stuff, and provided a lot of the organizing philosophy that goes into the CIW to this day. But adapted to a different reality. A very different reality, so a very different approach – but still, if you know what you're doing and you scrape down to the middle of it, you will see the same thing.

Laura and I, we worked with migrant farmworker legal services in Pennsylvania and eastern shore of Maryland, working in apples, and then came down to work with legal services in Immokalee in 1991. Wow, almost twenty years ago. We came down here because when we were up in the Northeast, doing legal services, people had problems and they were coming through, but they were there for such a short time, it seemed like you had very limited choices for how you could help change the problems. And pretty much the only choice available was a lawsuit, so you get them hooked up in a lawsuit while they were there and then communicate with them when they were back home in Florida, but if you wanted to have anything more participatory, where people themselves were the agents of the solution, then it would have to take place where they lived the longest – and one of the places everybody talked about up there was Immokalee. "So, Immokalee, huh? We've never heard of that place before!" (laughs)

[Formation of CIW and Farmworker Diversity]

There were more African-Americans, not a whole lot, and there were a lot more Haitians in the fields and it was just the beginning of the indigenous population's arrival, from Guatemala – the Guatemalans had been coming in for a little bit before we got here, the late 1980s, and Southern Mexico started to come in at that time, from Chiapas and Oaxaca. And that wasn't the case before, it was much more northern Mexico that provided Florida with labor. So there was a shift going on in the early 1990s, and it was also the exact same time the Aristide government was overthrown. So the Aristide government was overthrown, and everybody who was involved in getting the Aristide government into power in Haiti became, suddenly, a target for repression. So that caused a huge influx of Haitians to Florida. Most of the Haitians who came were young people who were deeply involved in politics, enough so they were afraid they would face retaliation… so, straight up, they were a lot of the people I knew from Haiti. Thanks to

the overthrow of the Aristide government, the CIW was able to come about, in a small way (chuckles). So there was a bunch of young people with political and organizing experience, and a degree of sophistication that hadn't been in Immokalee before, who came in the early 1990s. There were people from Southern Mexico and Guatemala too, who had a lot of organizing experience that were there, and we came.

So we all started to just meet, to talk. And you know, the talk at first among ourselves, was about the situations they found themselves in. It is so difficult to survive economically as a farmworker that you barely even had the time to organize, but that also makes it all the more important to organize, you know? Do you leave everything you once knew about organizing and being involved back home, or can you unpack that and look at your situation here too? And that was a really important question, whether as an immigrant, you have the right and the ability to be a person involved in this society, and not just a person working to eat and working to produce food. And people decided, you know, actually, that they were full human beings, just like they were at home.

Oral History: Gerardo Reyes Chávez

The author conducted this oral history on October 18, 2010 with assistance of a Spanish-English translator when necessary. The following two parts of the oral history were selected to shed light on the history and daily programming of Radio Conciencia.

Part I:
You see, the idea of *Radio Conciencia* was far fetched. The FCC [Federal Communications Commission] does not easily give out permits to community radios and even less to community radios connected to organizations that are fighting to change a system. So we began to explore the idea of working with Interfaith Action. Interfaith Action works a lot with churches for things relating to justice. They began to explore the possibility of acquiring a license as part of something that was necessary in the community so vulnerable like Immokalee – to be able to call in case of an emergency and knowing what to do; a matter of security. A matter of keeping the people informed about important things for everyone.

We began to pursue the idea through Interfaith Action and after a few years we acquired a permit with the FCC to build a community radio. The permit was approved and we started planning. In order to build it, we got in contact with Prometheus Radio Project. They were talking to us about how they did things, and because we already had the permits authorized, we started to mobilize very quickly. Having already completed similar projects here and in Latin America, Prometheus Radio Project came to Immokalee, and together, we participated in what they call "barnraising." The idea behind barnraisings is that a long time ago, in communities in the [northern part of the U.S.], if a new member arrived or needed help building something necessary, everybody came together and built it under the premise that the new guest would do it for someone else in the future.

Prometheus Radio Project coordinated hundreds of people together on December 7th, 2003. I think they got here on December 4th. They came here to do an exchange about radio and about our struggle. We shared our struggles with them and they shared theirs with us. They shared workshops with us on the use of the radio, and the importance of its history so that we could have an idea of how to go about it. On Dec. 7, 2003 at about 7:00pm, the first radio transmission of *Radio Conciencia* went on the air… it was a very important moment. Some people got in their cars and drove off to see how strong the signal was; there was a lot of emotion and a few messages were given at the beginning. It was very emotional. Many engineers came by to donate their time and several people brought their own equipment, which was eventually donated to the radio. The engineers fixed what they could and from then on we started transmitting.

First, we were in a rented room. We were there for some time, but because the owner wanted to sell the building, we had to look at other places. The first option was to rent a trailer. Then the radio moved from one place to another. Some of us jokingly said that it was the "unwanted one" in Immokalee because they would kick us out from one place and then another – but we were persistent [laughs]. That is how the radio started in the first years until today. I've been a DJ for seven years now.

Part II:

In the beginning, people were really used to listening to commercial radio. They would call in and think that it was like the commercial radios where they tell all kinds of jokes that are really vulgar! But it was established that this was a community radio – while we can joke around, we need to be conscious that families with small children are also listening… that this was not about telling jokes and fooling around, but about establishing a different way of thinking and transmitting a different sense of belonging; one that is not about talking for talking's sake, but talking with a purpose. From there, little by little, the radio has become more defined. People who listen to the radio also know what the radio is about or have heard from somebody else – they identify with the radio because of what we are struggling for in our campaign.

As a low-power FM station, we pay for the right to transmit each month, and that covers the right to transmit the most popular songs here in the U.S. through different agencies. And as long as we have the original music copy of a song, we can transmit it. Thus, because of where our listeners come from, we had music that no other station was playing. The members of the Coalition started to bring in their own CDs… it was the older music though and not the latest music, which actually gave the radio a certain personality. A lot of people here in Immokalee listen to songs that bring back memories of their family or when they were younger, whether in Mexico or in Guatemala. They are things they treasure. For example, commercial radios play hours of the latest music, but their interest is in promoting a record label, an artist, or a song. We are interested in playing what the people want to listen to free of the worry of whether the disc sells or not. Our interest is in what people want to listen to; and when you put it in those terms, people begin to identify with that. People would say, "Oh, I haven't heard this song since I was fifteen years old back in Mexico" or in Guatemala. Or they would say, "This music brings back memories of my girlfriend or it brings back memories of my grandpa." They

would say to us deejays, "*¡Felicidades!*" [Congratulations]. And people began to identify themselves with the radio because it was music brought by the people, and without that being the original intention, the radio created its own identity. It doesn't matter if other radio stations heard in Immokalee may reach high ratings; they are still no match for *Radio Conciencia* in the sense that we play older music.

Oral History: Cruz Salucio

The author conducted this oral history on October 10, 2010 with assistance of a Spanish-English translator when necessary. The following is a selection from the oral history.

My name is Cruz and I'm a member of the CIW. The reason why I had to leave my country was because I have a big family and while my dad did what he could to try and raise us, he just wasn't able to. My father was a farmer, a coffee grower. But between 2001 and 2004, coffee prices plummeted while fertilizer costs increased, so harvesting coffee became very difficult – and everything came tumbling down. And with my brothers and I far away in school, we couldn't help out. It was a very difficult situation and my younger brothers were not going to have the opportunity to go to school. So I dropped out of school because if we continued the way we were, nobody would be better off. I knew that if I stayed in Guatemala, I was not going to be able to change anything, so I decided to leave by the end of 2003.

I arrived in Immokalee in 2004 when I was nineteen. When I got to here, I didn't know anybody and I was the first in my family to leave. Supposedly, there were some cousins of mine that lived here, but when I tried to contact them, they said they didn't want me to live with them. Later, my father was able to arrange something with a woman from my town who had been here for many years, and I was able to stay with her. I was surprised when I first got to Immokalee and saw the little houses and people walking around. My house back home looked better than these ones! When I walked into the lady's house, I saw that it was in really bad condition and 12 other people lived there- and it became 13 with me. The rooms were really small and I had to share it with other people that I didn't even know. I had to live with them for a very long time.

From the very first day I arrived, I had to go to work. The lady from the house told me that if I wanted to make money, I had to wake up really early the next day and go to work. The next morning, I got up and when I left the house, there was a brown truck parked outside waiting on us. It was one of those trucks that are completely closed off, like a container. The guy that was going to take us to work opened the back door and he put us in. There were five other people already inside sitting on buckets and when he closed the door, it was pitch dark, and he drove off. The lady from the house gave me five dollars to buy food for the entire day. It was very difficult. On the first day, I did not know how to pick the tomatoes and I couldn't take the workload. When you get to the fields, the first thing you're told is, "You came here to work, so give it your all." I just stood there wondering how you pick these tomatoes. I would ask people around me, "How do you do this?" They would just say, "Pick these certain tomatoes," but they would quickly move on because they were getting paid for each bucket and didn't have time to explain. I eventually learned how to do it on my own by watching others do it. I

woke up at 4am, got picked up at 5am, and worked from 7:30 am to 5:30 pm, but because I worked in Arcadia, which is two hours away, I didn't get home until 7:30 at night. I used to get paid in cash for the amount of tomatoes I picked in a day. I worked like this for about a year before I become involved with the CIW in 2005.

During that time, some friends of my mine had a radio and I would listen to it; I liked music a lot. One day, they left to go somewhere and they left me the radio and I started looking for radio stations. After searching through the stations I came across many in English and I found one in Spanish, but it was a commercialized station. But later, one Sunday, I turned the dial all the way to the end and that is where I found a radio station that was playing marimba. I was like "WHAT?" It impressed me so much because that's the music they play back in Guatemala. And then the radio host started talking and he was speaking in Q'anjob'al, which is very similar to Popti', which is what I speak. I understood some of the stuff the DJ was saying because of the similarity. He talked about the Coalition and the radio and what they do. The show ended and for while I just sat there, shocked, lost in thought.

Some time later, I was walking down the street and I was handed a flier by the Coalition advertising the Wednesday meeting. Because I continued listening to that station, I already had the curiosity to find out where their meetings were being held. I remember, it was on a rainy Wednesday when we were in the fields, but it was too wet to work, so they made all the workers leave; that was the same day I first visited the Coalition. I started asking around town if they knew where the Coalition was and they pointed me in the right direction. Because I did not know anybody I just went to the meeting, sat there, and then I left. I came back on a Sunday during the marimba program. I went inside the radio station and there I met Rolando. He invited me in and asked me where I was from. I told him I was from Guatemala and he said, "Hey, we are countrymen, I come from there too!" I built the courage to utter some words on air. Soon after, I became friends with the rest of the crew and they would take me to meetings and little by little I started participating. By this time, I had had some bad experiences in the fields, so whenever they talked about human rights, it interested me.

For many of us from Guatemala, when we leave our country, we don't think that we're going to be able to speak our language in a far away land. The objective here on the radio is for us to maintain those traditions, so they don't die off. It helps us to remember that we don't lose our human rights simply because we have left our country. When you speak your language and practice your traditions – something as simple as listening to music, for example – you are valuing yourself, your identity, as a whole person. And what matters here in Immokalee is that we recognize we are all human beings. It doesn't matter what language we speak or what beliefs we follow, in this community, we all live in the same situation. It doesn't make any difference in the fields either. The ranchers don't differentiate between Mexicans, Guatemalans, Haitians, or Salvadorans – we all get treated badly! The person who has the power can treat you however they like – the problem is the same for everyone.

The most important thing is to unite the community. If we have Mexicans working on their own and Guatemalans working on their own, and so on – we are never going to get anywhere. That is why *Radio Conciencia* is not just for people from one country, but for people from all countries.

Oral History: Nely Rodriguez
The author conducted this oral history on October 12, 2010 with the assistance of a Spanish-English translator as necessary. The following is a selection from the oral history, organized by theme.

[Arrival and Initial Participation with the CIW]
My name is Nely and I'm originally from Tamaulipas, Mexico. When I first came to the United States, I never imagined that I would be here for so long or that I would be involved in a struggle like the one I'm involved in now. In April of 2000, I first came to Michigan. The first job I did was picking asparagus in the fields. In April, Michigan is very cold, extremely cold. Having never worked in the fields before, getting ready for work at four in the morning was something I did not foresee happening to me.

Harvesting asparagus is a very difficult job because you have to wake up really early in the morning, it's very cold, and you're in a foreign country you are not use to. All of these things coming together took away my appetite. At sporadic moments, I would come across individuals who would complain about losing their appetite because of problems they were having and I was always surprised because the idea of losing my appetite due to problems never had crossed my mind. I have a lean body, but during that time, I lost about 15 pounds. It wasn't so much the work that we did, but the fact that I had never done that before.

I think that that happens to anybody that comes from a different country. I say that out of my own personal experience. Having experienced that for the very first time, it is something you never forget. If someone would have said to me that I would be there for such a long time, I would have thought about it and I would have gone back if I had the opportunity. When you start of with only 50 dollars in your pocket… and knowing only one friend and her family (holding back tears)… Starting off like that is one of the hardest things to do in this country. You have to adapt yourself to other customs and other people; other people that have been here longer and have adapted to a different lifestyle. And maybe, because of the work that you do, it eventually makes you bitter and cold on the inside… It is very difficult when you come here for the very first time.

After some time, I returned to Mexico. Once there, the lack of employment, the low wages, and not having enough money to pay for utilities, all of that forced me to return to Florida in 2002. In Florida, my first job was at a restaurant and this time around the impact was not as severe because of my first experience; it wasn't as frustrating any more. I worked at that restaurant for nine months making *gorditas* and flour tortillas, which was also something that I had never done before. In May of 2003, I returned to Mexico because the father of my two daughters had suffered an accident and I had to return. When I got there, he was in a state of a coma for a week, and shortly after that, he

passed away. I stayed and worked for two years and eventually I applied and received a visa. I did that because I had heard of horrific stories about people who pay and try to cross the border and I did not want to risk it now that I had my daughter with me.

