

# Globalisation from below: The fair food program

“What role does globalisation from below through academic and social justice networks play in enabling the CIW and FFP social movement to create effective change in the globalised and neoliberal societal formation of farm labour in the US agricultural industry?”

12/08/2024

Lukas Tieke

9090541

Supervisor: Christiaan van Bochove

Word count: 11065

**Abstract:**

The Fair Food Project by Community of Immokalee Workers presents a social movement that transitions from a local, grassroots project in a marginalised farming community in the US, to an institutional program of worker-led social responsibility. The driving factor of this social movement is the presence of globalisation from below. It entails social justice and academic networks that aim to link marginalised communities to new conceptions of their place in the socio-economic context of their world. This acts as both the pre-condition necessary for change, as well as the tool for change itself, working primarily through popular education and expanding information and identity networks. The network pathways of globalisation from below are the initial enablers for the tangible drivers of social movements.

## Table of contents

I. Introduction .....	3
a. Historiography .....	3
b. Theoretical framework.....	7
c. Methodology.....	10
II. The Community of Immokalee Workers and the grassroots origins of a farmworkers' rights social movement.....	13
a. The preconditions for a social movement.....	13
b. Consciousness + commitment = change .....	19
c. The effect of social justice networks.....	22
III. Scope and scale of the Fair Food Program:.....	24
a. Third phase of the CIW social movement: establishing the FFP.....	24
b. Fair Food Program: a worker-driven social responsibility model as globalisation from below from 2011 - 2021 .....	30
c. The FFP and globalisation from below .....	33
IV. Conclusion.....	35
V. Bibliography.....	37
a. Primary Sources .....	37
b. Secondary Sources:.....	38

## I. Introduction

The analysis of the Coalition of Immokalee Workers (CIW) and their Fair Food Programme (FFP) is a study of how grassroots activist solutions attempt to reform the US agricultural industry from its entrenched government and market forces as a result of systemic workers' rights abuses. The crux of the issue is that the US agricultural industry is historically built on, and continues to operate in, a status quo of dependency on immigrant workers from Mexico and South America who are placed in underregulated working conditions that are contrary to human and worker rights.<sup>1</sup> The conditions of the US agricultural industry and its labour market are shaped by the social and political dynamics of a long-time dependency on labour migration from Mexico and South America which have been reshaped by the globalised and neo-liberal developments of the world economy since the 1970s.<sup>2</sup>

### a. Historiography

The activity of farming and food production has always been of primordial importance to any society. The state of farm labour in the US has always provided a key characteristic of its formulation of a national identity. This can be seen through the role of framing the American identity in relation to the slave labour of the Southern States and the American Civil War. Since the Second World War, as farm labour in the US transitioned towards a dependence on Mexican and other South American migrant labourers, the public sphere debate in the US has become perpetually focused on the topic of immigration. This thesis is focused on the case of a social movement originating from this class of migrant workers in US agriculture. Their aim, eradicating the systemic injustices and infringements on their rights that they face in their socio-economic positions as migrant farm workers.

The socio-economic conditions of farmwork in the US have been stagnant throughout the entire phase of dependency on Mexican and South American migrant farm labour which began since WW2. This comes despite major societal shifts in the US, featuring civil rights movements, neo-liberal principles of governance, the emergence of globalisation, and the digitalisation of the world. Relevant theoretical works have analysed the economic structures of exploitation in the globalised

---

<sup>1</sup> Menchaca, Martha. *The Politics of Dependency: US Reliance on Mexican Oil and Farm Labor*. Vol. First edition. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2016, 187-189; Hedges, Chris and Joe Sacco. 2012. *Days of Destruction Days of Revolt*. Toronto: Alfred A. Knopf Canada.

<sup>2</sup> Menchaca, Politics of Dependency, 187-189.

world economy as well as the mechanisms by which social movements are formed alter these social structures. Historiographical works have documented the role of the migrant worker in the US agricultural industry from both a macro lens of government policy and economic currents, and a micro lens of personal histories. The historiographical works will be addressed first.

Martha Menchaca's publication, *The Politics of Dependency*, follows through policy and document analysis of both Mexican and US institutions the political and economic history that links the US and Mexico in the sectors of farm labour and oil since the beginning of the Second World War until the mid-2010s. She identifies relationships of asymmetric co-dependency between the two nations where the US held much greater political power over Mexico through the leverage of economic dependency.<sup>3</sup> Mexican dependency on the US economy came as a result of increasing liberalisation of their markets and integration with the US economy through free trade agreements in order to receive bail out packages beginning with the oil crisis of 1973 through to various economic crises in the 1980s and 1990s.<sup>4</sup> While economic bail outs and demands for increased liberalisation of the Mexican market flowed from the US to Mexico, upon which it relied to avoid bankruptcy, oil trade at favourable rates to the US and farm labour flowed from Mexico to the US.<sup>5</sup> Dependency on these commodities existed for both nations, the relative importance of these exchanges, however, was much higher for the Mexican government, which relied on these resources for the maintenance of its political regime.<sup>6</sup> Menchaca argues that the relative importance of these exchanges for the Mexican government, in particular considering the desire to best safeguard their Mexican oil concessions, that oversight of the farming labour migration was completely ignored and left to the discrimination of US policy.<sup>7</sup> Illegal economic migration from Mexico to the US was exacerbated with every wave of liberalisation of the Mexican markets (usually followed by a crisis), leading to the availability of cheap and unregulated labour in the US agricultural industry.<sup>8</sup> The resulting dependency on Mexican farm labour created a stagnant immigration policy and farm labour policy public sphere dilemma in the US.<sup>9</sup> High illegal immigration rates were despised in the US out of a fear for their impact on the labour market for US citizens. However, immigration was required in the sector of agriculture as

---

<sup>3</sup> Menchaca, *Politics of Dependency*, 187-89.

<sup>4</sup> Menchaca, 112-22.

<sup>5</sup> Menchaca, 187-89.

<sup>6</sup> Menchaca, 187-89.

<sup>7</sup> Menchaca, 187-89.

<sup>8</sup> Menchaca, 187-89.

<sup>9</sup> Menchaca, 130-135.

hardly any US citizens were willing to work in the industry. This kept many proposals regarding the regulation of farmwork conditions and farm labour immigration from being accepted by US legislatures.<sup>10</sup> The result was a largely unregulated (in comparison to other labour markets and economic sectors) agricultural labour market through to the present (2024), leaving migrant farm labourers devoid of many workers and civil rights protections while working in the US agricultural industry.<sup>11</sup>

Martha Menchaca further dives into the conditions of US farm working programs related to migrant farmworkers, and, historical attempts by migrant farmworkers themselves to establish their own political agency in the field of farm labour policy from the 1950s through to present day. The study of farm working conditions and the socio-economic place of the migrant workers in the US agricultural industry is covered in much greater detail by several academics and journalists through the case of the Immokalee farming community in Florida which hosts the major hotbed for migrant farm labourers in the US. The works of Beverly Bell, Susan Marquis, Barry Estabrook, Grace Ann Rosile et al., and Chris Hedges and Joe Sacco all report on the socio-economic conditions experienced by migrant farmworkers in the US, involving systemic infringements of civil and workers rights in the form of low wages, wage theft, slavery (in certain cases outright and in other cases through wage peonage), and physical, verbal and sexual abuse.<sup>12</sup> They observe and analyse this in the case of the Immokalee farming community in Florida. Their historical scope, while mostly focused on present day (1970s onwards) farming conditions, extends from the first farming instalments in Florida, tracing a continuous line from the slave plantation farming systems to the modern day. The major focus is the development and rise of the CIW social movement that arose in the Immokalee, Florida farming

---

<sup>10</sup> Menchaca, 130-135.

<sup>11</sup> Menchaca, 187-89.

<sup>12</sup> Beverly Bell. "Florida Farmworkers Build Unity through Education and Action." *Race, Poverty & the Environment* 14, no. 2 (2007); Barry Estabrook, *Tomatoland: How Modern Industrial Agriculture Destroyed Our Most Alluring Fruit*, 2011, <http://ci.nii.ac.jp/ncid/BB16173927>; Chris Hedges and Joe Sacco. *Days of Destruction Days of Revolt* (Toronto: Alfred A. Knopf Canada, 2012); Susan L. Marquis. *I Am Not a Tractor! How Florida Farmworkers Took on the Fast Food Giants and Won* (Ithaca: ILR Press, an imprint of Cornell University Press, 2017) <https://www.degruyter.com/doi/book/10.7591/9781501714313>; Grace Ann Rosile, David M. Boje, Richard A. Herder, and Mabel Sanchez. "The Coalition of Immokalee Workers Uses Ensemble Storytelling Processes to Overcome Enslavement in Corporate Supply Chains." *Business & Society* 60, no. 2 (2021): <https://doi.org/10.1177/0007650320930416>.

community and how they opposed the systemic oppressive farm labour conditions through the establishment of a community identity and leveraging new relationships with their employers that better protected their rights.<sup>13</sup>

Unifying each of these publications, they all established their analysis on in person, on location interviews with members of the Community of Immokalee Workers (CIW) that began the social movement (and some publications also other farmworkers, as well as growers and local business owners). The varying scopes that the authors take in their analyses are therefore grounded in the very specific developments and conditions of the case of the social movement of the CIW. This gives very accurate procedural insight and analysis the analyses of how the CIW was able to establish a social movement and later a worker led social accountability program to enforce better working conditions in the agricultural industry. Description of the role of the agricultural industry from the perspective of growers and their procedural and strategic approaches is therefore less represented in these works, and would feature certain bias against it. However, the publication of Hedges and Sacco does feature interviews with the perspectives of growers in the Immokalee community, providing some reference frame in that regard. Overall, this does not hinder the reliability of the interview material as data to provide insight and evidence for the methods of establishment of the social movement. Recounting grower's perspective does not influence the decision-making process of the actors that created the CIW social movement. Rather, the farm labourers' understanding of the growers' perspective (which is heavily recorded and focused on in the interviews) is the only part of that perspective which influenced their decision-making process. The main findings of these works are that the driving aspects of the social movement (also self-reported by the CIW) are first the establishment of a collective farmworker identity through popular education methods allowing individuals to understand their conditions and their causes better and then fanning the possibility of change through collective action.<sup>14</sup>

---

<sup>13</sup> Bell, *Farmworkers build unity*, 39-40; Estabrook, *Tomatoland*, 75-7; Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 218-22; Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 16-19; Rosile et al., *Ensemble storytelling processes*, 380-3.

<sup>14</sup> Bell, *Farmworkers build unity*, 39-40; Estabrook, *Tomatoland*, 75-7; Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 218-22; Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 16-19; Rosile et al., *Ensemble storytelling processes*, 380-3.

## b. Theoretical framework

Having discussed the historical context of the CIW social movement and its FFP social programme, the theoretical implications of the case can be discussed. The FFP being a worker-led social responsibility program created and managed by grassroots, activist NGOs, places this analysis within the research field of social movements. The advent of neoliberal capitalist societal formations, of which the globalised, neoliberal US agricultural sector is a part, came with its related social movements, dubbed “new-style” social movements.<sup>15</sup> The new-style social movements have as defining characteristics decentralised, grassroots-type structures that have diverse ideologies and identities, a broad range of actions available to them, and usually a strong emphasis on human rights.<sup>16</sup>

Modern literature on social movements focuses largely on middle-range theories that highlight particular dynamics of social movement activity. Four main theoretical approaches describe these key dynamics that are relevant for understanding the organisation, strategies or ideology of social movements.<sup>17</sup> These approach the study of social movements from the perspectives of, firstly; resource mobilisation, which highlights the role of key actors to organise and invest in the creation of the social movement.<sup>18</sup> Secondly, political process and opportunity, which focus on strategies for action and creating leverage over other institutional actors that create or perpetuate the conditions the social movement attempts to alter.<sup>19</sup> Thirdly, framing, which focuses on the creation of the social movement identity in order to spur action for change.<sup>20</sup> And finally, ensemble leadership, which examines the internal structures of social movements in order to reduce vulnerability to external forces and maximise potency of activities.<sup>21</sup> While the middle-range theories of social movements have been well established in the academic field, they lack the scope to link the individual components of ideology, organisation and strategy of social movements into a comprehensive perspective.<sup>22</sup> Nor

---

<sup>15</sup> Rucht, Dieter. “Social Movements.” In *Comparative Politics*, edited by Daniele Caramani. Oxford University Press, 2020, 289-291.

<sup>16</sup> Rucht, Social Movements, 290-291.

<sup>17</sup> Rucht, 283-286.

<sup>18</sup> Rucht, 283-286.

<sup>19</sup> Rucht, 283-286.

<sup>20</sup> Rucht, 283-286.

<sup>21</sup> Rosile et al., Ensemble storytelling purposes, 380-3.

<sup>22</sup> Rucht, 285.



do they highlight the societal context that social movements find themselves in, or address the effects of social movements.<sup>23</sup>

Relating these middle-range theories of social movements to the greater societal context of modern, new-style social movements that take place in neoliberal and globalised societal formations is possible through Arjun Appadurai's concept of globalisation from below. The basis of Appadurai's approach is the conception of the world of globalisation as an equilibrium of flows in which all the institutional blocks of society exist with temporal dynamics moving at their own velocities (speeds and direction).<sup>24</sup> Different velocities relative to each other create disjuncture in the equilibrium which results in "acute problems of social well-being".<sup>25</sup> In this view, globalised capitalism forms a setting of strategies of predatory capital mobility.<sup>26</sup> The essence of strategies of predatory capital mobility lies in the excess influence global, corporate actors have on their industry via their global capital, which refers to their financing, supply chains, and government advocacy access.<sup>27</sup> This influence to determine the characteristics of their industry is disproportionate to the local actors whose economic presence only exists within a single location and isn't integrated into various layers of a global network or state institutions.<sup>28</sup> The essence of predatory capital strategies that derive from the globalised and neoliberal and societal structure is that inequalities within and between societies have increased.<sup>29</sup> In the view of Appadurai, states' ability to regulate and shape the political, economic and social activities and consequences of global capital, although this varies per country and sector.<sup>30</sup> Specifically for the US, the neoliberal policies starting in the 1970s, on the one, hand have been observed to greatly have reduced the state's ability to shape and regulate its economy.<sup>31</sup> On the other

---

<sup>23</sup> Rucht, 285.

<sup>24</sup> Appadurai, Arjun. "Grassroots Globalisation and the Research Imagination." *Public Culture* 12, no. 1 (January 1, 2000): 5. <https://doi.org/10.1215/08992363-12-1-1>.

<sup>25</sup> Appadurai, Grassroots Globalisation, 5.

<sup>26</sup> Appadurai, 16.

<sup>27</sup> Appadurai, 16.

<sup>28</sup> Appadurai, 16.

<sup>29</sup> Appadurai, 16.

<sup>30</sup> Appadurai, 16.

<sup>31</sup> Blythe, *Great transformations: The rise and decline of embedded liberalism*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

hand, its crisis filled and polarised history of labour immigration shows the US state's inability to influence the market in the manner that it should.<sup>32</sup>

The state's losing sovereignty in regulating and managing the market has led to a rise in new-style social movements alongside that of globalised capital.<sup>33</sup> These new-style social movements are very diverse in their number and identity for the reason that they tend to target specific problems and locations that arise from the externalities of global capital.<sup>34</sup> The aspiration to have these new-style social movements repair inequality or damage caused by strategies of predatory mobility depends on their ability to form a part of a global network of global governance alongside states.<sup>35</sup>

The key factor available to the new-style social movements is the availability of global media and information networks.<sup>36</sup> This rise in global media and information networks through the digital revolution allows for a much greater social awareness of inequality and feeds new imaginations of social life.<sup>37</sup> This has two effects. The first is a societally greater rejection of the notion that poverty is self-perpetuated and that inequality and exploitation must be actively and structurally addressed.<sup>38</sup> This can be observed in the growth of a sort of compassionate capitalism where the growth of many grassroots NGOs with capital actors engaging in philanthropic financing and the rise of the Environmental Social Governance movement (ESG).<sup>39</sup> This greater exposure to information and ideas about poverty and inequality made possible through a more global and pervasive media and information diffusion presence feeds imaginative processing of desired social life throughout all demographics of all societies exposed to it. This is central not only to Appadurai's mechanisms of societies responding to oppressive strategies of globalisation but also to the more abstract theories of equilibrium based institutional change. The main driver for institutional change in equilibria being the self-enforcing interpretations of the equilibrium of the actors themselves.

The second effect of the rise in global media and information technology is the (globalised) growth in cooperation between societies, grassroots NGOs and academia (and related philanthropic

---

<sup>32</sup> Menchaca, *Politics of Dependency*, 104-105.

<sup>33</sup> Appadurai, *Grassroots Globalisation*, 15.

<sup>34</sup> Appadurai, 15.

<sup>35</sup> Appadurai, 16.

<sup>36</sup> Appadurai, 16.

<sup>37</sup> Appadurai, 16.

<sup>38</sup> Appadurai, 6.

<sup>39</sup> Menchaca, *Politics of Dependency*, 17.

or ESG based capitalist actors). A global network that exchanges and transfers information between local areas with unequal socio-economic dynamics, activist NGOs, and global academic insight would allow for greater understanding of inequality and knowledge of available resources to tackle it. Appadurai describes his hope for this development as an international civil society that should have as its goal the undoing of information asymmetry that currently plagues local actors in comparison to their global capital counterparts.<sup>40</sup> This in turn allows for the use of the greatest comparative advantage that new social movements have over global corporations, the fact that they do not need to compete with each other.<sup>41</sup>

### c. Methodology

The study in this paper is derived from Appadurai's conception of globalisation from below as a counter to the isolation of the neoliberal and globalised developments of modern capitalist economies in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the US being the first among these countries. This paper takes the position that the socio-economic conditions of systemic civil and labour rights abuse in farm labour are entrenched in the US agricultural industry. They are entrenched through historical precedent and are perpetuated within a globalised and neoliberal economic formation of the US agricultural industry in which the regulation of farm labour is stagnant. This societal formation features a disjunctive flow of labour migration which takes place as a result of removed domestic economic opportunity in Mexico (and South America). In turn, this labour migration destined for the US agricultural industry, faces a lack of coverage of legislation and institutional resources regarding their welfare. The result is that labourers are not covered by constitutional civil, political and worker rights while being removed from their hometown communities that provide a sense of identity and physical support. The combination of these creating an experience of social and political isolation, making migrant farm labourers vulnerable to exploitation and abuse.