In 2005, I returned to Immokalee with my daughter. I started working picking squash and eggplant in the fields and that was also a horrible experience. Here in Immokalee, or any other state, working in the fields is one of the hardest jobs you can do, whether you are a man or a woman. You are exposed to pesticides and fertilizers, and aside from the hardship, you are also mistreated. I began working in the fields with a friend of my sister-in-law who took a lot of women to work. Shortly after, I started to hear from people that I should be careful of a certain man who sometimes takes off with some women in his truck. He would do that with the excuse that he was going to bring them to a different area of work, but in reality, he would make propositions to them to go out with him. Although I got scared when I heard that, I personally never had any problems with him.

After that, I began working at a used clothing store for two years. After that, my second husband, a member of the Coalition, invited me to the Wednesday meetings, but I would never come due to the time constraints of working all day in the fields. But once I came, I saw that it was about the workers and the meetings were for the workers. In the beginning, I honestly didn't pay much attention. As time went by, though, I started attending the Wednesday meetings on a regular basis and in the meetings I learned the struggles and the goals of the Coalition and that is what I liked. I participated for the first time in Miami, when we all delivered a petition and the workers' shoes to the Burger King's Headquarters in 2007. I also participated in the Year of the Worker Party in March as a member of the Coalition and I continued participating after that.

In the Wednesday meetings, [CIW farmworker staff] tell you about workers' rights and everything related to the worker, but the reason you truly start coming regularly is because you have found a home, something you like. I am sure that many people have experienced the same thing and being alone makes you look for your people, especially when they are taking about workers' rights in your own language. Getting to know the community you live in – that is one of the main things that the Coalition does. I realized that since the very beginning.

Later, I had the opportunity to become part of the staff, which directly connected me to every thing that happens with the Coalition. The message communicated to the workers by the Coalition since the beginning was that there are helpful places where you can go to when or if your rights are violated, to get necessities, and to find solutions to the problems. As a member of the Coalition you get to hear the problems and the conditions from a different perspective. Sometimes, a worker comes to the Coalition and says "I'm worried because my boss hasn't paid me in 3 months." If you hear this on the outside you don't believe it…how is it possible that you are going to work and they are not paying you? How is it that they to take you to work all day and they only give you 20 dollars? You listen to this and you don't believe it, but being here in the Coalition… listening to this upsets you. There have been several instances when I have gone and demanded the pay of a worker and the bosses plainly responds, "I'm not going to pay." I ask myself,

how is it possible that these bosses can take advantage of these hardworking, humble people? That is what enrages me… and it makes you feel impotent because you can't help others like you want to…

[Women's group]

The reason why the Sunday women's group was started was because the experience for women in the fields, the conditions, are often times even worse. They abuse you in the fields, because you are a woman; they sexually harass you, because you are a woman; they don't employ you, because you are woman. Here in the Immokalee community, men greatly out number women. Wednesday's general meeting is at night and after work; so, we wanted to pick a day with an accessible schedule and a day when women did not have to work and that is why we thought of Sunday. This way, it would be easy for them to attend the meetings and learn about their rights; and just to know that there is a place where they can make a complaint or ask for help when they go through abusive conditions of which I already mentioned, like sexual abuse, employment discrimination… but also getting fired because you're a woman, or not being employed because you are perceived to be too old. Because all of this happens, we decided to start the women's group. We provide orientation in how to deal with these things, but also, we provide a space where women can interact with other women. We also get to learn about other places, because sometimes, even though many women come from Mexico, they come from very different places within Mexico, and many also come from Guatemala where there are many other different traditions and customs; simply, we have these meetings so that women can get to known other women here in Immokalee.

In the women's group, we also teach Basic English classes because we know that English is indispensable. We also provide childcare so that it is easier for women to leave the house, but also, because many times, husbands wont let them go out otherwise. So this way, the women can come out and bring their kids with them. Also, the kids can have the opportunity to play with other kids, so they can benefit from that.

In 2007, during the Burger King campaign, I started attending the Coalition's Wednesday and Sunday meetings as a member, but later I became part of the staff and one of the responsibilities was to organize the women's group. In addition, it's also our responsibility to inform the women's group what is happening with the campaign and invite them come and partake in the different actions and protest. For them, once we've explained what we are demanding, which is the penny more per pound that would increase the salary for all the workers, what their rights are, and after we've discussed how we want respect and dignity for all workers, they are animated to participate. That is what happened recently with Publix, there was a lot of participation on the part of women. There were a lot of women who came out. Last year, at the School of Americas protest in Columbus, Georgia, there were a lot of women and their kids who came out to participate that is because in the Sunday's group we animated them, we informed them, they learned their rights, and they imagined what it would look like if they participated. With our presence, as working women, we contributed greatly to that march. If we, as workers, are the ones affected by these abuses, then it's we who have to do something to

see this change… so we have worked with the women a lot and they like it and participate. In addition, there are always, always, new people coming in all the time, but we continue our work in the women's group and enjoy it very much.

Because the number of women who participate in the meeting varies, the information we prepare for the meeting depends on who is attending. Right now we have a group of six women who are always there, always. They are always present since the group was started three years ago. Sometimes we prepare themes ahead of time that are related to the campaign or talk about a problem that they might be having. Those who are willing to share their experience with the others begin talking, others reflect, and that is usually how we use the time that we have for the meeting. At some meetings, like the *Día de los Muertos* [Halloween], International Women's Day, or Mother's Day meetings, we have as many as 100 women attend. Sometimes we have women who talk about domestic violence during the women's group; we sometimes invite women to prepare and touch on women's health issues; and we also have women who belong to different groups that provide services for women in need of a space to address specific problems, such as domestic violence.

[*Las Voces*]

The radio program for women, *Las Voces*, helps a lot. We think of it as a tool to animate women and we do it on Sunday mornings because women usually don't have to work on Sundays. This helps a lot with the women; and we also take advantage of the opportunity and mention the upcoming Wednesday meetings. Also, men call in and encourage women to call by saying, "Where are the women? Call in and ask for songs!" Simultaneously, this radio program is also creating a change in men. Now, men know that is a women's show and they call in and ask for songs sung by women, and that also motivates women to participate. Today, we can see a lot of positive changes in how men see and interact with women in the Coalition.

When we first started, yes we had calls, but now we have an increase of callers, both men and women. Also, during Sunday meetings, we invite women to learn about how to be a DJ on the radio. Tere, one of the deejays now, belonged to the women's group and we asked her if she wanted to participate and she said yes. She has been a deejay now for two years. *Las Voces* initiated around the same time that that the women's group did in 2007. In the beginning, Melody, Francisca, and Julia conducted the show. Francisca was also part of the staff but she left back to Mexico and that is when Silvia and I came in, but instead one coming, the two of us did. In October of 2008, I began to participate.

When we initiated *Las Voces*, we thought about music for women to animate not only women, but also the larger community, to let them know that this was a women's show and that it was a space for women to participate and become involved in the Campaign for Fair Food. We always try to find educational and news themes that involve women; we emphasize that a woman's role is not only to be in the kitchen, but that there is a lot more things that they can do and that they can get involved. We are always emphasizing that women have an important role and that their participation in the community matters,

which really boosts their self-esteem. In this program, we talk about the importance of women. I think that any person would like to hear that they are important, that they count for something, that they have rights, that they can do it. Every time we have women callers they say that the show is really nice. At times, we have women callers who say they can't attend the Sunday meetings but listen to the radio and support with the idea of having a radio show for women. Not only women though, there are also men who call us and tell us to keep working and that it is a good thing that women are encouraged to be involved.

As you know, many of us who come from poor communities have never had the opportunity to work with the radio; much less know how to work a microphone or use the control panel! So you learn how to do all of that in the radio. Also, you begin to lose the fear of talking, and at the same time, you figure ways out to teach what you have learned to others. We sometimes tell women to come in and sit-in during a show. We tell them, "Come in! It's okay if you don't say anything, you can just sit and listen." In the beginning, many women were too shy even to talk in the meetings, but now, when we do actions, many times they are the same ones who walk straight up and talk to the Publix representative. Even when there are presentations here, they go and talk in front of people. In Lakeland, they went up to the podium and talked. Sometimes we don't see these things as a big deal, but they are. You lose the fear of talking, and you gain confidence, and you learn not to be ashamed of being a woman.

[Public Demonstrations]

I have gone to many actions. My first one was Burger King. I also participated in the three-day one in Lakeland, and different tours. In June, I also participated in Washington when Laura received an award for the slavery museum; I have gone to the social forum and to the School of the Americas twice, and the leadership school in Virginia. We've gone to Baltimore with workers unite and many other places. Recently, I've noticed a lot more women and children from the community participating in the actions. Today, people have a lot more consciousness and they come out to the streets. We also have now very important people who support the coalition. In addition, we have the participation of big corporations and growers that never happened before. At a personal level, I too have changed. Before, I was really quiet but now I'm completely involved and find myself chanting and shouting for hours!

Being involved in the Coalition has been very important to me. I think and imagine that if we all contributed individually, coalitions like this one wouldn't have a purpose. I'm struggling now for a future, for a just world, a better quality of life, and better benefits. I struggle not only for my family, but I know that if we are triumphant in this Campaign for Fair Food, everybody will benefit. If people in other areas of work outside of agriculture, for example, want to use the methods the Coalition has developed, that would be a great thing because we don't want our strategies just to stay here if they could be used to improve conditions elsewhere; even if they are not part of the agricultural industry. That is what we want.

FIGURES

Figure 4.1

Senk Dola Vennsenk [Five Dollar Twenty Five] *Rara* Improvisation during 1995 Strike. Transcription by Laura Emiko Soltis from audio of VHS video of strike in CIW archives.

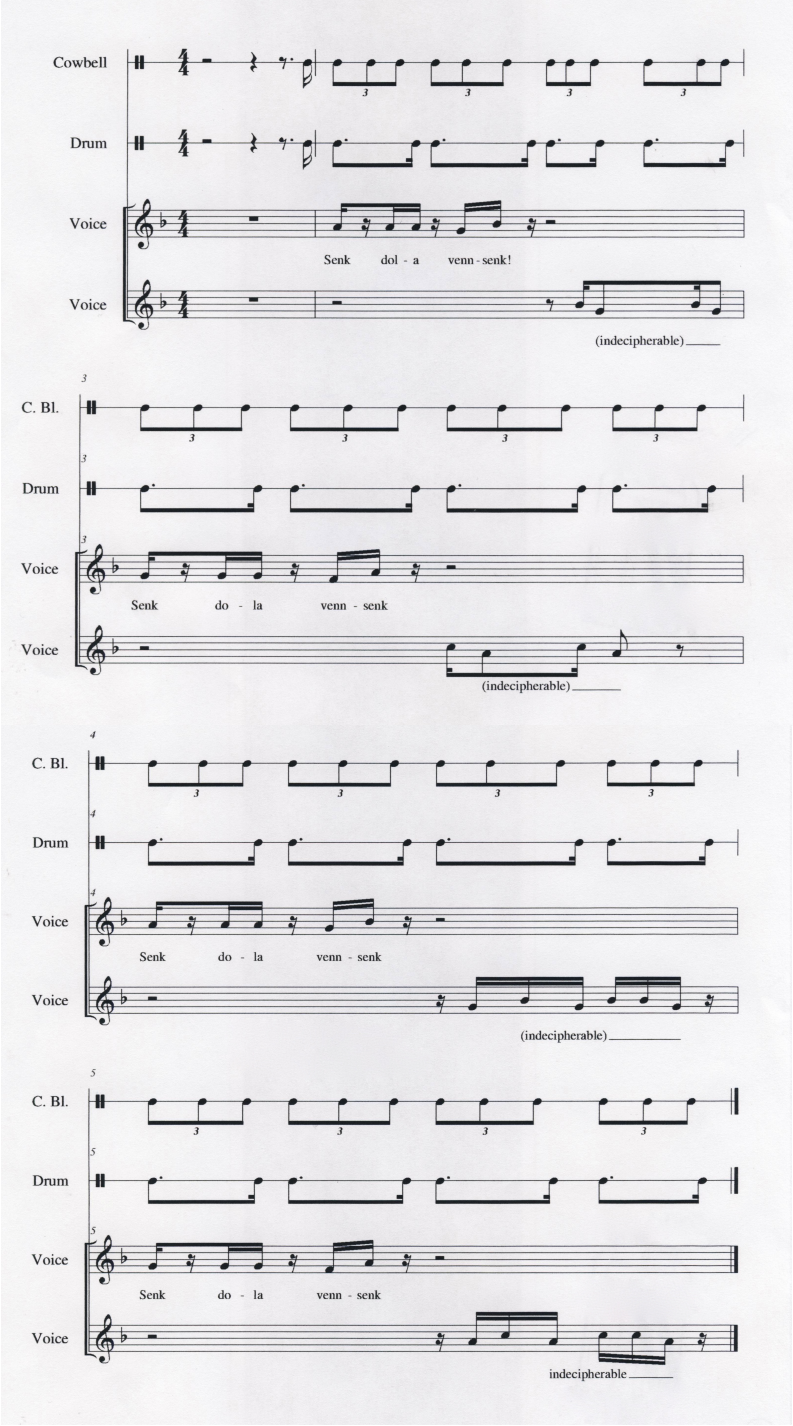


Figure 4.2

Drawing #1 depicting unjust relationship between grower, crew leader, and farmworkers, on a CIW flier given to farmworkers in Immokalee. Date unknown, prior to 2000.