Appadurai's conception of globalisation from below details the theoretical pathways and interaction agents that enable connections to be made between the isolated migrant farm workers in the US agricultural industry to establish new communities and identities that enable a removal of such isolation. Further, the concept of an academic and social justice network enabling resources and coordination to reach this isolated community through new media channels theorises a pathway that enables grassroots action to be organised and effectively target those mechanisms that perpetuate the

---

<sup>40</sup> Appadurai, *Grassroots Globalisation*, 16.

<sup>41</sup> Appadurai, 17.

abusive socio-economic conditions of farm labour in the US agricultural industry. The hypothesis is that the mechanisms detailed in the middle range theories of how social movements function are ultimately enabled by the international academic and social justice networks operating through new media mediums.

The research question of this paper thus becomes:

“What role does globalisation from below through academic and social justice networks play in enabling the CIW and FFP social movement to create effective change in the globalised and neoliberal societal formation of farm labour in the US agricultural industry?”

The immediate sub questions that can be derived from this are, first, how does globalisation from below enable the creation of the grassroots CIW social movement beginning in 1993? Second, how does globalisation from below enable the establishment of the FFP worker led social responsibility program to regulate farm labour beginning in 2011? These sub questions thus give the structure of this paper as having two chapters, each addressing the individual sub questions.

Hence, there are to criteria that the primary sources must fulfil in order to answer these research questions. First, they need to demonstrate what actions enabled the grassroots CIW social movement to come into existence and establish the FFP. Second, they need to show relevant indicators for the involvement of international academic and social justice networks and new media tools in the establishment of the CIW and FFP. For evidence regarding the origin and development of the social movement, the historiographical publications based on interactions and interviews with the CIW can be used. In this sense, they exist as both a primary and secondary source. Long passages of raw explanations and dialogue by the CIW members are printed within these works that can be used. Yet the fallback is that they have been written and manipulated by their authors as evidence, presented in a manner to illustrate their own analysis. The quality of the publications in the sense of transmitting the voice, messages and insights of the CIW actors themselves can be judged to remain mostly intact, however, given that the authors attempt to spread and share the message of the CIW social movement and accompany this message with their own analysis.

The historiographical accounts of the CIW and FFP play a much more important role as direct primary sources however, in relation to the displaying evidence of how the international academic and social justice networks interact with the CIW social movement and attempt to understand it, spread its message within their own networks and push the topic into both the public as well as the academic and policy sphere. Specifically, the publication of Marquis relates the personal involvement of the author to the social movement and how her own academic network had supported, promoted

and brought her to the attention of it. Next to the explanations by CIW members themselves in these interviews, these publications each work within their own network to further understand, then spread and explain this model in order to promote it as a solution to the societal externalities experienced by labour forces resulting from disjunctive flows of neoliberalism and globalisation in the world economy.

Finally, the implementation of the FFP will also be evaluated through Fair Food Standards Council (FFSC) reports detailing their audits and management of the program. These provide direct data for how the program functions, how it is audited, and the results of those audits. The bias of this document may be skewed towards aiming to demonstrate the success of the FFP. This possibility is rather low, however, given that the FFP as a program is a worker led, social accountability program not enforced by the state, but rather by the leverage that the parties within the program have over each other. Possible fraudulent reporting of the FFP program activities by the governing, adulting body of the FFSC would not be tolerated by the food growers and food retailers who have bound themselves to that authority. The numbers provided in the reports will thus be assume to be valid and reliable, and will be accepted at face value. These sources will also be complimented by various newspaper publications, CIW blogposts dating from the 1993 onwards, and other first-hand publications of institutions that had involvement with the CIW social movement.

## II. The Community of Immokalee Workers and the grassroots origins of a farmworkers' rights social movement

The main focus of this chapter is analysing how the grassroots origins of the CIW social movement relied on the components of globalisation from below to establish an identity, a community and structure for action. The prevalent academic definition of social movements' internal structure is upheld along four core characteristics: a mobilised network of groups and organisations, collective identity, aims for systemic societal change, and public and collective protest.<sup>42</sup>

The initial factor that allowed the CIW to become a social movement was establishing a new identity of understanding the injustices committed to farmworkers and their ability to create change through collective agency. The early actions of CIW in the 1990s resulting from this identity led to the eventual development and entrenchment of the Fair Food Program. The actions of the CIW had three different phases. The first was the framing of a resistance identity through popular education.<sup>43</sup> The second phase of action was focused on the immediate Immokalee community. This included strategies for improving farmworkers' quality of life and interactions with their employers: the crew leaders, growers and packers. This phase also included managing relations with local law enforcement, a new type of interaction that many farmworkers expressly avoided in their isolated past given the legal status of their migration.<sup>44</sup> The final phase of actions by CIW is the creation of the FFP. Focus drew away from their immediate surroundings and the social movement began focusing on exerting economic pressure on the growers and packers of Florida (and eventually the entire US) through the targeting of their customers. This third phase of CIW actions will be discussed in the second chapter which focuses specifically on the FFP.

### a. The preconditions for a social movement

Prior to becoming an established NGO and developing the FFP, the CIW, initially named the Southwest Florida Farmworker Project (SFFP), had grassroots origins beginning out of loose assemblies of marginalised farmworkers from the Immokalee community in Florida and human rights

---

<sup>42</sup> Rucht, *Social movements*, 282-83.

<sup>43</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 21; Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 218-22; Bell, *Unity through education*, 39-41.

<sup>44</sup> Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 197-204; Rosile et al., *Ensemble storytelling process*, 390.

activists in the spare room of a local church.<sup>45</sup> According to the founders, the growth of the CIW as a social movement, and its determining factor, was grounding its identity and structure to the farmworker experience itself.<sup>46</sup> The development of the CIW structures and identity was made possible through a combination of socio-economic pre-conditions regarding the Immokalee farmworkers and the existence of activist networks that conform to Appadurai's conception of globalisation from below.

The Immokalee farming community numbers around 15,000 to 20,000 migrant farmworkers during active farmwork season in Florida between October and June and then following the trail of seasonal agricultural labour further north in the US for the remainder of the year.<sup>47</sup> From the 20<sup>th</sup> century until the 1990s, the majority of migrants from Mexico and South America destined to work in US agriculture were economic migrants.<sup>48</sup> The economic nature of this migration led to little sense of political identity among the farmworkers who did not regard the social and economic circumstances of agricultural labour as an experience of oppression applicable to them as a collective.<sup>49</sup> Crucially for the development of a united, farmworker identity that could advocate for its own rights, the 1990s featured a large proportion of immigrants from Haiti, Guatemala, El Salvador and the Mexican regions of Chiapas and Oaxaca.<sup>50</sup> The arrival of these new migrants was different,

---

<sup>45</sup> Chris Hedges and Joe Sacco. *Days of Destruction Days of Revolt* (Toronto: Alfred A. Knopf Canada, 2012), 204; Coalition of Immokalee Workers. "About CIW," December 6, 2020. <https://ciw-online.org/about/>; Susan L. Marquis. *I Am Not a Tractor! How Florida Farmworkers Took on the Fast Food Giants and Won* (Ithaca: ILR Press, an imprint of Cornell University Press, 2017), 3-4, <https://www.degruyter.com/doi/book/10.7591/9781501714313>.

<sup>46</sup> Hedges and Sacco, *Days of Destruction*, 218-22; Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 17-19;

<sup>47</sup> Xiurui Cui, Zhengfei Guan, Kimberly L. Morgan, Kuan-Ming Huang, and A. Malek Hammami. "Multitiered Fresh Produce Supply Chain: The Case of Tomatoes." *Horticulturae* 8, no. 12 (2022): 1204, 9, <https://doi.org/10.3390/horticulturae8121204>; Betty Akoh et al., "Mapping the Impacts of COVID-19 on Farmworkers in Immokalee, Florida," *The University of Texas Austin School of Law* (Austin, July 2020), 1, <https://law.utexas.edu/humanrights/covid19/covid-immokalee/>; Hedges and Sacco, *Days of Destruction*, 209-217; Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 11.

<sup>48</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 5.

<sup>49</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 17-23.

<sup>50</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 17.

they had fled political opposition in their native countries and were fleeing persecution.<sup>51</sup> In the conflicts they participated in, these political migrants developed skills of political organisation, community building and popular education.<sup>52</sup> In the presence of this class of politically conscious farmworkers, it was possible for a resistance identity to be born and to spur a grassroots social movement for the protection of farmworkers' rights.