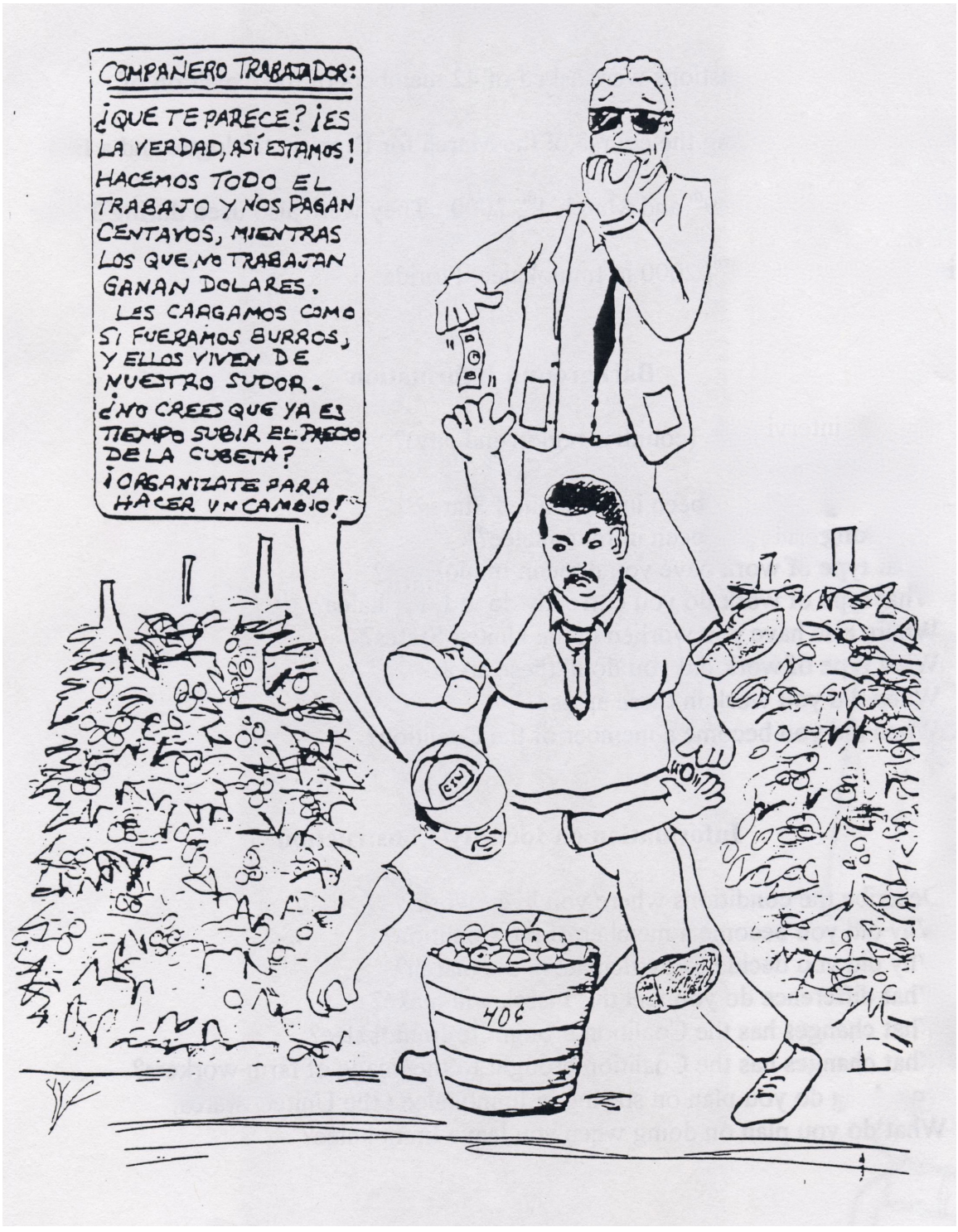


Figure 4.3

Drawing #2 on a flier depicting differences between “us” and “them.” Date unknown, prior to 2000.

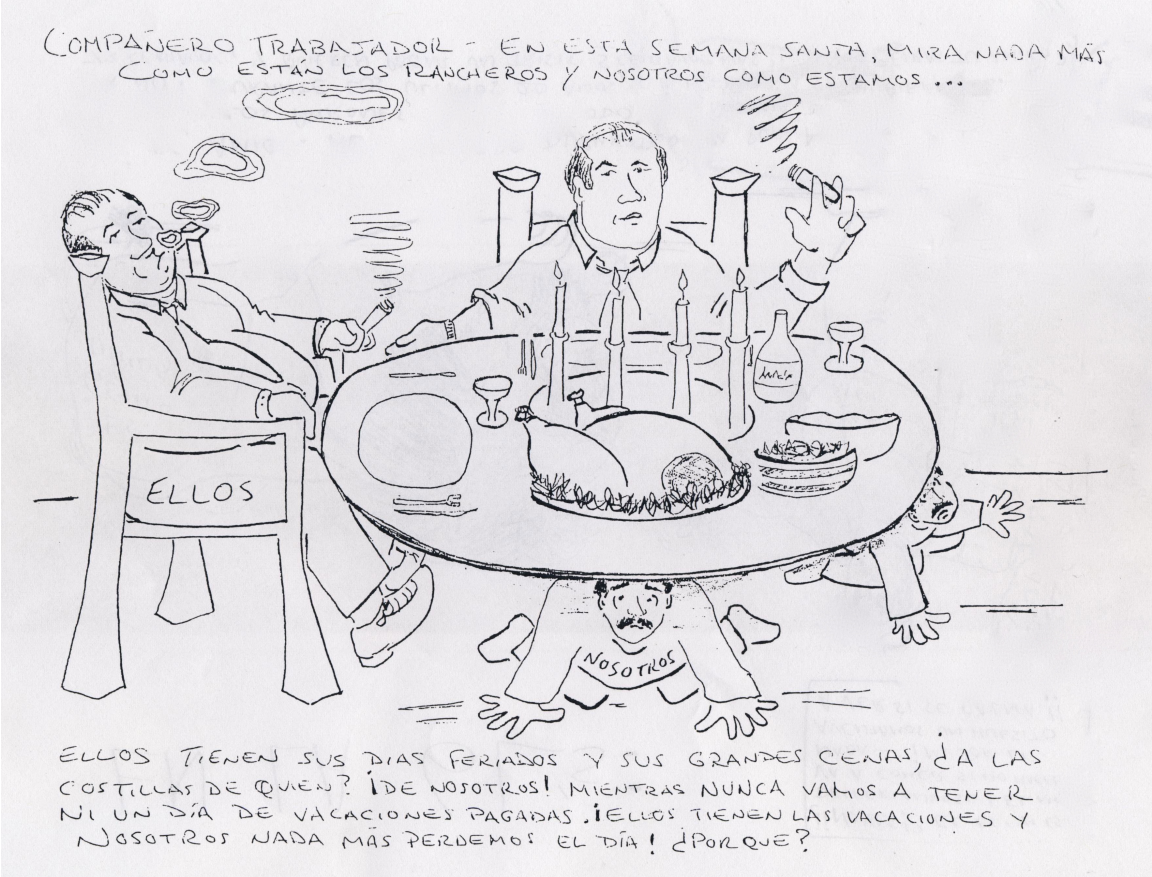


Figure 4.4

Drawing #3 on a flier explaining the right to decent housing. Date unknown, prior to 2000.

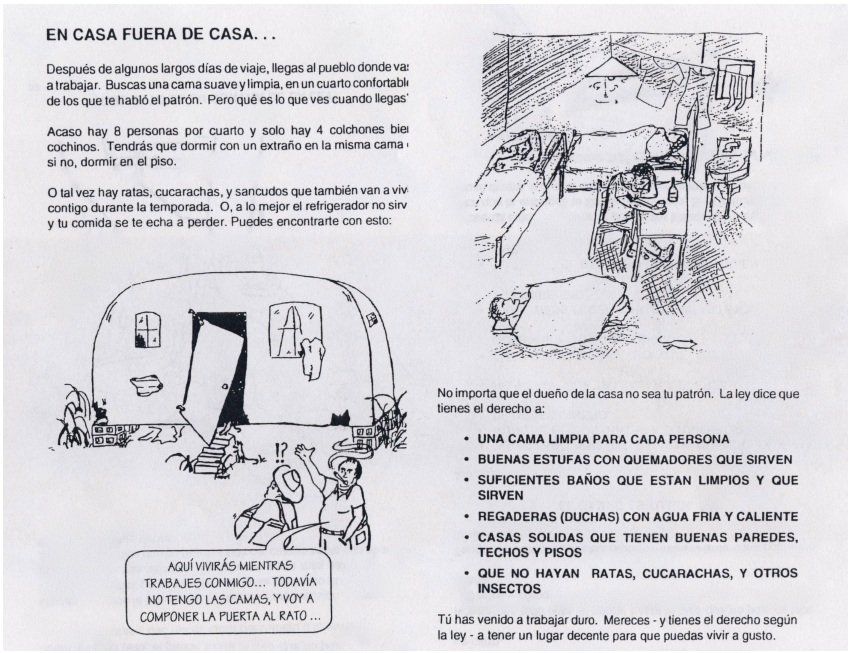


Figure 4.5

Drawing #4 on a flier explaining the right to be free from debt bondage. Date unknown, prior to 2000.

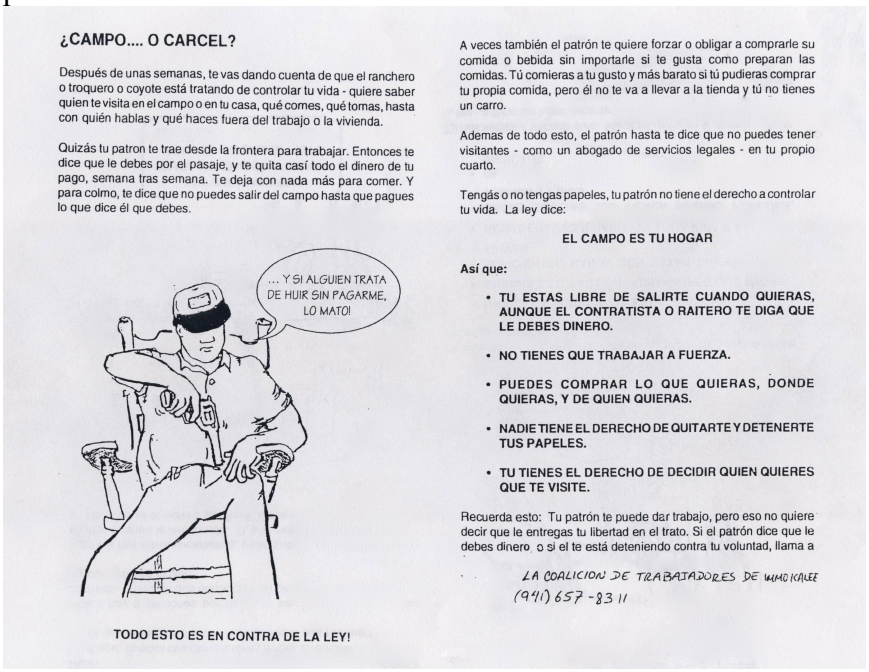


Figure 4.6

Drawing #5 on a flier expressing political efficacy of collective action. 1998.

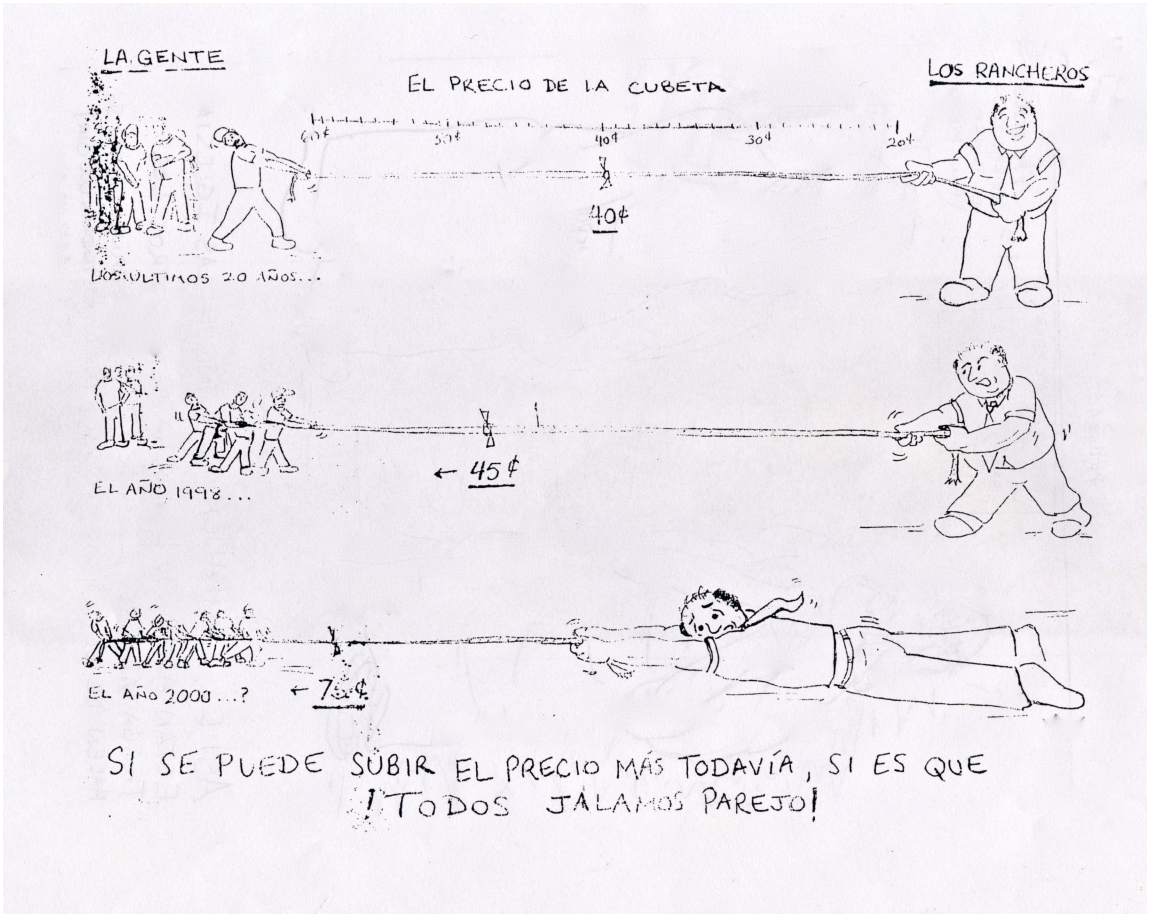


Figure 4.7

Original lyrics of "*Los decididos.*" A *corrido* written by Lucas Benitez in 1996 in honor of the 1995 General Strike

"*Los decididos*"

Estos versos que yo canto
Se convierten en corrido
Para recordar a ustedes
Lo anterior ya sucedido

Siendo el 12 de noviembre
Una fecha distinguida
Por primera vez que todos
Nos unimos con valor
Protestando por el sueldo
Y por un trato major

Siendo el 12 de noviembre
Del año 95
En la mera madrugada
Trabajadores y mujeres
Comenzaron a gritar

Defiendo sus derechos
Y protestando a los de más
A patrones abusivos
Y diciendo ya no más

Hasta aquí nos aguantamos
No nos vamos a dejar
Porque todos nos unimos
Entre gritos y tambores
Y gritando huelga huelga

Los patrones espantados
Preguntándose que pasa
Porque vieron que las razas
Unidas estaban ya
Defendiendo sus derechos
Y haciendolos valer

Estos versos que he cantado
Son los versos de mi gente
Tomateros y chileros, naranjeros y demás
Mexicanos y Haitianos
Entre otras razas más
No hubo nada que temer
Siendo el 12 de noviembre
En el mero amanecer

Figure 6.1

Campaign for Fair Food Timeline of Major Demonstrations and Victories

December 13-17, 1999: Work stoppage in Immokalee for "Respect and Higher Wages."
December 18, 1999: Protest outside Florida Capitol in Tallassee, CIW representatives meet with aides of Governor Jeb Bush.
January 12, 2000: First letter sent to Taco Bell Corporate Headquarters in Irvine, California.
January 17, 2000: Martin Luther King Day, CIW's first demonstration outside of a Taco Bell in Fort Myers, Florida.
February 19 – March 4, 2000: *March for Dignity, Dialogue, and a Fair Wage*, a 243-mile march across Florida – without permits – to Florida Fruit and Vegetable Association (location?). Joined by 30 Florida students.
January 13-14, 2001: March from Quincy to Tallahassee, Florida to urge Governor Jeb Bush to bring growers to the table to engage in dialogue with the CIW about better wages and working conditions.
April 1, 2001: Taco Bell Boycott is launched.
Summer 2001: Student Farmworker Alliance launches "Boot the Bell Campaign" which in the next four years, successfully removes 25 Taco Bell restaurants from colleges and universities around the United States.
September 11, 2001: First "Truth Tour" scheduled to begin on September 12, 2001 is cancelled in response to 9/11; rescheduled "Mini Tour" takes place October 3-22, 2011, visiting approximately 20 cities in Southeast and Midwest.
March 1-17, 2002: Rescheduled 14-city Truth Tour with major action outside Taco Bell's corporate headquarters in Irvine, California.
February 20-March 5, 2003: Second Taco Bell Truth Tour and 10-day Hunger Strike outside of Taco Bell's headquarters in Irvine, California. (**Son del Centro's* first performance at CIW demonstration)
November 16-18, 2003: Root Cause March, CIW members and allies protest the Free Trade Area of the Americas Summit in Miami, Florida.
February 25- March 5, 2004: Third Taco Bell Truth Tour and 44-mile Farmworker Freedom March from East Los Angeles to Irvine, California. (*CIW temporary office at Mexican Cultural Center, home of *Son del Centro*)
***February 28 – March 12, 2005**: Fourth and final Taco Bell Truth Tour through South and Midwest, arriving in Louisville, Kentucky at Yum Brands Corporate Headquarters (parent company of Taco bell).

> **March 9, 2005**: Yum Brands reaches agreement with CIW on the eve of the planned March 12th rally at Yum Brands corporate headquarters. Yum Brands pledges to pay an extra penny per pound of tomatoes it purchases, cut business with growers if slavery practices are found in its operations, and include farmworker participation in the implementation of the agreement. The Taco Bell boycott ends in a conclusive CIW victory and sets precedence for fast food companies and the wider food industry.
> **March 11, 2005**: Our World, Our Rights: Conference on Global Justice.
> **March 12, 2005**: Rally and celebration featuring *Son del Centro*.

August 1 – 8, 2005: First Student Farmworker Alliance *Encuentro* in Immokalee to strategize next phase in the Campaign for Fair Food targeting McDonald's (*Son del Centro* musicians participate and perform).
March 26 – April 4, 2006: McDonald's Truth Tour in Chicago, Illinois.
September 21-24, 2006: Second annual SFA *Encuentro* in Immokalee.
***April 7 – 17, 2007**: McDonald's Truth Tour.

> **April 9, 2007**: McDonald's reaches agreement with the CIW at the Carter Center, in Atlanta, Georgia, and concedes to all of CIW's demands. The *carnaval* scheduled for April 14th in Chicago is suddenly cancelled.
> **April 14, 2007**: Concert for Fair Food planned in five days and held at House of Blues, where Son del Centro, Zack de la Rocha and Tom Morello of Rage Against the Machine (who reunite for the first time after seven years), *Nuestro Tambo*, *Las Krudas*, Hot 8 Brass Band perform. CIW announces Burger King as the next target in the Campaign for Fair Food.

August 30 – September 3, 2007: Third annual SFA *Encuentro* in Immokalee.
***November 30 – December 2, 2007**: *Serfs Up, Kings Down!* Nine-mile march from Goldman Sachs headquarters to Burger King Headquarters in Miami, Florida.
May 23, 2008: Burger King reaches agreement with the CIW, concedes to all of its demands.
September 9, 2008: Whole Foods signs agreement with the CIW, becomes fourth corporation and first supermarket to sign.
September 18-21, 2008: Fourth annual SFA *Encuentro*.
December 2, 2008: Subway signs agreement with the CIW on the eve of a planned Subway Truth Tour.
March 9, 2009: Theater action outside Old Florida Capitol in Tallahassee in response to a December 2008 statement by Governor Charlie Crist's spokesperson who dismisses slavery cases in Florida by stating "You're talking about maybe a case a year."
April 28, 2009: Bon Appétit Management Co. signs agreement with the CIW
September 10-13, 2009: Fifth annual SFA *Encuentro* in Immokalee.
September 27, 2009: Compass Group signs an agreement with the CIW.
December 6, 2009: Walk for Farmworker Justice in Lakeland, Florida. Local action against Publix, featuring Kerry Kennedy, Stetson Kennedy, and performances by *Son del Centro* and *Marimba* ensemble from Immokalee.
April 1, 2010: Aramark signs agreement with the CIW, the 8th major food corporation.
***April 16 – 18, 2010**: 25-mile Farmworker Freedom March from Tampa, Florida to Publix's headquarters in Lakeland, Florida. Musicians from multiple *son jarocho* groups form *"Son Solidario"* and musicians from multiple *bomba* groups likewise form ad-hoc "*Grupo Justicia*."
August 23, 2010: France-based Sodexo signs agreement with the CIW, the 9th major food corporation.
October 13, 2010: Pacific Tomato Growers becomes first major Immokalee grower to implement CIW's Fair Food Program, agreeing to pass on the penny-per-pound and to adopt the Code of Conduct, which includes a cooperative complaint resolution system, a participatory health and safety program, and a worker-to-worker education process.
October 21, 2010: Six L's becomes second major Immokalee grower to implement CIW's Fair Food Program.

November 16, 2010: Florida Tomato Growers Exchange (FTGE) agrees to extend CIW's Fair Food principles to over 90% of the Florida tomato industry.
***February 25 – March 5, 2011**: Nine-day *Do the Right Thing Tour* across the East Coast, with major stops in Boston, New York City, and Atlanta. Concluded with a 1,000 participant popular theater pageant at major Publix store in Tampa, Florida.

Events during the writing of the dissertation
October 21, 2011: March on Trader Joe's headquarters in Monrovia, California.
February 9, 2012: Trader Joe's reaches agreement with the CIW, becoming the second grocery corporation to sign and the 10th major food corporation to join the Campaign for Fair Food.
March 5 – 10, 2012: *Fast for Fair Food* in Lakeland, Florida. Fifty farmworkers and allies participate in a five-day hunger strike outside Publix's corporate headquarters.

Compiled in part from the Student Farmworker Alliance 1999-2010 Timeline, available online, http://www.sfalliance.org/resources/SFAtimeline2010.pdf (accessed November 6, 2012)

Figure 6.2

Taco Bell Boycott Chant Sheet given by the CIW to demonstration participants. CIW archives, used with permission.

Taco Bell Boycott
Protest Chants/Gritos

1. Hey Hey-Ho Ho- Exploitation's got to go
   Ho Ho- Hey Hey- Taco Bell has got to pay
2. (Call) Boycott
   (Answer) Taco Bell!
3. El pueblo unido jamás será vencido
4. The people united will never be defeated
5. Taco Bell- Take a stand
   Living wages we demand
6. No more slaves
   Pay a living wage
7. Taco Bell- Shame on you
   Farmworkers are people too
8. Boycott the Bell and join the fight
   Let's stop the abuse of human rights
9. All we ask is one more cent
   To feed our families and pay our rent
10. Taco Bell can't hide long
    When we unite, our voice is strong
11. Students come from all around
    To show the world what we found
12. Exploitation ain't the way
    Give your workers better pay!
13. (do all of these as one big repeat-after-me)
    Taco Bell your time is spent
    Raise those prices one more cent!

    If you try to kick us down,
    We'll drive your restaurants out of town!

    Don't ignore what's in the field
    Your eyes aren't shut, your lips aren't sealed

    Worker's rights just make you groan?
    You want tomatoes? Pick your own!
14. One- We are the people
    Two- A little bit louder
    Three- We want justice
    For All people
15. Hey- Taco Bell
    You better listen, listen
    Cause we ain't kiddin', kiddin'
    And we are stayin', stayin'
    Till you are payin', payin'
    A living wage - -
    For our blood - -
    Our sweat - -
    And our tears - -
16. Ain't no power like the power of the people
    Cause the power of the people don't stop (say what?)
17. There's no justice, no peace
    There's no justice, no peace
    There's no justice, no peace in the land.

    You can turn your back on me.
    You can look the other way

    But there's no justice, no peace in the land.
18. Se ve, se siente.
    El pueblo esta presente
    Se ve, se escucha
    El pueblo está en lucha
19. (Grita) Qué queremos?
    (Contesta) Justicia
    (Grita) Cuándo?
    (Contesta) Ahora
    (Grita) Cómo lograrémos?
    (Contesta) Luchando
    (Grita) Cómo lucharemos?
    (Contesta) Duro- duro, duro, duro!
20. Vamos compañeros
    Hay que tener un poco mas de huevos
    Estamos todos juntos nuevamente
    La dignidad del pueblo no se vende- se defiende

    Vamos compañeras
    Hay que tener un poco mas de ovarias
    Estamos todas juntas nuevamente
    La digindad del pueblo no se vende- se defiende
21. Nosotros lucharémos
    Hasta que logrémos
22. A ver, a ver quién tiene mas poder
    El pueblo organizado
    o tu riqueza Taco Bell
23. Aquí estamos y no nos vamos
    Y si no escuchan, pues, regresamos
    Aquí estamos y no nos vamos
    Y si nos corren, pues, regresamos
24. Las luchas obreras
    No tienen fronteras
25. Taco Bell si no escuchas
    Más fuerte será la lucha
26. (Grita)Tienen hambre?
    (Contesten) ¡No!
    (Grita) Quieren una manzana?
    (Contesten) ¡No!
    (Grita) Están cansad@s?
    (Contesten) ¡No! - etc.

(compiled by farmworkers, students, allies, and other revolutionaries...if you copy double-sided you can cut down the center and pass these out to save paper)

Figure 6.3

"Poem for the Farmworker Freedom March"
April 18, 2010
Written and performed by Ken Brown

As I bite into a delicious Jubilee
I'm forced to wonder if the person who picked it is even free.
You see, I grew up with images of the noble existence of those who collected
The fruit of the earth, in idyllic scenes perfected
By a peaceful farming life; no oppression, no strife.
At least that's what they told us.
Brainwashed us with some wholesome image; a bill of goods they sold us
'Cause the goods they sell us come from pain they don't tell us about
So when the workers cry out, we react with doubt.
Finding it hard to believe that what we buy from our supermarket isn't always retrieved
With the due respect we thought all farmworkers received.
But, for real--this isn't Green Acres or Hew Haw, yall;
This ain't the Little House on the Prairie or even Smallville; naw,
This is how most of our food gets to our plate,
through this county's traditional estate
of labor exploitation cultivated in hate.

A Steinbeck scene put into current context;
I never could have guessed what would be next.
Human beings being stressed by oppressors,
Stomped like grapes of wrath run through presses
Weighted down by pails of 30-plus pounds.
Long, backbreaking days and incessant rounds
Of picking those green, red-orange delectables that we find so acceptable
To be on our plates, bountiful, the corporation accountable.

Statue says, "Give me your…masses yearning to be free."
Seems to be a lie to me
'Cause if you don't look like one of the dominant culture, but have a hue more like some of you or me,
You might end up strugglin' for a freedom you can't see.