Outside of the diversification of the identities that made up the farmworkers of Immokalee in the 1990s, equally important were the connections that established human rights networks brought to the community of Immokalee. Laura Germino and her husband Greg Asbed, two key co-founders of the CIW were experienced and educated human rights activists from the US Peace Corps.<sup>53</sup> They came to Florida as paralegals for the Florida Rural Legal Services (FRLS) to aid in the establishment of human and workers' rights in the agricultural sector.<sup>54</sup> Part of the experience they brought with them was having worked in Burkina Faso and Haiti, respectively, where they participated in community-building actions and targeted protesting in the context of violent regime change taking place in Haiti.<sup>55</sup> Upon returning to the US, bringing with them their political activism experiences and the ability to communicate in foreign languages, including Spanish and Creole, they became involved in an NGO Friends of Farmworkers where they worked with farmworkers in Pennsylvania orchards.<sup>56</sup> Here they came into contact with the migrant farmworkers of the US, witnessed their poor working and living conditions, and learned of their basis in Immokalee Florida for the tomato picking season there before following the harvest of crops further up the coast for the remaining months of the year.<sup>57</sup>

It is at this point, at the convergence of the preexisting conditions and networks within which the CIW social movement was born, that a paradox seems to arise in terms of the theoretically observed mechanisms driving social movements. On the one hand, theories of resource mobilisation point to social movements only developing as a result of movement entrepreneurs that spur action.<sup>58</sup>

---

<sup>51</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 17.

<sup>52</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 17-21.

<sup>53</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 10-16; Hedges and Sacco, 204.

<sup>54</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 10-16; Hedges and Sacco, 204.

<sup>55</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 11-13; Hedges and Sacco, 204.

<sup>56</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 10-11.

<sup>57</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 10-11.

<sup>58</sup> Rucht, Dieter. "Social Movements." In *Comparative Politics*, edited by Daniele Caramani. Oxford University Press, 2020, 283-84.



On the other hand, the CIW has been analysed and understood in part through theories of ensemble processes and multiplicities in which no leaders truly exist in the structure of the organisation.<sup>59</sup> Most importantly, the members of the CIW themselves identify by the ensemble process, one of their defining slogans being “Todos somos lideres (We are all leaders).”<sup>60</sup> Both mechanisms, however, apply.

In terms of resource mobilisation, the impetus required for a social movement to be borne was a class of already politically conscious immigrants and human rights activists who could connect with the farmworker community and shape a collective, resistance identity. The very beginning of the CIW, initially still the Southwest Florida Farmworker Project, featured only the activists Greg Asbed and Laura Germino getting to know other politically conscious disgruntled farm workers who also had politically active pasts in the spare room of a local church.<sup>61</sup> These sessions of initial organisers for the SFFP were centred on understanding each other's experiences and finding others in the large farm working community of Immokalee who were interested in becoming politically active regarding their socio-economic conditions.<sup>62</sup> A critical part of these sessions was overcoming the language barriers that existed between farmworkers of different backgrounds.<sup>63</sup> This was made possible through individuals within the group acting as translators.<sup>64</sup> The initial group of SFFP members concluded that real socio-economic change for farmworkers in Immokalee (and by extension the entirety of the US) was possible through a commitment to collective action, depending on developing a united, political conscience of the farmworker identity.<sup>65</sup> The first actions undertaken by the SFFP were through members acting as organisers, communicating with the vast networks and webs of farmworkers in and around Immokalee in attempts to learn what their needs were and form community bonds that could become a politically active consciousness.<sup>66</sup> Essentially, the beginning

---

<sup>59</sup> Grace Ann Rosile, David M. Boje, Richard A. Herder, and Mabel Sanchez. “The Coalition of Immokalee Workers Uses Ensemble Storytelling Processes to Overcome Enslavement in Corporate Supply Chains.” *Business & Society* 60, no. 2 (2021): 380–83. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0007650320930416>.

<sup>60</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 23; Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 218-22.

<sup>61</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 16-19; Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 218.

<sup>62</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 16-19; Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 218-22.

<sup>63</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 16-19; Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 218-22.

<sup>64</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 16-19; Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 218-22.

<sup>65</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 16-19; Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 218-22.

<sup>66</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 16-19; Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 218-22.

of the CIW farmworker social movement was an exercise in community building through framing: stirring agency, notions of injustice and a new identity.<sup>67</sup> The founders of the CIW referred to this formula as “consciousness + commitment = change.”<sup>68</sup> These goals and the actions required to achieve these goals would not have been possible without the presence of social movement entrepreneurs. The preexisting knowledge and experience of organising political action which needed to be injected into the farmworker community could not have taken place without the dynamics of political immigration during the 1990s and without the networks of human rights activism seeking to contribute to new solutions against social injustices.

In terms of ensemble leadership, the only goal of framing farmworker consciousness was to enable farm workers themselves to address their injustices without being dependent on individual leaders or organisations. Firstly, the risk of tying change to only a specific, individual leader or organisation was that it is easy for antagonistic parties in the agricultural sector to isolate from the rest of the farmworkers.<sup>69</sup> More importantly, however, an ensemble structure of organisation was the natural response to what the farmworkers were facing. Farmwork has a disorganised labour structure where workers are hired as third parties by crew leaders.<sup>70</sup> This system has extremely high turnover rates of up to forty per cent due to hiring practices being arbitrary at the discretion of the crew leaders.<sup>71</sup> It is a system of isolation for farmworkers who have an imbalanced power relation with regard to their crew leaders.<sup>72</sup> The CIW movement sees the source of the abusive nature of farmwork as this isolation. Fostering a consciousness of farmworker identity that can unite and have agency through collective action thus undoes the system of isolation and re-establishes a balanced power relation with the growers and packers of the agricultural sector. This approach does not permit itself to act under single leaders, it rather places them all as leaders in the decentralised formats of interaction with the many actors in the agricultural sector. It also allows for maintaining collective

---

<sup>67</sup> Beverly Bell. “Florida Farmworkers Build Unity through Education and Action.” *Race, Poverty & the Environment* 14, no. 2 (2007): 39–40; Rucht, *Social movements*, 285; Rosile et al., *Ensemble storytelling processes*, 399.

<sup>68</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 19; Bell, *Farmworkers build unity*, 39-40.

<sup>69</sup> Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 178-84.

<sup>70</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 22-23; Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 178-84.

<sup>71</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 22-23; Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 178-84.

<sup>72</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 22-23; Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 178-84.

action throughout the high turnover of farmworkers every year.<sup>73</sup> Where individuals leave, an entrenched community identity enables the autonomous agency of farm workers.

The first phase of CIW action in identity building, popular education, was built upon the skills the founding members had built up in uprisings in South America.<sup>74</sup> The aim of the organisers during discussions with farmworkers (however they could organise them), was to direct the farmworkers towards understanding “where they [stood] on the socio-economic continuum.”<sup>75</sup> To share their story with farmworkers who on the large had little formal education, simplistic tools of storytelling were used such as drawings, flyers, and “skit” style theatre performances.<sup>76</sup> This act of popular learning was deliberately done in groups where the farmworkers were encouraged to participate in the education by sharing their experiences, aiming for them to interact and thus identify with the themes discussed.<sup>77</sup> These story telling approaches were designed to build a consensus-based group of egalitarian leadership.<sup>78</sup> Dynamic storytelling created multcentred webs of connections between people.<sup>79</sup> A key element of these sessions was that translators were brought along who could translate sentence by sentence what was being discussed.<sup>80</sup> An important note in terms of resources required for these sessions; they were largely held in the spare rooms or car park of a local church that fed the migrants one charity meal per day.<sup>81</sup> The other locations where these took place were the trailer camps where the migrant farmworkers resided.<sup>82</sup>

---

<sup>73</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 22-23; Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 178-84.

<sup>74</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 17-19; Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 218-22; Bell, *Unity through education*, 39-41.

<sup>75</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 21; Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 218-22; Bell, *Unity through education*, 39-41.

<sup>76</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 21-22; Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 218-22; Bell, *Unity through education*, 39-41.

<sup>77</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 21-22; Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 218-22; Bell, *Unity through education*, 39-41.

<sup>78</sup> Rosile et al., *Ensemble storytelling process*, 380-83.

<sup>79</sup> Rosile et al., *Ensemble storytelling process*, 380-81.

<sup>80</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 21-22; Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 218-22; Bell, *Unity through education*, 39-41.

<sup>81</sup> Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 218-22.