Free trade agreements give the poor the "freedom" of starvation
Or of sending a loved one off to a plantation
For slave wages, welcomed with greetings
Of locks and chains, pistol whippings and beatings.
Workers putting lives at stake for a beefsteak! Yeah—the bosses know what they're doing; it's no mistake.

They're more interested in the quantity of their Better Boys and Big Girls than ensuring quality conditions that would let workers' children be better boys, and grow up to be big girls.

You say tomato, I say tomato,
Corporations say the same old bullshit bravado
Creating mix of publicity and tricks
With which to confuse the public's wits;
Concealing the public's knowledge of the battering and the sticks.
Making a profit off the public's ignorance is how they get their kicks!
Tricking the public into hopping on over to where shopping is a pleasure—
As long as you don't measure the blood, sweat and tears
Harvested for this treasure that supports executive leisure.

But, collectively, the workers grow stronger like a fine wine!
We follow their leadership; ally with them, knowing that over time
Justice will prevail in the fields and
Human rights will be deemed more important than what a crop yields.
Their spirit is strong, and even in the midst of tears they sing freedom songs.
So, with them, we continue the Struggle. Though the road may be long,
Integrity is ours, and to us the victory belongs!

Kultivate, mwen v' swete fos te a pou ou!
Kultivate, mwen v' swete fos te a pou ou!
Trabajadores, que la fuerza de la tierra es suya!
Trabajadores, que la fuerza de la tierra es suya!
Farmworkers, may the strength of the earth be yours!
Farmworkers, may the strength of the earth be yours!
Coalition, may the strength of the earth be yours,
Coalition, may the strength of the earth be yours…
Coalition, may the strength of the earth be yours!

Lyrics provided to author in e-mail communication on May 15, 2010. Used with permission.

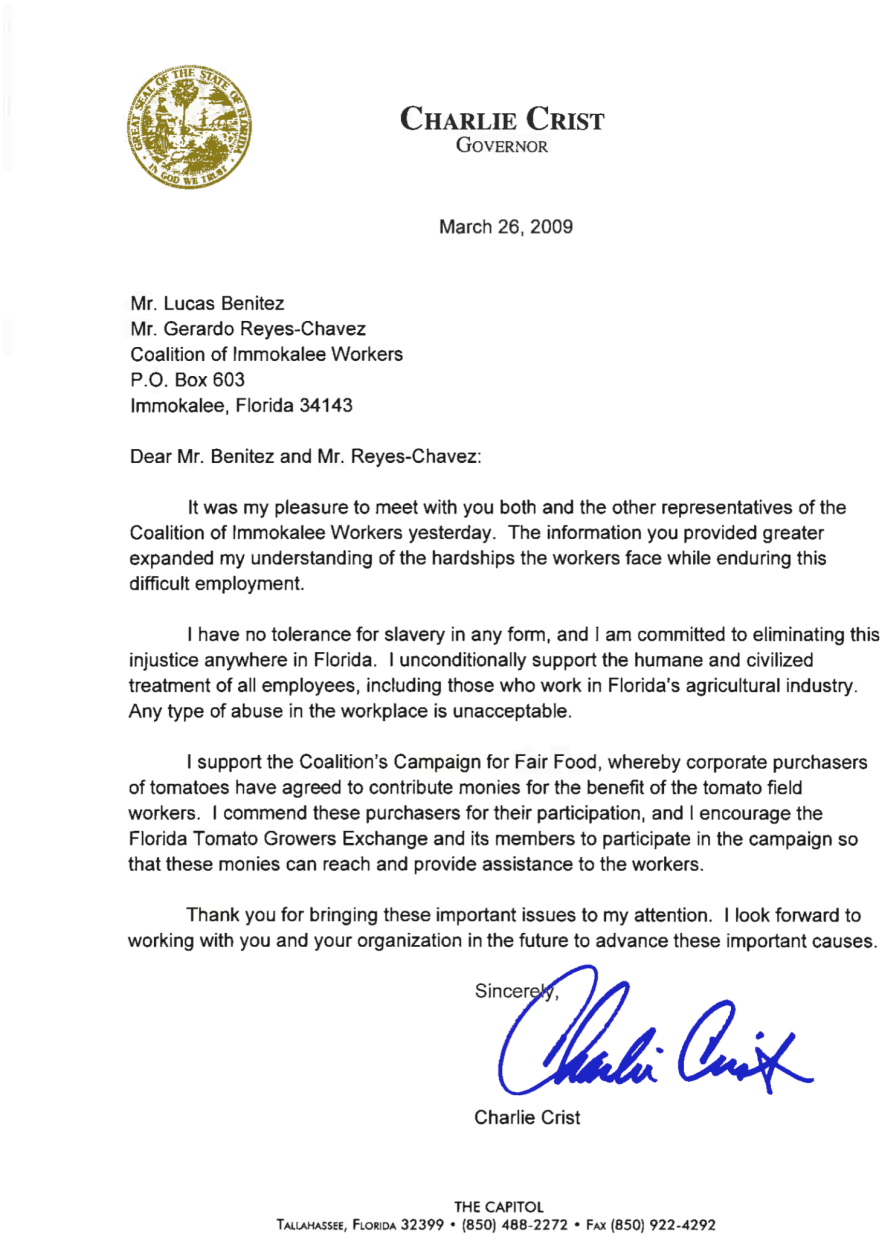
Figure 7.1 (see figure in Chapter Seven text)

Figure 7.2 (see figure in Chapter Seven text)

Figure 7.3 (see figure in Chapter Seven text)

Figure 7.4

Letter of support from Florida Governor Charlie Crist to the Coalition of Immokalee Workers. Available online.



CHARLIE CRIST
GOVERNOR

March 26, 2009

Mr. Lucas Benitez
Mr. Gerardo Reyes-Chavez
Coalition of Immokalee Workers
P.O. Box 603
Immokalee, Florida 34143

Dear Mr. Benitez and Mr. Reyes-Chavez:

It was my pleasure to meet with you both and the other representatives of the Coalition of Immokalee Workers yesterday. The information you provided greater expanded my understanding of the hardships the workers face while enduring this difficult employment.

I have no tolerance for slavery in any form, and I am committed to eliminating this injustice anywhere in Florida. I unconditionally support the humane and civilized treatment of all employees, including those who work in Florida's agricultural industry. Any type of abuse in the workplace is unacceptable.

I support the Coalition's Campaign for Fair Food, whereby corporate purchasers of tomatoes have agreed to contribute monies for the benefit of the tomato field workers. I commend these purchasers for their participation, and I encourage the Florida Tomato Growers Exchange and its members to participate in the campaign so that these monies can reach and provide assistance to the workers.

Thank you for bringing these important issues to my attention. I look forward to working with you and your organization in the future to advance these important causes.

Sincerely,

Charlie Crist

THE CAPITOL
TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA 32399 • (850) 488-2272 • FAX (850) 922-4292

Figure 7.5

Script from "A Story of Migration" Performed by the CIW and Puppetistas at the School of Americas Watch in November 2004. Provided in an email to author by David Solnit and used with permission. (Bold letters in original script).

A STORY OF MIGRATION: DEMOCRACY OR EMPIRE SCRIPT

The first four scenes will be done twice: once at the back of the audience and once at the stage. For the first round, the narration will be provided by stiltwalkers at location. Before the second round, Narrator from stage will introduce: **"Hello everyone, I'd like to introduce to you the puppetista collective Cardboard Chaos, who for the past four years have joined you here at Fort Benning to bring creativity and an alternative vision to the gates of this school of torture. This year we are privileged to be working with the Coalition of Immokalee Workers, a migrant farmworkers' organization working to promote justice for migrant tomato pickers in South Florida, to produce "Democracy versus Empire: a Story of Migration".**

1) SUBISTENCE FARMING
Enter BIG CORN, MEXICO and CAMPESINOS with corn and machetes, dancing.
Several TUBE HEADS enter and try to grab one of the large corns
Narration: (from CIW) : **I lived in rural Mexico. My family lived on a subsistence farm for generations. We sustained ourselves in harmony with nature. We always had to fight to keep our land from those who wished to oppress us.**
Music: Shakers (EMPIRE BUILDING is constructed)

2) EMPIRE RISES
NAFTA banner enters. Tube heads and TV heads enter, with YUK trucks in background. EMPIRE folks do the "hey" movement, STILTING TUBE HEAD dumps US CORN on CAMPESINOS, who are dancing in a circle. BIG CORN falls. TV HEADS do their 'blah blah blah' thing.
Music: clickers for TV HEADS.
Narration: (CIW) **In 1994 NAFTA was ratified and Mexico was flooded with cheap subsidized US corn so we could no longer subsist on what we grew.**

3) UPROOOTED
MILITARISM/WAR banner enters with TUBE HEADS with BOMBS. After a struggle, CAMPESINOS are tied into a circle and led toward EMPIRE
Narration (CIW): **We were forced to leave our homes to seek work in the US.**

4) EXPLOITED
IMPOVERISHMENT BANNER enters. CAMPESINOS are led to YUK TRUCKS and handed BASKETS. They put baskets into YUK TRUCKS, which then drive off. CAMPESINOS drop rope and move forward.

Narration: **In the US we are employed by farmers who pay us pennies to pick tomatoes all day for Taco Bell, a subsidiary of YUM foods. Yum gets rich, while we have no rights, no healthcare and not enough money to feed our families.**

5) ORGANIZE
DIGNIDAD BANNER comes forward with HAITI, MEXICO AND GUATEMALA. Immokalee workers/ CAMPESINOS hand out their literature and invite support of audience.
Narration: **In the US, we continue to organize, despite great risks. We band together to demand our rights.**
Music: Chants from CIW

6) DEMOCRACY RISES
DEMOCRACY BANNER, RED HANDS, DEMOCRACY PUPPETS (everyone not already out there) process up from the back. MOTHER DEMOCRACY is carried and put in place beside EMPIRE BUILDING.
Narration: **CIW reaches out to unite with other movements for justice. We realize our fate is tied to yours. We join in the struggle to close the SOA, to bring real democracy to the US and the world.**
Music: DRUMS!!!

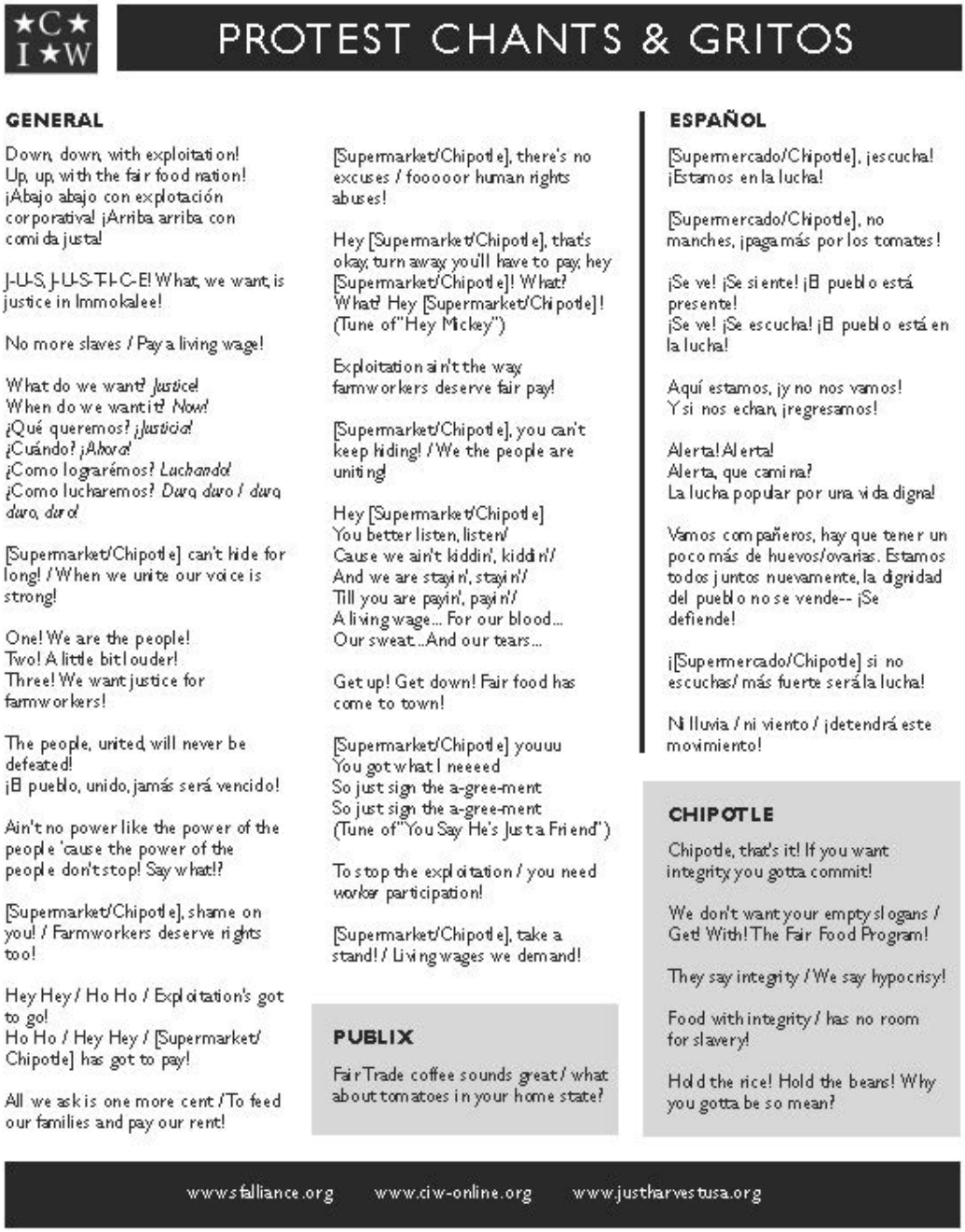
7) EMPIRE FALLS
DEMOCRACY PUPPETS approach EMPIRE PUPPETS.
DEMOCRACY: Power to the People chant. EMPIRE: GROAN
DEMOCRACY: ululate. EMPIRE: Groan.
Narration: **Everyone, Democracy needs your help! Democracy can't exist without you! Together!**
DEMOCRACY: Ululates. EMPIRE: TUBE HEADS fall.
Democracy: Celestiate. EMPIRE BUILDING falls!!