<sup>82</sup> Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 218-22.

b. Consciousness + commitment = change

The second phase of CIW activities is where it is possible to see the results of the efforts invested in creating this ensemble leadership and collective farmworker identity. It is also in this phase, and the next, that the social movement theories of political opportunity structures and the political process of social movement interact with its political context. It is also the phase where the commitment factor of the “consciousness + commitment = change” formula comes into effect. The very first activity that the CIW undertook to demonstrate how commitment wedded with this new consciousness could effect real change was the establishment of a small cooperative for the farmworkers.<sup>83</sup> In the early community building work the CIW did, it became apparent that one of the major issues farmworkers were facing was price gouging by the few stores that sold food staples in the community.<sup>84</sup> As isolated farmworkers without effective means of individual transportation, they were a captive market to these grocery stores.<sup>85</sup> As a collective, CIW members were able to pool resources and set up their own small cooperative by buying foodstuffs in bulk from stores in neighbouring communities.<sup>86</sup> Not only was food sold at cost, and therefore allowed farmworkers to keep a much more significant share of their wages, but discounts were applied based on how much help was invested in the cooperative by the farmworkers.<sup>87</sup> Even in this first action, some theoretical insights can be drawn from the CIW as a social movement and socio-economic context they were operating in the 1990s. The cooperative created by the CIW came as a result of pooling the meagre resources available to them in a manner that overcame the environmental conditions they were placed in. The price gouging by grocery stores was only possible in that the migrant farmworkers were a captive market due to their lack of transportation to the next communities. As such, they avoided competition from other stores for the Immokalee farmworker market. This was overcome by pooling enough resources to buy a small van and dedicating a certain amount of space in their headquarters to stock it.<sup>88</sup> Furthermore, it shows that the main resource available to actors interacting with the farmworkers was their isolation from each

---

<sup>83</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 19-20; Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 218-22.

<sup>84</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 19-20; Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 218-22.

<sup>85</sup> Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 178-84.

Farmworker transportation took place primarily through buses that ferried them to and fro between their places of employment and a collection point.

<sup>86</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 19-20; Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 218-22.

<sup>87</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 19-20; Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 218-22.

<sup>88</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 19-20; Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 218-22.

other and awareness of their place in the socio-economic continuum. This is something that becomes only clearer in the following two defining actions of the CIW social movement when they engaged the growers and packers of the Immokalee region.

In November 1995, one of the major farms of the Immokalee community declared a change in its wage structure, going from a straight piece rate per bucket of tomatoes to a mixed rate, combining both an hourly rate and piece work.<sup>89</sup> This change would, in effect, reduce the total compensation for a day's labour.<sup>90</sup> Prior to this event, any actions ranging from physical and sexual abuse to wage theft by crew leaders had never been met with protest by the isolated farmworkers. Two years after the quiet start of the CIW social movement, the farmworkers of Immokalee had united and created a collective that wanted to protest this proposed wage reduction.<sup>91</sup> Through the CIW the farmworkers began passing flyers and spreading the word throughout the community that they would strike on the 13<sup>th</sup> of November by refusing to get on the crew leader buses from the specific grower that was proposing this wage cut, Pacific Land Co.<sup>92</sup> The strike lasted five days and grew from 250 workers the first day as estimated by the local press to three thousand by the final day.<sup>93</sup> The striking farmworkers did their best to convince other farmworkers at the pickup locations to join their strike rather than get on the buses.<sup>94</sup> A representative of the Pacific Land Co. commented that they had always paid the legal wages required and that their proposal fell within that pay structure, stating that they would have been taken to court had they not.<sup>95</sup> Another grower in the area commented that they

---

<sup>89</sup> Jane S. Hill and John F. Berry, "Immokalee Workers Protest Wages," *News-Press*, November 14, 1995, Cape Coral edition; Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 24-26; Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 218-22; Rosile et al., Ensemble storytelling process, 389-90.

<sup>90</sup> Hill and Berry, Immokalee workers protest wages; Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 24-26; Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 218-22; Rosile et al., Ensemble storytelling process, 389-90.

<sup>91</sup> Hill and Berry, Immokalee workers protest wages; Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 24-26; Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 218-22; Rosile et al., Ensemble storytelling process, 389-90.

<sup>92</sup> Hill and Berry, Immokalee workers protest wages; Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 24-26; Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 218-22; Rosile et al., Ensemble storytelling process, 389-90.

<sup>93</sup> Hill and Berry, Immokalee workers protest wages; Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 24-26; Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 218-22; Rosile et al., Ensemble storytelling process, 389-90.

<sup>94</sup> Hill and Berry, Immokalee workers protest wages; Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 24-26; Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 218-22; Rosile et al., Ensemble storytelling process, 389-90.

<sup>95</sup> Hill and Berry, Immokalee workers protest wages.

were fully staffed during these protests as they were paying the same abominable wages as the Pacific Land Co.<sup>96</sup> The protest ended when the proposed pay structure was reversed.<sup>97</sup>

A second action took place in December of 1996. Fuelled by an act of harsh physical abuse of a boy working in the fields, the farmworkers of Immokalee organised another protest at the location of the grower's house whose crew leaders had committed the crime.<sup>98</sup> In this protest, the driving force was a slogan stating "Golpear a uno es golpear a todos! (To beat one is to beat us all)".<sup>99</sup> This protest ended the same night, however, the following days, no workers would get on the buses of that particular grower, forcing them out of business.

An important note regarding the protests. Both were peaceful, and both featured police presence to ensure safety and public order.<sup>100</sup> This is notable given the long history of the Immokalee farmworkers avoiding contact with the police.<sup>101</sup> These peaceful interactions with the police at this protest, together with the initial legal link the CIW had to the Florida Rural Legal Services via Greg Asbed and Laura Germino, opened up future collaboration between the CIW and law enforcement to tackle cases of modern slavery in the community. The main takeaway from these protests, however, lay in the farmworkers of the community tangibly realising the power of their new consciousness and commitment for creating change. First, there was the reversal of the pay structure. This was a meagre feat in financial terms, but, it was the first instance of collective action where they were able to bargain with actors who had previously held the advantageous power relations over the farmworkers. In the second protest, they were able to set a new precedent regarding labour standards for them all in significantly reducing the amount of abuse they would face in the fields. Both of these protests also demonstrated that the only resources the growers and crew leaders of the agricultural world held over the farmworkers was their isolation. Through collective action, and sufficiently depriving them of required labour to affect their profit margins, the society they were attempting to change was open to it.

---

<sup>96</sup> Hill and Berry, Immokalee workers protest wages.

<sup>97</sup> Hill and Berry, Immokalee workers protest wages; Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 24-26; Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 218-22; Rosile et al., Ensemble storytelling process, 389-90.

<sup>98</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 26-29; Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 218-22.

<sup>99</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 26-29; Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 218-22.

<sup>100</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 26-29; Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 218-22.

<sup>101</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 26-29; Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 218-22.

### c. The effect of social justice networks

It is now possible to return to the driving question of this first chapter, how the grassroots origins of the CIW social movement relied on the components of globalisation from below to establish an identity, a community and structure for action. Overall, in the first two phases of the CIW's social movement, all four social movement characteristics were very visible: mobilised network of groups and organisations, collective identity, aims for systemic societal change, and public and collective protest.

In the first phase of the CIW's existence as a social movement, it is most fitting to see the dichotomy between movement entrepreneurship and ensemble leadership in establishing and framing a collective identity for the farmers. Key contributions from movement entrepreneurs established the first framing and identity building actions, along with the vital resources of translation. As these actions were begun, they were framed in the spirit of a collective farmworker identity and communicated through methodologies of popular education. In this, the first actions committed by social movement entrepreneurs, built structures for ensemble leadership rendering moot the role of the social movement entrepreneur.<sup>102</sup> Or alternatively, encouraging all to be movement entrepreneurs depending on the occasion.

The undercurrent of the above theoretical mechanisms in the first phase of the CIW social movement identity building program, was that it required the resources of globalisation from below. Social justice networks enabled the arrival of key translators to enable communication between different linguistic bases of farm workers. It was also through the experience of actors originating from these social justice and academic networks that communication strategies for identity building and the development of adequate social movement structures were able to put in place. Furthermore, academic research and findings regarding the state of farmworkers within the greater agricultural industry as whole was the foundation for the popular education and identity building program that the initial Southwest Florida Farmworker Project had begun.

This undercurrent of globalisation from below wasn't as present or required in the second phase of the CIW social movement's existence. The strategies and action that came into place came as the result of the ensemble leadership structures and the collective identity that they had set up in the first phase. It no longer came from the academic or social justice networks that had been the origin of the ideas in the first phase. The role of new media in the first two phases of the CIW social movement, however, not very present. The connection of Immokalee to Greg Asbed and Laura

---

<sup>102</sup> Rosile et al., Ensemble storytelling process, 380-83.

Germino and other key politically active farm labourers from Haiti amongst other places did not take place through the press, the internet, radio, or TV. Rather, it was circumstance that led to the political emigration of the socially aware farm labourers to Immokalee. Greg Asbed and Laura Germino heard of Immokalee via word of mouth through their own already established social justice networks of the Peace Corps and the Florida Rural Legal Services. Despite this, it is evident that the isolation and the impotence of the isolated migrant farm worker in Immokalee was only possible combat via these networks of globalisation from below.



### III. Scope and scale of the Fair Food Program:

The second chapter focuses on the role of globalisation from below on the establishment and functioning of the FFP. The first subchapter delves into the political opportunity structure and political process of how the CIW social movement moved away from local protests. The destination the social movement was heading in was the redefinition of the farm labour, farm production and farm consumption power relations in the US agricultural market. The second subchapter examines how the FFP was implemented and grew as a program between 2011 and 2021. As the FFP was becoming established, the CIW social movement aim was to entrench the gains they had made with their social accountability model for improving farmworker livelihood and expand the program throughout the entirety of the US, not just in Florida.