8) Narration (shouts): **A better world is under construction. We have to build it together. To live without empire, we'll need: sustainable food production!**
Other narrator: **under construction!**
Worker-owned cooperatives! (The audience will shout) Under construction!
Community gardens! Under construction!
Neighborhood assemblies! Under construction!
Local currencies! Under construction!
Cultural Centers: Under construction!
A BETTER WORLD IS Under Construction!!! (This line repeated 3X or so)

Mother head is rising during the audience call and respond. MUSICIANS start song at the end of the third line. Everyone dances.
EMPIRE MINIONS remove masks and tie on head bands.
They lead procession out, followed by CIW, etc…

Figure 7.6

Chant Sheet given to participants in CIW's Supermarket Campaign (2010 to present).



★C★
I★W

PROTEST CHANTS & GRITOS

GENERAL

Down, down, with exploitation!
Up, up, with the fair food nation!
¡Abajo abajo con explotación corporativa! ¡Arriba arriba con comida justa!

J-U-S, J-U-S-T-I-C-E! What, we want, is justice in Immokalee!

No more slaves / Pay a living wage!

What do we want? *Justice!*
When do we want it? *Now!*
¿Qué queremos? *¡Justicia!*
¿Cuándo? *¡Ahora!*
¿Como lograrémos? *Luchando!*
¿Como lucharemos? *Duro, duro / duro, duro!*

[Supermarket/Chipotle] can't hide for long! / When we unite our voice is strong!

One! We are the people!
Two! A little bit louder!
Three! We want justice for farmworkers!

The people, united, will never be defeated!
¡El pueblo, unido, jamás será vencido!

Ain't no power like the power of the people 'cause the power of the people don't stop! Say what!?

[Supermarket/Chipotle], shame on you! / Farmworkers deserve rights too!

Hey Hey / Ho Ho / Exploitation's got to go!
Ho Ho / Hey Hey / [Supermarket/Chipotle] has got to pay!

All we ask is one more cent / To feed our families and pay our rent!

[Supermarket/Chipotle], there's no excuses / fooooor human rights abuses!

Hey [Supermarket/Chipotle], that's okay, turn away, you'll have to pay, hey [Supermarket/Chipotle]! What? What? Hey [Supermarket/Chipotle]!
(Tune of "Hey Mickey")

Exploitation ain't the way
farmworkers deserve fair pay!

[Supermarket/Chipotle], you can't keep hiding! / We the people are uniting!

Hey [Supermarket/Chipotle]
You better listen, listen/
Cause we ain't kiddin', kiddin'/
And we are stayin', stayin'/
Till you are payin', payin'/
A living wage... For our blood...
Our sweat...And our tears...

Get up! Get down! Fair food has come to town!

[Supermarket/Chipotle] youuu
You got what I neeeed
So just sign the a-gree-ment
So just sign the a-gree-ment
(Tune of "You Say He's Just a Friend")

To stop the exploitation / you need worker participation!

[Supermarket/Chipotle], take a stand! / Living wages we demand!

PUBLIX

Fair Trade coffee sounds great / what about tomatoes in your home state?

ESPAÑOL

[Supermercado/Chipotle], ¡escucha! ¡Estamos en la lucha!

[Supermercado/Chipotle], no manches, ¡paga más por los tomates!

¡Se ve! ¡Se siente! ¡El pueblo está presente!
¡Se ve! ¡Se escucha! ¡El pueblo está en la lucha!

Aquí estamos, ¡y no nos vamos!
Y si nos echan, ¡regresamos!

Alerta! Alerta!
Alerta, que camina!
La lucha popular por una vida digna!

Vamos compañeros, hay que tener un poco más de huevos/ovarias. Estamos todos juntos nuevamente, la dignidad del pueblo no se vende-- ¡Se defiende!

¡[Supermercado/Chipotle] si no escuchas/ más fuerte será la lucha!

Ni lluvia / ni viento / ¡detendrá este movimiento!

CHIPOTLE

Chipotle, that's it! If you want integrity you gotta commit!

We don't want your empty slogans / Get With! The Fair Food Program!

They say integrity / We say hypocrisy!

Food with integrity / has no room for slavery!

Hold the rice! Hold the beans! Why you gotta be so mean?

www.sfalliance.org www.ciw-online.org www.justharvestusa.org

TABLES

Table 2.1 Methodology and Measures

Method	Sample/Content	Data	Measures
Oral history	20 = Total	1-2 hour oral history that is recorded and transcribed, and translated as needed.	Personal accounts of past mobilization participation and the migrant experience; introduction to the CIW and maintenance of ally relationship; history of performances with the CIW and content of music styles in protest context. Also informs follow-up interviews.
Semi-structured interviews	36 = Total	Semi-structured and follow-up interviews containing individual responses to five general areas of research interest: - Recruitment/intro to CIW - Ethnic diversity - Radio programming - Music performance/cultural repertoires - Global engagement	How farmworkers, activists, musicians were introduced to the movement; how ethnicity is used as tactic of division, how ethnicity informs and is articulated in activism; how DJs prepare programs, community participation with radio; history and perspectives of music performance and cultural repertoires; history and interpretation of human rights, meanings of global citizenship and justice.
Participant observation/ Ethnography	Private settings in Immokalee: Farmworker life and CIW activities	Documented interactions and discourse among farmworkers in their daily lives and participation in CIW programs and cultural activities, such as radio programming, popular education sessions, music rehearsals, block parties, and fiestas.	How relationships are activated among farmworkers; how ethnicity/origin is articulated; how ethnicity/gender differences are addressed and negotiated; how emotional investments are made; how discourses of injustice, rights, and political efficacy are developed and asserted; how the global is signaled; how commitment is instilled.
	Public demonstrations and marches	Interactions and discourse among demonstration participants in preparation, painting, puppet-making, music performances, marches, down-time; verbal and physical reactions of bystanders and targets.	Same as above. Additionally, how the above relate to relationships with ally participants; identification of target or source of injustice; the evocation of heightened emotion/effervescence; satire and shaming; sonic impact on bystanders and targets; affirmation of desired social relationships.

Photography	Photographs of participants involved in CIW cultural activities: radio, popular education, mural painting, media training, picket sign construction, puppet making, music performances	Photographs documenting daily farmworker life and participation in cultural repertoires. Photographs will also capture visual components in public demonstrations, with attention to music performances, totems, satire, and transformation of corporate logos.	Visual ethnography; document ethnic diversity in Immokalee and in public demonstrations; visual boundary making; ritualized components of marches; communication of contention to public audience; intimidation of targets through visual satire.
Photo Archival Research	Interviewees' photo collections; J.J. Tiziou's photo archives	Photographs pertaining to individuals' oral history content; visual documentation of public demonstrations 2001-2010	Same as above. However, collections from interview participants and J.J. Tiziou will allow for documentation and comparison over time.
Radio Logs/ Participant Listening/ Audio Recording	Deejay radio content logs	Randomly selected logs of music played and dedications made on radio programs.	Individual and group recipients of dedications, changes over time; collective experience or consciousness in lyrics of most requested songs.
	Participant listening, recordings of radio broadcasts, block parties and fiestas in Immokalee	Recordings of discourse and musical content of programs, song dedications, announcements, interviews, educational programming on radio; music and discourse at rehearsals, block parties, and fiestas	Musical organization of time; negotiation of ethnic/gender difference in music and discourse; recruitment to community center; activation of relationships through dedications; assertion of rights; how the global is signaled.
	Participant listening/audio recording of music performances in public demonstrations	Recordings of discourse and formal and informal music performances in public demonstrations.	Boundary making, emotional investments, negotiation of diversity; signaling of global; assertion of injustice, rights, efficacy in discourse or music lyrics; music forms in different performance contexts; transformation of soundscapes during demonstrations.
Audio/Visual Archival Research	CIW video archive	Audio/visual documentation of events in Immokalee and during public demonstrations as taken by CIW members and staff. Special attention to discourse, sound, and music performances in early actions.	Boundary making, emotional investments, negotiation of diversity; signaling of global; assertion of injustice, rights, efficacy in discourse or music lyrics; music forms in different performance contexts.
Organizational Archival Research	CIW online archive and organizational documents	Documentation of speeches, news coverage, advocacy materials, collaborations with other organizations and INGOs.	Interactions with INGOs, global recognition, use of human rights discourse, claims to global citizenship, time and nature of tactical shift to MNCs; chronology and changes over time.

Table 5.1
October 2010 Songs and Dedications

	Songs	Percentage
Total	219	
No Dedication	97*	44.3
Dedication	122	55.7
Of which:		
To Individual	41	33.6
To Group	81	66.4

* 2 of the 97 without dedication were call requests were for songs only, with no dedication. The other 95 songs were selected by deejays.

Table 5.2
November 2010 Songs and Dedications

	Songs	Percentage
Total	123	
No Dedication	43*	35.0
Dedication	80	65.0
Of which:		
To Individual	17	21.3
To Group	63	78.7

* 3 of 43 songs without dedication were call requests for songs only, with no dedication. The other 40 songs were selected by deejays.

Table 5.3
January 2011 Songs and Dedications

	Songs	Percentage
Total	169	
No Dedication	16*	9.5
Dedication	153	90.5
Of which:		
To Individual	47	30.7
To Group	106	69.3

* 1 of 16 songs without dedication was a call request for a song only, with no dedication. The other 15 songs were selected by deejays.

Table 5.4

April 2011 Songs and Dedications

	Songs	Percentage
Total	77	
No Dedication	10*	13.0
Dedication	67	87.0
Of which:		
To Individual	21	31.3
To Group	46	68.7

* 0 of 10 songs without dedication were for songs only. All 10 songs were selected by deejays.

Table 5.5 October 2010 Group Dedication Frequencies

Category	Region	Worker	Gender	Immokalee	Total
	Mexico (country)	Worker (only)	Women (only)	Immokalee/ Street Name	
	0	2	8	7	
	Mexico (regions)	Worker (region)	Women (region)	All Radio Listeners	
	24	0	3	3	
	Guatemala (country)	Worker (farm)	Women (work)	Waking up/ Getting ready	
	8	8	1	4	
	Guatemala (regions)	Worker (Imm./Street)	Women (Imm./Street)		
	1	0	3		
	Other	Worker (other)			
	0	7			
Count	33	17	15*	16	81
Percent	40.7	20.9	18.5	19.8	100

*11 of 15 dedications to women were made on "*Las Voces*"

Table 5.6
November 2010 Group Dedication Frequencies

Category	Region	Worker	Gender	Immokalee	Total
	Mexico (country)	Worker (only)	Women (only)	Immokalee/ Street Name	
	0	1	3	9	
	Mexico (regions)	Worker (region)	Women (region)	All Radio Listeners	
	21	2	0	0	
	Guatemala (country)	Worker (farm)	Women (work)	Waking up/ Getting ready	
	7	8	2	3	
	Guatemala (regions)	Worker (Imm./Street)	Women (Imm./Street)		
	2	0	0		
	Other	Worker (other)			
	0	5			
Count	30	16	5*	12	63
Percent	47.6	25.4	7.9	19.0	100

*These five dedications were not made on "*Las Voces*" programs, as none were included in random sample of November.

Table 5.7
January 2011 Group Dedication Frequencies

Category	Region	Worker	Gender	Immokalee	Total
	Mexico (country)	Worker (only)	Women (only)	Immokalee/ Street Name	
	0	4	2	17	
	Mexico (regions)	Worker (region)	Women (region)	All Radio Listeners	
	31	10	2	3	
	Guatemala (country)	Worker (farm)	Women (work)	Waking up/ Getting ready	
	12**	5	7	1	
	Guatemala (regions)	Worker (Imm./Street)	Women (Imm./Street)		
	1	1	2		
	Other	Worker (other)			
	3***	5			
Count	47	25	13**	21	106
Percent	44.4	23.6	12.2	19.8	100

* 7 of 13 dedications to women were made on "*Las Voces*"
** 3 dedications to people from Guatemala were made during the "Marimba" program
*** 1 Honduras, 2 El Salvador

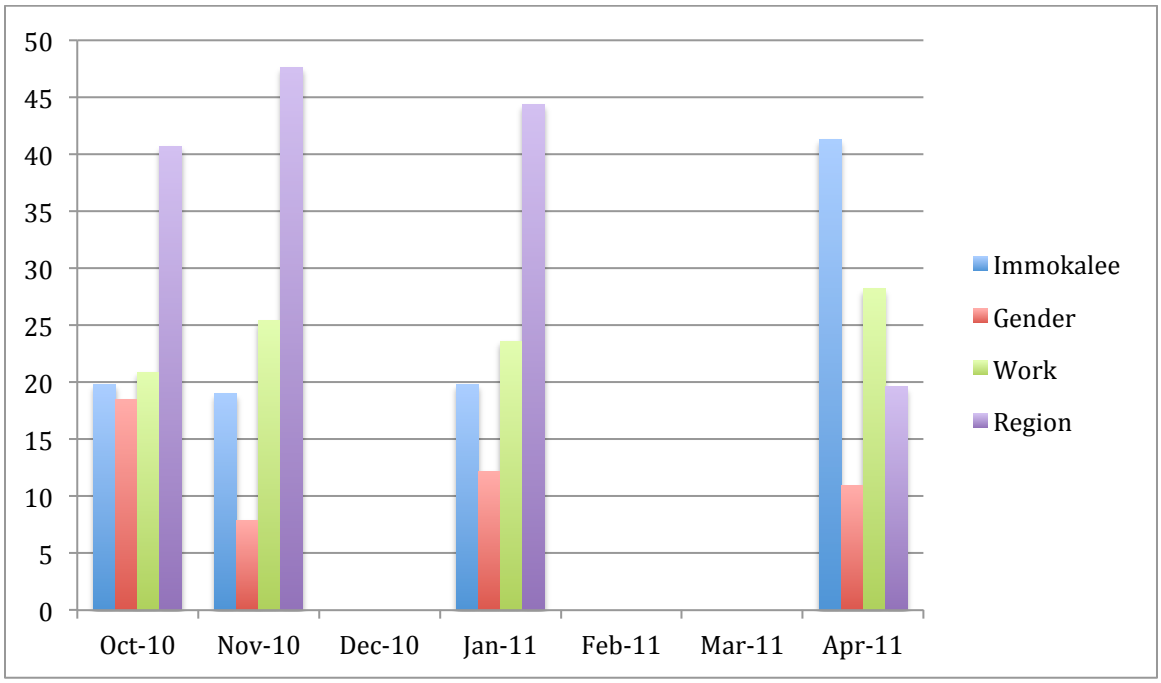
Table 5.8
April 2011 Group Dedication Frequencies