#### a. Third phase of the CIW social movement: establishing the FFP

The basis of consciousness and commitment that took root in Immokalee had led to objective, tangible change in the socio-economic conditions of the farmworkers. While they were meagre gains with many of the prevailing conditions of labour and human rights abuses still existing, the identity and toolkit to make change happen was in place. In the third phase of CIW activities, the focus changed from targeting the growers and packers that employed them to the dynamics of the agricultural sector as a whole.<sup>103</sup> This change in focus brought the CIW social movement much more centrally within the theories of political opportunity structure and political process. Whereas the first two actions by the CIW targeted local and very specific incidents, the targeting of major corporations as a whole to structurally change systemic and entrenched practices required much greater coordination of planning and mobilising of resources.

The first two CIW protests targeting the reversal of a wage proposal by one specific grower and a singular incident of violence by another were small actions with respect to the scope of what was being negotiated between the CIW workers and the growers. In the first instance, the grower only had to agree not to cut wages and preferably slightly improve them, and in the other, the other growers in the immediate Immokalee community had to be a bit more prudent with the physical violence they used in managing the farm workers. While unused to facing a collective of farmworkers willing to

---

<sup>103</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 45-51; Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 218-22; Rosile et al., *Ensemble storytelling process*, 394-99.

deny the growers and packers labour, the concessions demanded of them did not come at a high cost. As such, they were easy to grant in comparison to the real *raison d'être* of the CIW: an end to oppression and a genuine conformity of farm labour with ethical labour standards. This phrasing does not even qualify as facetious given that Florida since its inception had not been able to perform any agricultural industry without at least in part relying on slave labour.<sup>104</sup> In terms of concrete relations between theoretical dynamics and the negotiating position between the CIW and the growers post-second protest in 1996, the open society that could resist collective farmworker action did not exist outside of small-scale incidences.<sup>105</sup> The more grand and structural the attempted change by the CIW social movement, the stronger the entrenched social context structures were. Hence, the ensuing interaction contexts between actors in the agricultural sector and the CIW required much grander resources and strategies to address.

These problems began to be realised by the CIW as it began making annual protests for wage increases and better working conditions string in 1997. Growers did not want to engage in negotiations with the CIW and in continuous discussions regarding pay every year.<sup>106</sup> The CIW, given the legal framework of workers' rights excluding farmworkers from the National Labor Relations Act giving rights to unionising made tools such as strikes and mass protests much more limited.<sup>107</sup> While

---

<sup>104</sup> Trafficking in Persons Report Heroes. "Laura Germino - U.S. Department of State: Trafficking in Persons Report Heroes." Accessed August 9, 2024. <http://www.tipheroes.org/laura-germino/>; Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 37-45; Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 194-208; Rosile et al., Ensemble storytelling process, 380-83.

Between 1990 and 2010, Laura Germino and the CIW tracked modern conditions of slavery in Florida under the form of debt peonage. In their investigations, they discovered that instances of slavery, while not the norm, were not isolated events. They followed multiple leads and built entire cases before convincing representatives of law enforcement and the legal system to try them. Seven cases of slavery covering hundreds of enslaved workers were prosecuted as a result of CIW actions. Furthermore, the work of the CIW in this domain put investigations of slavery back on the legal agenda, with Laura Germino preparing landmark legal policy on the subject for which she received official recognition and awards from the US Department of State.

<sup>105</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 45-46.

<sup>106</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 30-37; Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 218-22; Rosile et al., Ensemble storytelling process, 394-99.

<sup>107</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 30-37; Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 218-22; Rosile et al., Ensemble storytelling process, 394-99.

the CIW workers went on strike every year, they did not have the funds to maintain them very long due to low funds.<sup>108</sup> Moreover, the aim of the CIW in enacting change was for farmworkers industry-wide rather than having specific negotiations with individual growers and packers.<sup>109</sup>

What truly emphasised the sense of stagnation with regard to being able to put pressure on the growers for fairer wages and more human and respectful working conditions is the CIW's actions were successful.<sup>110</sup> The only audience that remained unfazed was that of the growers and packers who maintained a status quo by not engaging with the CIW.<sup>111</sup> The protest actions ranging from hunger strikes to marches to through various cities to locations of public institutions and general strikes were very effective in garnering national attention.<sup>112</sup> Local and national media covered these events and, notably, the month-long hunger strike by the workers got so much media attention that former US president Jimmy Carter became an advocate for the CIW's movement.<sup>113</sup> Alongside the former president, this put the CIW in connection with the Presbyterian Church of the US, whose headquarters and many congregations flocked to support the CIW's message and events.<sup>114</sup>

In these circumstances, where the actions structures that had previously brought successful change for the farmworkers but were now rendering fruitless, that changes to the political opportunity structure of the social movement took place. The leverage previously employed by the CIW over the growers no longer existed. The interaction context between the CIW action strategies and the growers had changed grower behaviour. The change that took place in enabling the CIW to begin negotiations with farmers was the realisation that public pressure could not reach the growers and packers of the

---

<sup>108</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 30-37; Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 218-22; Rosile et al., Ensemble storytelling process, 394-99.

<sup>109</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 30-37; Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 218-22; Rosile et al., Ensemble storytelling process, 394-99.

<sup>110</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 30-37; Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 218-22; Rosile et al., Ensemble storytelling process, 394-99.

<sup>111</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 30-37; Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 218-22; Rosile et al., Ensemble storytelling process, 394-99.

<sup>112</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 30-37; Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 218-22; Rosile et al., Ensemble storytelling process, 394-99.

<sup>113</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 46.

<sup>114</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 46.

agricultural industry as they did not form part of their customer base.<sup>115</sup> Furthermore, outside of protests interactions, the CIW studied the accounting of the growers and packers of Florida and came to see that while they could ask for meagre pay rises and receive the as often as not over an extended time span, wage increases that could meet their cost of living calculations were far outside the realm of growers and packers ability to pay.<sup>116</sup> The switch in focus and strategy took place upon Taco Bell's year 2000 announcement stating their negotiating lower tomato prices with Florida suppliers.<sup>117</sup> Corporate buyers in food retail and fast food the direct customers of the growers and packers.<sup>118</sup> Crucially, through the status of farm goods being a homogenous goods and the agricultural market tending towards perfect competition, the growers and packers were price takers, beholden in an unbalanced power dynamic with their consumers.<sup>119</sup> For the CIW, a new opportunity appeared. Corporate buyers had leverage over growers and had shown that they used it. But, where growers and packers were immune to public opinion, supermarkets and fast-food chains were beholden to consumer publica opinion through the importance of their brand in the marketing of their products.<sup>120</sup> The national attention the CIW protest movement received regarding their working conditions could now be targeted towards actors that were economically vulnerable to protest and boycott strategies.<sup>121</sup> The primary demand that the CIW social movement made to the corporate buyers, beginning with Taco Bell, was the financing of wage increases amounting to a penny-per-pound of produce picked

---

<sup>115</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 45-51; Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 218-22; Rosile et al., Ensemble storytelling process, 394-99.

<sup>116</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 45-51; Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 218-22; Rosile et al., Ensemble storytelling process, 394-99.

<sup>117</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 45-51; Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 218-22; Rosile et al., Ensemble storytelling process, 394-99.

<sup>118</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 45-51; Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 218-22; Rosile et al., Ensemble storytelling process, 394-99.

<sup>119</sup> Sykuta, Fallacy of Competition in Agriculture, 62-71; Arthur O'Sullivan, Steven Sheffrin, and Stephen Perez, *Economics: Principles, Applications, and Tools, Global Edition* (Pearson Higher Ed, 2017), 538-556; Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 45-51; Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 218-22; Rosile et al., Ensemble storytelling process, 394-99.

<sup>120</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 45-51; Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 218-22; Rosile et al., Ensemble storytelling process, 394-99.

<sup>121</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 45-51; Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 218-22; Rosile et al., Ensemble storytelling process, 394-99.

and ensuring that their suppliers operated according to a code of conduct with its workers negotiated between the CIW, growers and the corporate buyers.<sup>122</sup>

The interaction strategy devised in order to bring the corporate buyers to the bargaining table was that of a boycott of the brands.<sup>123</sup> This boycott would be driven like previous CIW actions by popular protest and marches to symbolic locations in attempts to come into contact with and inform as many consumers as possible about the roles of these brands in perpetuating human and workers' rights abuses in the agricultural industry.<sup>124</sup> The resources available to the CIW, however, had significantly expanded. While ensuring that the boycott remained farmworker-led, large networks of allied organisations now supported the CIW.<sup>125</sup> The two most prominent were the Presbyterian Church of the US that supported actions with many congregations all over the US, providing financial support for the CIW so that it could focus on their social movement strategies and gave them further moral legitimacy.<sup>126</sup> The other notable alliance was with students. Many students participated in the boycott and spread the CIW message, resulting in the closure of many Taco Bell locations on campuses across the US.<sup>127</sup> The cooperation between the groups was managed through frequent meetings at protests or in Immokalee where more ensemble storytelling could take place.<sup>128</sup> The internet was also heavily used to spread the message and the educational material of the CIW.<sup>129</sup> This was especially useful in maintaining contact and between groups and the consumers they had reached

---

<sup>122</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 52-63; Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 218-22; Rosile et al., Ensemble storytelling process, 394-99.

<sup>123</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 52-63; Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 218-22; Rosile et al., Ensemble storytelling process, 394-99.

<sup>124</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 52-63; Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 218-22; Rosile et al., Ensemble storytelling process, 394-99.

<sup>125</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 52-63; Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 218-22; Rosile et al., Ensemble storytelling process, 394-99.

<sup>126</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 52-63; Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 218-22; Rosile et al., Ensemble storytelling process, 394-99.

<sup>127</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 52-63; Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 218-22; Rosile et al., Ensemble storytelling process, 394-99.

<sup>128</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 52-63; Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 218-22; Rosile et al., Ensemble storytelling process, 394-99.

<sup>129</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 52-63; Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 218-22; Rosile et al., Ensemble storytelling process, 394-99.

through word of mouth, the news or in person when protesting on location.<sup>130</sup> A final piece to the puzzle was that the growing media attention given to the boycott and the CIW movement as a whole drew many politicians such as Bernie Sanders to Immokalee, along with journalists and academics, to learn more about the CIW movement to integrate it further within their political spheres of influence.<sup>131</sup> The sources used in this analysis of the CIW social movement largely came from the journalists and academics who visited Immokalee to interview the CIW and farmworkers themselves.

The effectiveness of the boycott strategies led Taco Bell, followed later by its conglomerate parent company and other fast food and retail corporations, to sign agreements with the CIW regarding a penny-per-pound increase in wages as well as the creation of a code of conduct for the labour standards. The method for enforcing the code of conduct was through buyers purchasing goods exclusively from growers and packers that abided by the code upon pain of the corporate buyer removing their business.<sup>132</sup> This provided the eventual structure of the FFP, which simply formalised these agreements and interaction channels through an independent auditing body, the Fair Food Standards Council. Before managing to transfer these agreements into the official FFP, beginning in 2011, the growers resisted these CIW agreements with corporate buyers by uniting as the Florida Tomato Growers Exchange collectively agreeing to fine any grower that hired labourers working under a CIW deal.<sup>133</sup>

This opposition by the growers was manifested by attempting to follow a different worker-led social responsibility program, SAFE, for farmworker well-being with much lower standards than that of the CIW, maintaining that it would uphold good working conditions in the fields and prevent slavery and child labour.<sup>134</sup> From 2005 with the initial signing of Taco Bell until 2010 the rivalry between the Florida Tomato Growers Exchange and the CIW was a stalemate centered on whether the FFP or the SAFE program should be used to monitor and certify the production practices of the

---

<sup>130</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 52-63; Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 218-22; Rosile et al., Ensemble storytelling process, 394-99.

<sup>131</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 52-63; Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 218-22; Rosile et al., Ensemble storytelling process, 394-99.

<sup>132</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 64-71; Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 218-22; Rosile et al., Ensemble storytelling process, 394-99.

<sup>133</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 64-71; Hedges and Sacco, *Days of destruction*, 218-22; Rosile et al., Ensemble storytelling process, 394-99.

<sup>134</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 87-99.

region.<sup>135</sup> What broke this deadlock, as it did with the corporate buyers to sign with the CIW in the first instance, was the mounting pressure of slavery cases uncovered by the CIW, including one taking place within the Florida Tomato Growers Exchange's own ranks.<sup>136</sup> During the deadlock, the pressure was put on the Growers Exchange via the vast network of local, national, and academic reporting on the topic of slavery as presented by the CIW.<sup>137</sup> This being further sustained via the CIW network spanning numerous religious groups, university campuses, NGOs and politicians.<sup>138</sup> Particularly the religious support for the CIW had an effect on a group of growers within the Florida Tomato Growers Exchange which undid the unified resistance to the FFP proposed by the CIW.

b. Fair Food Program: a worker-driven social responsibility model as globalisation from below from 2011 - 2021

While the CIW fit the classic theoretical definition of a social movement, this changed with its implementation of the FFP, a worker-led social responsibility program designed to place farmworkers in a position of power in managing farm labour. In contrast with social movements which primarily have only different forms of protest at their disposal designed to raise awareness and stir reactions to particular political and socio-economic phenomena, these methods only served as tools to bring another institution into being for the farmworkers of Immokalee.<sup>139</sup>

The FFP, which after a trial year in 2011, began in earnest in 2012 and is currently ongoing in 2024. The FFP has four main elements. The first is the penny-per-pound Fair Food Premium that ensures that farmworkers in the program receive a living wage, paid by the corporate consumers of agricultural products due to their advantaged position in a price-taking market.<sup>140</sup> The second aspect of the program is that corporate buyers may only purchase goods from participating growers and packers, who thereby gain a constant market for their produce and have the burden of worker salary

---

<sup>135</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 87-99.

<sup>136</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 87-99.

<sup>137</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 87-99.

<sup>138</sup> Marquis, *I am not a tractor*, 87-99.

<sup>139</sup> Rucht, *Social movements*, 282-83.

<sup>140</sup> Fair Food Standards Council. "Fair Food Program Report 2013." Florida: Fair Food Standards Council, 2013.

Fair Food Standards Council. "Fair Food Program Report 2021." Florida: Fair Food Standards Council, 2021.

shared with another actor.<sup>141</sup> The third part of the program is that a strict code of conduct is upheld on all participating grower and packer organisations.<sup>142</sup> The evaluation of the code is monitored by a working group comprised of both CIW as well as grower representatives.<sup>143</sup> The final aspect of the program is the Fair Food Standards Council which upholds, enforces and audits the entire program from farmworkers' conditions to salary transfers and mediation of any conflict.<sup>144</sup> The FFSC is led under the direction of former federal judge Laura Espinoza, CIW members and direct hires.<sup>145</sup> In all, the FFP contains global capital flows, guaranteed to farmworkers through legally binding collective bargaining. It established rules for labour conditions and human rights in a sector devoid of such protections. While not enshrined by law, these rules are enforced by an institution that is responsible for seasonal worker education, intense auditing activities, market enforcement, and conflict resolution through a 24/7 complaint hotline manned by investigators.<sup>146</sup>

The code itself consists of ten elements. A zero-tolerance provision regarding forced or child labour, physical sexual harassment and physical violence.<sup>147</sup> Transparency and cooperation must be ensured during the auditing process where half the workers are interviewed every time with guarantees of no repercussions about the information they share.<sup>148</sup> The complaint procedure must be made clear to workers with details provided on pay slips, logs regarding use of the complaint procedure must be kept and no retaliation must take place for use of the complaint hotline.<sup>149</sup> Growers must hire all workers directly, not via third-party organisations and records must be kept for them before they may start working. Supervisors of farm labour must also have licenses.<sup>150</sup> Workers and supervisors must receive paid CIW education sessions at every harvest cycle.<sup>151</sup> If any discipline is to occur it must be through a progressive system, starting with verbal warnings, then a written

---

<sup>141</sup> Fair Food Standards Council. FFP report 2013; Fair Food Standards Council. FFP report 2021.

<sup>142</sup> Fair Food Standards Council. FFP report 2013; Fair Food Standards Council. FFP report 2021.

<sup>143</sup> Fair Food Standards Council. FFP report 2013; Fair Food Standards Council. FFP report 2021.

<sup>144</sup> Fair Food Standards Council. FFP report 2013; Fair Food Standards Council. FFP report 2021.

<sup>145</sup> Fair Food Standards Council. FFP report 2013; Fair Food Standards Council. FFP report 2021.

<sup>146</sup> Fair Food Standards Council. FFP report 2013; Fair Food Standards Council. FFP report 2021.

<sup>147</sup> Fair Food Standards Council. FFP report 2013; Fair Food Standards Council. FFP report 2021.

<sup>148</sup> Fair Food Standards Council. FFP report 2013; Fair Food Standards Council. FFP report 2021.

<sup>149</sup> Fair Food Standards Council. FFP report 2013; Fair Food Standards Council. FFP report 2021.

<sup>150</sup> Fair Food Standards Council. FFP report 2013; Fair Food Standards Council. FFP report 2021.