Category	Region	Worker	Gender	Immokalee	Total
	Mexico (country)	Worker (only)	Women (only)	Immokalee/ Street Name	
	1	0	1	17	
	Mexico (regions)	Worker (region)	Women (region)	All Radio Listeners	
	3	10	0	2	
	Guatemala (country)	Worker (farm)	Women (work)	Waking up/ Getting ready	
	2	1	2	0	
	Guatemala (regions)	Worker (Imm./Street)	Women (Imm./Street)		
	2	3	2		
	Other	Worker (other)			
	0	0			
Count	8	14	5*	19	46
Percent	17.4	30.4	10.9	41.3	100

*3 of 5 dedications to women were made on "*Las Voces*"

Table 5.9

Percent Distributions of Group Dedication Categories 2010-2011



	October 2010	November 2010	January 2011	April 2011
Immokalee	19.8	19	19.8	41.3
Gender	18.5	7.9	12.2	10.9
Work	20.9	25.4	23.6	28.2
Region	40.7	47.6	44.4	19.6

Table 5.10
Causes of Farmworkers' Concerns (Modeled after Roscigno and Danaher's Textile Workers' Concerns)
Most Played Songs on Radio Conciencia 2010

Song Title	Artist	Work Process			Actor		
		Work Conditions	Length of Work Day	Piece Rate System	Crewleaders	Growers	Corporate Buyers
1. Cuando me enamoro *When I fell in love with her*	Enrique Iglesias						
2. A donde vamos a parar *Where will we end up?*	Marco Antonio Solis						
3. Mi niña bonita *My pretty girl*	Chino y Nacho						
4. Danza Kuduro *Dance Kuduro*	Don Omar						
5. Con ganas de vivir *With a desire to live*	Los Inquietos del Norte						
6. Corazon sin cara *Faceless heart*	Prince Royce						
7. Doy la vida por un beso *I'll give up my life for a kiss*	Grupo Bryndis						
8. Alejate de mi *Get away from me*	Camila						
9. Stand by me (Spanglish) *Stand by me*	Prince Royce						
10. Que me lleve el Diablo *Let the devil take me*	Los Huracanes del Norte						
11. Ni lo intentes *Don't even try*	Julion Alvarez						
12. No me digas que no *Don't tell me no*	Enrique Iglesias						
13. Millonario de amor *Millionaire of love*	Sergio Vega						
14. Para un niño en la calle *Song for a kid on the street*	Calle 13 ft. Mercedes Sosa						
15. Niña de mi corazon *Girl of my heart*	Banda el Limon						
16. Fruta Madura *Ripe fruit*	Banda el Limon						

18. Al menos *If only*	Banda el Limon						
19. Desde cuando *Since when*	Alejandro Saenz						
20. La despedida *The farewell*	Daddy Yankee Mundial						
21. El uno para el otro *For one another*	El Trono de Mexico						
Total Counts		0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 5.11
Causes of Farmworkers' Concerns (Modeled after Roscigno and Danaher's Textile Workers' Concerns)
Most Requested Songs on Radio Conciencia 2010-2011

Song Title	Artist	Work process			Actor		
		Work Conditions	Length of Work Day	Piece Rate System	Crewleaders	Growers	Corporate Buyers
1. Te recordaré *I will remember you*	El Trono de Mexico						
2. En cambio tu *And then there's you*	Tierra Cali						
3. Corazon sin cara *Faceless heart*	Prince Royce						
4. Las Mañanitas *The birthday song*	Vicente Fernandez						
5. Doy la vida por un beso *I'll give up my life for a kiss*	Grupo Bryndis						
6. Mi necesidad *What I need*	Montez de Durango						
7. Nunca te olvidare *I will never forget you*	Enrique Iglesias						
8. Como te recuerdo *How I remember you*	Los Temerarios						
9. Como fui a enamorarme de ti *How was it that I fell in love with you*	Los Bukis						
10. Popurri *Potpourri*	Grupo Vaquero						
11. El Doctorado *The Doctorate*	Tony Dize						
12. Alejate de mi *Get away from me*	Camila						
13. Stand by me (Spanglish) *Stand by me*	Prince Royce						
14. Que me lleve el diablo *Let the devil take me*	Los Huracanes del Norte						
15. Tu infame engaño *Your infamous deceit*	Grupo Super-T						

16. Dime que faltó *Tell me what was lacking*	Zacarias Ferreira						
17. Vida prestada *Borrowed life*	Grupo Exterminador						
18. Dos gotas de agua *Two drops of water*	Los Greys						
19. Estoy enamorado *I'm in love*	Wisin y Yandel						
20. Como la flor *Like the flower*	Selena						
21. Ovarios *Ovaries*	Jenni Rivera						
Total Counts		0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 5.12
Piven and Cloward's Consciousness Categories
Most played songs on Radio Conciencia 2010

Song Title	Artist	Identify Injustice	Rights	Efficacy
1. Cuando me enamoro	Enrique Iglesias			
2. A donde vamos a parar	Marco Antonio Solis			
3. Mi niña bonita	Chino y Nacho			
4. Danza Kuduro	Don Omar			
5. Con ganas de vivir	Los Inquietos del Norte			
6. Corazon sin cara	Prince Royce			
7. Doy la vida por un beso	Grupo Bryndis			
8. Alejate de mi	Camila			
9. Stand by me (Spanglish)	Prince Royce			
10. Que me lleve el diablo	Los Huracanes del Norte			
11. Ni lo intentes	Julion Alvarez			
12. No me digas que no	Enrique Iglesias			
13. Millonario de amor	Sergio Vega			
14. Para un niño en la calle	Calle 13 ft. Mercedes Sosa			
15. Niña de mi corazon	Banda el Limon			
16. Fruta Madura	Banda el Limon			
17. Mi necesidad	Montez de Durango			
18. Al menos	Banda el Limon			
19. Desde cuando	Alejandro Saenz			
20. La despedida	Daddy Yankee Mundial			
21. El uno para el otro	El Trono de Mexico			
Total Counts		0	0	0

Table 5.13
Piven and Cloward's Consciousness Categories
Most Requested Songs on Radio Conciencia 2010-2011

Song Title	Artist	Identify Injustice	Rights	Efficacy
1. Te recordaré	El Trono de Mexico			
2. En cambio tu	Tierra Cali			
3. Corazon sin cara	Prince Royce			
4. Las Mañanitas	Vicente Fernandez			
5. Doy la vida por un beso	Grupo Bryndis			
6. Mi necesidad	Montez de Durango			
7. Nunca te olvidare	Enrique Iglesias			
8. Como te recuerdo	Los Temerarios			
9. Como fui a enamorarme de ti	Los Bukis			
10. Popurri	Grupo Vaquero			
11. El Doctorado	Tony Dize			
12. Alejate de mi	Camila			
13. Stand by me (Spanglish)	Prince Royce			
14. Que me lleve el diablo	Los Huracanes del Norte			
15. Tu infame engaño	Grupo Super-T			
16. Dime que faltó	Zacarias Ferreira			
17. Vida prestada	Grupo Exterminador			
18. Dos gotas de agua	Los Greys			
19. Estoy enamorado	Wisin y Yandel			
20. Como la flor	Selena			
21. Ovarios	Jenni Rivera			
Total Counts		0	0	0

Table 5.14
Roscigno and Danaher's Textile Worker Concern Categories
Most Played Songs on Radio Conciencia 2010

Song Title	Artist	Family Well-Being			Worker Well-Being		
		Family Subsistence	Children Working	Future and Children	Low Wages	Physical Well Being	Mental Well Being
1. Cuando me enamoro *When I fell in love with her*	Enrique Iglesias						x
2. A donde vamos a parar *Where will we end up?*	Marco Antonio Solis						
3. Mi niña bonita *My pretty girl*	Chino y Nacho						
4. Danza Kuduro *Dance Kuduro*	Don Omar						
5. Con ganas de vivir *With a desire to live*	Los Inquietos del Norte						
6. Corazon sin cara *Faceless heart*	Prince Royce						
7. Doy la vida por un beso *I'll give up my life for a kiss*	Grupo Bryndis						x
8. Alejate de mi *Get away from me*	Camila						
9. Stand by me (Spanglish) *Stand by me*	Prince Royce						
10. Que me lleve el Diablo *Let the devil take me*	Los Huracanes del Norte						x
11. Ni lo intentes *Don't even try*	Julion Alvarez						
12. No me digas que no *Don't tell me no*	Enrique Iglesias						
13. Millonario de amor *Millionaire of love*	Sergio Vega						
14. Para un niño en la calle *Song for a kid on the street*	Calle 13 ft. Mercedes Sosa			x			
15. Niña de mi corazon *Girl of my heart*	Banda el Limon						
16. Fruta Madura *Ripe fruit*	Banda el Limon						
17. Mi necesidad *What I need*	Montez de Durango						

18. Al menos *If only*	Banda el Limon						
19. Desde cuando *Since when*	Alejandro Saenz						
20. La despedida *The farewell*	Daddy Yankee Mundial						
21. El uno para el otro *For one another*	El Trono de Mexico						
Total Counts		0	0	1	0	0	3

Table 5.15
Roscigno and Danaher's Textile Worker Concern Categories
Most Requested Songs on Radio Conciencia 2010-2011

Song Title	Artist	Family Well-Being			Worker Well-Being		
		Family Subsistence	Children Working	Future and Children	Low Wages	Physical Well Being	Mental Well Being
1. Te recordaré *I will remember you*	El Trono de Mexico						
2. En cambio tu *And then there's you*	Tierra Cali						
3. Corazon sin cara *Faceless heart*	Prince Royce						
4. Las Mañanitas *The birthday song*	Vicente Fernandez						
5. Doy la vida por un beso *I'll give up my life for a kiss*	Grupo Bryndis						x
6. Mi necesidad *What I need*	Montez de Durango						
7. Nunca te olvidare *I will never forget you*	Enrique Iglesias						
8. Como te recuerdo *How I remember you*	Los Temerarios						
9. Como fui a enamorarme de ti *How was it that I fell in love with you*	Los Bukis						
10. Popurri *Potpourri*	Grupo Vaquero						
11. El Doctorado *The Doctorate*	Tony Dize						
12. Alejate de mi *Get away from me*	Camila						
13. Stand by me (Spanglish) *Stand by me*	Prince Royce						
14. Que me lleve el diablo *Let the devil take me*	Los Huracanes del Norte						x
15. Tu infame engaño *Your infamous deceit*	Grupo Super-T						

16. Dime que faltó *Tell me what was lacking*	Zacarias Ferreira						
17. Vida prestada *Borrowed life*	Grupo Exterminador						
18. Dos gotas de agua *Two drops of water*	Los Greys						
19. Estoy enamorado *I'm in love*	Wisin y Yandel						
20. Como la flor *Like the flower*	Selena						
21. Ovarios *Ovaries*	Jenni Rivera						
Total Counts		0	0	0	0	0	2

Table 5.16
Migrant Farmworker Concern Categories
Most Played Songs on Radio Conciencia 2010

Song Title	Artist	Separation/ Awaiting Reunion	Loneliness/ Alcohol	Remembering/ Forgetting Love	Love (General)
1. Cuando me enamoro	Enrique Iglesias	x		x	x
2. A donde vamos a parar	Marco Antonio Solis				x
3. Mi niña bonita	Chino y Nacho				x
4. Danza Kuduro	Don Omar				
5. Con ganas de vivir	Los Inquietos del Norte		x		
6. Corazon sin cara	Prince Royce				x
7. Doy la vida por un beso	Grupo Bryndis	x	x		x
8. Alejate de mi	Camila				x
9. Stand by me (Spanglish)	Prince Royce				x
10. Que me lleve el diablo	Los Huracanes del Norte	x	x	x	x
11. Ni lo intentes	Julion Alvarez			x	x
12. No me digas que no	Enrique Iglesias				x
13. Millonario de amor	Sergio Vega				x
14. Para un niño en la calle	Calle 13 ft. Mercedes Sosa				
15. Niña de mi corazon	Banda el Limon				x
16. Fruta Madura	Banda el Limon				x
17. Mi necesidad	Montez de Durango				x
18. Al menos	Banda el Limon				x
19. Desde cuando	Alejandro Saenz	x		x	x
20. La despedida	Daddy Yankee Mundial	x		x	x
21. El uno para el otro	El Trono de Mexico	x		x	x
Total Counts		6	3	6	18

Table 5.17
Migrant Farmworker Concern Categories
Most Requested Songs on Radio Conciencia 2010-2011

Song Title	Artist	Separation/ Awaiting Reunion	Loneliness/ Alcohol	Remembering/ Forgetting Love	Love (General)
1. Te recordaré	El Trono de Mexico	x		x	x
2. En cambio tu	Tierra Cali				x
3. Corazon sin cara	Prince Royce				x
4. Las Mañanitas	Vicente Fernandez				
5. Doy la vida por un beso	Grupo Bryndis	x	x		x
6. Mi necesidad	Montez de Durango				x
7. Nunca te olvidare	Enrique Iglesias			x	x
8. Como te recuerdo	Los Temerarios	x	x	x	x
9. Como fui a enamorarme de ti	Los Bukis			x	x
10. Popurri	Grupo Vaquero				x
11. El Doctorado	Tony Dize				x
12. Alejate de mi	Camila				x
13. Stand by me (Spanglish)	Prince Royce				x
14. Que me lleve el diablo	Los Huracanes del Norte	x	x	x	x
15. Tu infame engaño	Grupo Super-T	x		x	x
16. Dime que faltó	Zacarias Ferreira			x	x
17. Vida prestada	Grupo Exterminador				x
18. Dos gotas de agua	Los Greys	x	x	x	x
19. Estoy enamorado	Wisin y Yandel				x
20. Como la flor	Selena	x			x
21. Ovarios	Jenni Rivera				
Total Counts		7	4	8	19

VISUAL APPENDIX

All included photos are used with the permission of listed photographers other than the author.

Photos by JJ Tiziou Photography, © Jacques-Jean Tiziou / www.jjtiziou.net

4.1 Coalition of Immokalee Workers Interethnic Mural. Photo by Laura Emiko Soltis.



4.2 Interethnic Mural Detail. Photo by Laura Emiko Soltis.



5.1 *Radio Conciencia* Barnraising with Prometheus Radio Project. JJ Tiziou Photography.



5.2 *Radio Conciencia* Antenna Rising. JJ Tiziou Photography.



5.3 *Control remoto* game of musical chairs. Photo by Laura Emiko Soltis.



5.4 Marimba rehearsal at the CIW community center. Photo by Laura Emiko Soltis.



5.5 Coalition of Immokalee Worker Flag. Photo by Laura Emiko Soltis.



5.6 CIW Banner at the 2011 *Fiesta del Año del Trabajador*. Photo by Laura Emiko Soltis.



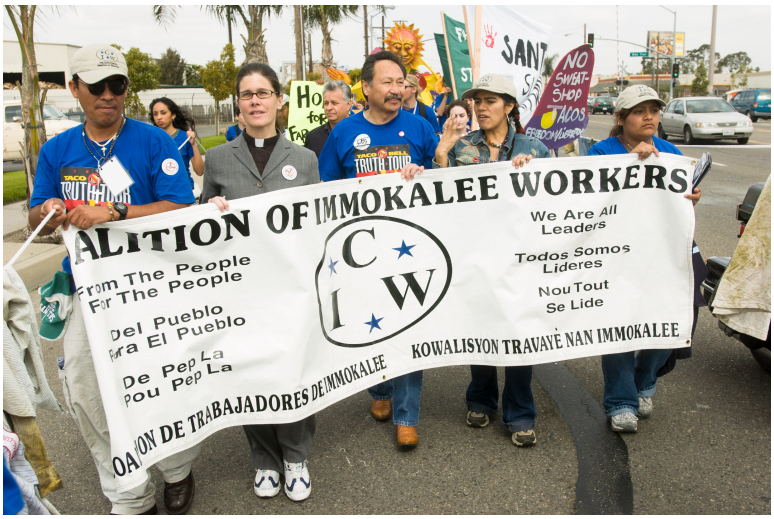
5.7 *Sobrevivencia* performance at the 2011 *Fiesta del Año del Trabajador*. Photo by Laura Emiko Soltis.



6.1 Taco Bell Picket Sign, “Another World is Possible.” Photo by Laura Emiko Soltis.



6.2 CIW Banner at Taco Bell March 2004. JJ Tiziou Photography.



6.3 Taco Bell March 2004 with Blue Logo T-shirts. JJ Tiziou Photography.



6.4 Farmworkers carrying red tomato buckets. JJ Tiziou Photography.



6.5 *Son del Centro* performing at the Taco Bell Rally 2004. JJ Tiziou Photography.



6.6 *Son del Centro* hosts the CIW at a *fandango* at the *Centro*. JJ Tiziou Photography.



6.7 Taco Bell and CIW at the Agreement Press Conference 2005. JJ Tiziou Photography.



6.8 Farmworkers celebrate with "*victoria*" signs. JJ Tiziou Photography.



6.9 *Son del Centro* performs at Taco Bell Celebration. JJ Tiziou Photography.



6.10 Farmworkers rally the crowd at the 2007 Concert for Fair Food. JJ Tiziou Photography.



6.11 *Son del Centro* performs at the Concert for Fair Food. JJ Tiziou Photography.



6.12 *Son del Centro* on stage in front of the CIW emblem. JJ Tiziou Photography.



6.13 Burger King Effigy at 2007 Concert for Fair Food. JJ Tiziou Photography.



6.14 *Son del Centro* and CIW *fandango* 2007. JJ Tiziou Photography.



6.15 CIW Banner at the 2007 March on Burger King in Miami. JJ Tiziou Photography.



6.16 *Rara Lakay* at March on Burger King. JJ Tiziou Photography.



6.17 *Son del Centro* performs at Burger King Rally. JJ Tiziou Photography.



6.18 Public shaming of Burger King with picket signs. JJ Tiziou Photography.



6.19 Burger King puppet is paraded through Miami. JJ Tiziou Photography.



6.20 Satirical Burger King actors handing out fliers. JJ Tiziou Photography.



6.21 “One penny more” picket sign. JJ Tiziou Photography.



6.22 Crowns inscribed with “dignity.” JJ Tiziou Photography.



6.23 Worn boots as dramatization of farmworker poverty. JJ Tiziou Photography.



6.24 Women stream out of beauty salon with joyful response. Photo by Laura Emiko Soltis.



6.25 *Son Solidario* and *La Justicia* on the truck leading the 2010 Farmworker Freedom March against Publix. JJ Tiziou Photography.



6.26 CIW Banner at the 2010 Publix Farmworker Freedom March. JJ Tiziou Photography.



6.27 Bystanders look on from the roofs of their trailer homes. Photo by Laura Emiko Soltis.



6.28 *Son Solidario* rehearses before the stage performance. JJ Tiziou Photography.



6.29 CIW takes the stage at the Publix Rally. JJ Tiziou Photography.



6.30 *Bomba* ensemble *La Justicia* performs at the Publix Rally. JJ Tiziou Photography.



6.31 Making molds for theater puppets in Immokalee. Photo by Laura Emiko Soltis.



6.32 Constructing puppet frames at the CIW community center. Photo by Laura Emiko Soltis.



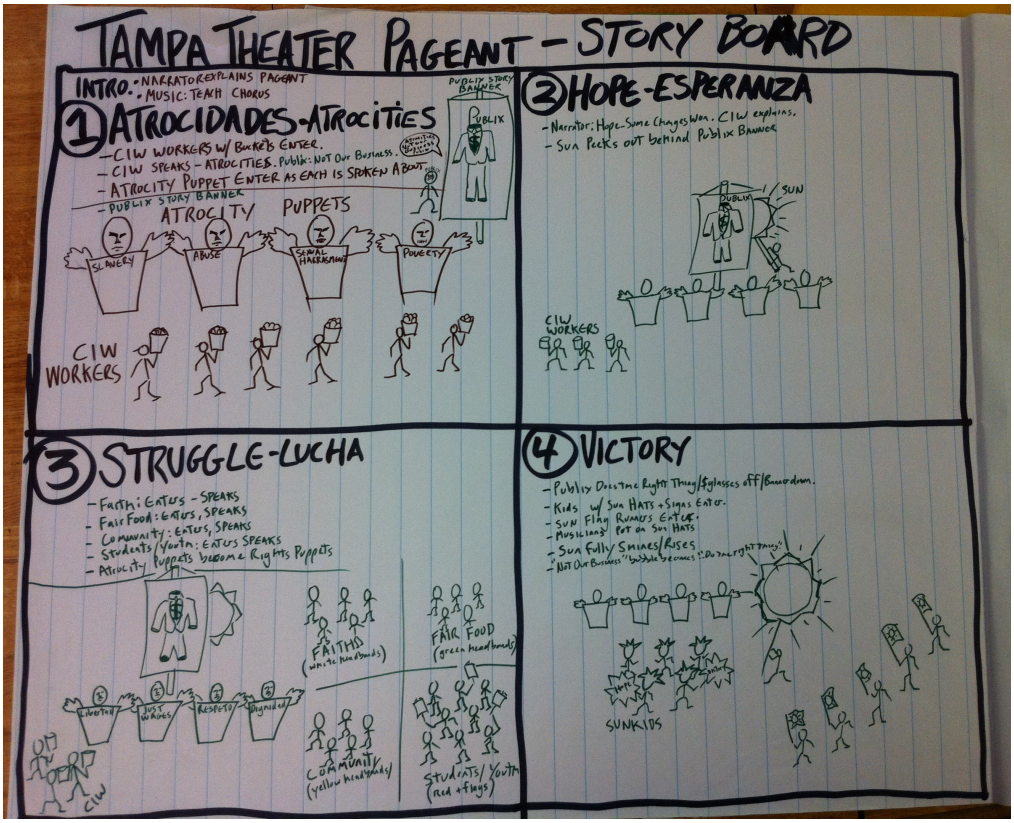
6.33 Puppets at 2010 Water Wars protest in Cochabamba, Bolivia. Photo by Mona Caron.



6.34 Puppets in preparation for the 2011 Theater Pageant. Artwork by Mona Caron. Photo by Laura Emiko Soltis.



6.35 Storyboard for 2011 Theater Pageant. Photo by David Solnit.



6.36 Farmworkers laughing during pageant rehearsal. Photo by Laura Emiko Soltis.



6.37 Pageant rehearsal before the public performance. Photo by Laura Emiko Soltis.



6.38 *Son Solidario* on the *tarima* at the 2011 "Do the Right Thing" Theater Pageant Performance in Tampa, Florida 2011. Photo by Laura Emiko Soltis.



6.39 Farmworkers perform the opening scene of the Theater Pageant. Photo by Laura Emiko Soltis.



6.40 Representation of Publix corporate adversary. Photo by Laura Emiko Soltis.



6.41 Representation of a “new dawn” and victory. Photo by Laura Emiko Soltis.



6.42 *Son Solidario* begins singing “*La bamba*” while wearing “victory” crowns. Photo by Laura Emiko Soltis.



7.1 CIW members march for 234-miles with American Flags and a Statue of Liberty with brown skin in February 2000. Photo by the Coalition of Immokalee Workers.



7.2 “We are not tractors, we are human beings” mural at the CIW community center. Photo by Laura Emiko Soltis.



7.3 *Mistica* theater performance at the Florida State Capitol in 2009 portraying a recent slavery case in Immokalee. Photo by Laura Emiko Soltis.



7.4 Crosses placed outside the gates of the School of Americas in Columbus, Georgia. Photo by Laura Emiko Soltis.



7.5 Theatrical funeral procession at the 2010 School of Americas Watch gathering. Photo by Laura Emiko Soltis.



7.6 Crosses raised in the air while singing "*presente*" in response to each victim's name sung over the loudspeaker. Photo by Laura Emiko Soltis.



7.7 Movement participants carry farmworkers' clothes soiled from the fields as they approach Taco Bell's headquarters in 2004. JJ Tiziou Photography.



7.8 Farmworkers stack 125 tomato buckets outside Taco Bell's headquarters to dramatize farmworker exploitation. JJ Tiziou Photography.



7.9 CIW's Florida Modern-Day Slavery Museum. Photo by Laura Emiko Soltis.



7.10 The Florida Modern-Day Slavery Museum at the National Mall. Photo by the Coalition of Immokalee Workers.



7.11 Tomato bucket in the museum to educate public. Photo by Laura Emiko Soltis.



7.12 President Jimmy Carter visits the museum at Emory University in 2011. Photo by Laura Emiko Soltis.



7.13 The FTGE and CIW reach landmark agreement. Photo by Laura Emiko Soltis.



8.1 Poster created for the third *Bombaso Fandango* at the *Centro* in 2011. Designed by Ana Siria and Hector Luis Rivera.



8.2 A *Bombaso Fandango* community performance at the *Centro* in Santa Ana, California in 2011. Photo by Rudy Rude.



Selected Photographs of Farmworkers in Immokalee

9.1 Farmworker members of the CIW. Photo by Laura Emiko Soltis.



9.2 A farmworker sits outside his trailer home where he lives with seven other young workers. Used with his permission. Photo by Laura Emiko Soltis.



9.3 A typical bus that arrives every morning at La Fiesta #3 to pick up workers bound for the fields. Photo by Laura Emiko Soltis.



9.4 A woman waits before sunrise hoping to find work. Photo by Laura Emiko Soltis.



9.5 A worker takes a brief rest while a truck arrives in the fields. Photo by Laura Emiko Soltis.



9.6 A farmworker labors in the tomato fields. Photo by Laura Emiko Soltis.



9.7 A woman proudly uses a timecard, a new right guaranteed under the Fair Food Program to ensure accurate calculations of minimum wage. Photo by Laura Emiko Soltis.



9.8 Workers receive a worker rights training by members of the CIW on company time, as guaranteed under the Fair Food Program. Photo by Laura Emiko Soltis.



9.9 A young farmworker nears a truck to unload his 32-pound bucket of tomatoes. The level of tomatoes at the rim is a new right guaranteed by the new Fair Food Program. Prior to 2011, farmworkers had to overflow their buckets. Photo by Laura Emiko Soltis.



AUDIO APPENDIX

(Please contact author for future publications of music recordings)

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