<sup>151</sup> Fair Food Standards Council. FFP report 2013; Fair Food Standards Council. FFP report 2021.



warning, and finally termination (all recorded in the worker log).<sup>152</sup> Grower records must show accurate and timely distribution of the Fair Food Premium which is separate from the minimum wage calculation.<sup>153</sup> Pay and hours must be accurately recorded and distributed to the workers in the manner of their choosing.<sup>154</sup> Practices of overfilling buckets are prohibited (where more produce must be picked to fill a bucket, reducing the value of the per-bucket system of payment).<sup>155</sup> Sexual harassment, verbal abuse and hostile conditions must be reported and prevented by supervisors.<sup>156</sup> Monthly health and safety meetings must be held where at least five worker representatives are present; workers must be provided with shade, bathrooms, water and personal protective equipment; and injuries and accidents must be recorded in the employee database.<sup>157</sup> If housing is provided it must be compliant with local and federal regulations and costs for housing cannot be deducted from workers below the fixed minimum wage.<sup>158</sup> Additionally, any migrant worker hired through the H2A guest worker program between the US and Mexico must be hired as a direct employer by the grower, they may only recruit guest workers through the Mexican National Employment Service, and all FFP standards apply equally to the H2A guest workers.<sup>159</sup>

Records of the FFP are published by the FFSC nearly every two years. The latest report, published in 2021 also gives an overview of the totality of the program figures over its ten-year lifespan. Throughout its ten years of activity, the FFP has only had to suspend growers seven times, with zero repeat offenders.<sup>160</sup> In total, twenty-four growers were placed on probation during this time.<sup>161</sup> Since 2011, over 36 million dollars has been paid out to farmers via the Fair Food Premium, just under 500,000 dollars of which was recovered via the complaint procedure.<sup>162</sup> Over 30,000 interviews were held with workers, over 1,000 supervisors were also interviewed. Over 700 audits were carried out with nearly 10,000 findings addressed and over 200 corrective action plans

---

<sup>152</sup> Fair Food Standards Council. FFP report 2013; Fair Food Standards Council. FFP report 2021.

<sup>153</sup> Fair Food Standards Council. FFP report 2013; Fair Food Standards Council. FFP report 2021.

<sup>154</sup> Fair Food Standards Council. FFP report 2013; Fair Food Standards Council. FFP report 2021.

<sup>155</sup> Fair Food Standards Council. FFP report 2013; Fair Food Standards Council. FFP report 2021.

<sup>156</sup> Fair Food Standards Council. FFP report 2013; Fair Food Standards Council. FFP report 2021.

<sup>157</sup> Fair Food Standards Council. FFP report 2013; Fair Food Standards Council. FFP report 2021.

<sup>158</sup> Fair Food Standards Council. FFP report 2013; Fair Food Standards Council. FFP report 2021.

<sup>159</sup> Fair Food Standards Council. FFP report 2013; Fair Food Standards Council. FFP report 2021.

<sup>160</sup> Fair Food Standards Council. FFP report 2013; Fair Food Standards Council. FFP report 2021.

<sup>161</sup> Fair Food Standards Council. FFP report 2013; Fair Food Standards Council. FFP report 2021.

<sup>162</sup> Fair Food Standards Council. FFP report 2013; Fair Food Standards Council. FFP report 2021.

created.<sup>163</sup> Compliance with these rules has gotten progressively better during the lifespan of the FFP. Since 2015, violations of the code have steadily declined from a high of nearly 350 to just over 50 in 2021.<sup>164</sup> Most importantly, in interviews with the farmworkers themselves, whether by the auditors, journalists or academia, they feel a tangible change has occurred as a result of working on farms under the FFP accord. This is so much so the case that many calls that the FFSC complaint hotline receives are from farmworkers outside the jurisdiction of the FFP who have heard through the large CIW network about the gains made in labour conditions by the FFP.<sup>165</sup>

### c. The FFP and globalisation from below

Once again, returning to the main focus of the chapter, the role of globalisation from below through social justice and academic networks, including the use of new media networks, were all crucial in creating the leverage over growers and food consumer conglomerates. Further, they were also crucial in entrenching the agreements that arose from the negotiations through its ability to put the program into the public and political sphere.

Prior even to the success of social movement by achieving outcomes from negotiations that would become the blueprint for the FFP plan, the protest campaigns were organised via internet campaigns and social justice network interactions and expansion had garnered local and national news. Outside of only drawing attention from the press and general public, the academic and public policy networks also were drawn into the CIW's social movement via former President Carter, student groups, and the Presbyterian church. The power of the outreach that the CIW network had created throughout the 1990s was such that certain growers themselves became aligned with the CIW social movement during harshest period of negotiating the instalment of the FFP.

The role of the social justice and academic networks the CIW social movement had established became critical again in the creation of the FFP. While the CIW and the FFP maintains the importance of farm labourer remaining at the forefront of the social movement, its presence was key in establishing the FFSC governing body of the FFP, responsible for its implementation and auditing. The reason behind the importance of the social movement networks in this creation is two-fold. First, the auditing process for the program first outsourced to an expert firm for the trial phase of the FFP. This allowed FFSC employees to learn an incredibly intensive auditing process that is far beyond industry standard and ensure rigorous and strict policies regarding farm worker employment

---

<sup>163</sup> Fair Food Standards Council. FFP report 2013; Fair Food Standards Council. FFP report 2021.

<sup>164</sup> Fair Food Standards Council. FFP report 2013; Fair Food Standards Council. FFP report 2021.

<sup>165</sup> Rosile et al., Ensemble storytelling processes, 391-400.

conditions. Furthermore, the FFSC was able to appoint retired federal Judge Laura Espinoza as their executive director. Displaying the strength of the FFP as a program, and the CIW as an entire social movement.

The second critical role of the academic and social justice networks for the FFP, was their entrenchment of the programme in the academic, legislative policy and public spheres of the US. The publications referenced regarding the history of the CIW as a social movement and their efforts for undoing the systemic, oppressive conditions of farm labour have each played a major role in advancing the FFP as a successful social movement. This further entrenching the FFP agreements and helping it grow from only being within the state of Florida in its first year of operation to now spanning across growers and consumers in the entire US. In the wake of other Environmental, Social Governance and corporate accountability programs lacking tangible gains due to accountability to firm executives, the grassroots CIW model of worker led responsibility is flouted as a model to follow not only in agriculture, but in corporate accountability in general.

## IV. Conclusion

Given the success of the CIW social movement and the FFP as a worker led social accountability program in the US agricultural industry, and the role that various social justice networks and media networks had in the process, it is possible to say that it played a critical role. Examining the impact of globalisation from below requires more nuance, however. The core of the social movement was its rooted identity in the migrant worker and the conditions they faced in the US agricultural industry. The CIW and the FFP ensured that their social movement was not hijacked by external parties but that the migrant farmworkers themselves could remain in control of how they determined their best actions as a collective to ensure the betterment of their own farm working conditions.

The hypothesis formulated next to the research question in the introduction posited that the mechanisms of globalisation from below could enable the middle-range mechanisms of social movement theory in establishing the various characteristics of a social movement in Immokalee. This is confirmed, given the role of the social justice and academic networks in enabling the creation of a community and an identity, next to providing the methodologies for creating a social movement structure with framing and communication techniques. Further, the importance of the social justice and media networks were then critical in creating the outreach of the CWI social movement, and eventually for the entrenching of the FFP within the political and public sphere. The only aspect of creating or managing a social movement on which it had a more reduced role was that of the political process of the CIW social movement. In this instance, this was closely kept to the CIW itself. However, it still played an influential in establishing the critical auditing process by which the FFP is upheld.

The relevance and scope of the analysis of the CIW and FFP through Appadurai's concept of globalisation from below is not to find a different formulation to state what has already been made clear by previous authors that it was a successful social movement in the US agricultural industry. Rather, its value comes in its application to a real-world case the specific concept of globalisation from below and how it can provide methodical insights into social change within the modern socio-economic setting of neoliberal, globalised societal formations. In this, it ties social movements in a closer manner, to the societies in which they are attempting to create institutional change. It allows for a better understanding of the impact of a neoliberal and globalised societal context on farming communities in the US specifically.

The most specific further, follow up study that would be relevant to pursue on the basis of this paper is that of a comparison of the CIW and FFP social movement in comparison with previous attempts to establish stronger regulation for workers rights in the US agricultural industry. It has been attempted on numerous occasions since the 1950s. One of the major roadblocks that was faced in this effort was the separation of farm labourer minimum wage from federal minimum wage that always put farmworkers at a disadvantage in comparison to labour in other sectors. Furthermore, the seasonality of the labour and the high presence of illegal, non-political represented demographics in the farming workforce make unionising incredibly difficult. It would be interesting to contrast how the approaches differed between the CIW and the previous attempts, especially with the focus on how the methods used for attempting institutional change and how they related to their economic and political societal formations.

In further research relating to this theoretical approach, this could be extrapolated, as Appadurai does in his theory of disjunctive flows, to other sectors that globalised economic forces isolate and take advantage of. This could be agricultural sectors of other nations as there are many parallels between the agricultural sectors of the US and other high-income countries. Alternatively, there are many economic sectors where local regions and communities have experienced isolation from the capital structures of the globalised world which could also have similar dynamics. In relation to the FFP being a social accountability programs, it could be compared to other models of corporate accountability and ESG programs in terms of impact.

## V. Bibliography

### a. Primary Sources

- Community of Immokalee Workers. “FARMWORKERS AND STUDENT ALLIES TO ANNOUNCE NATIONAL BOYCOTT OF TACO BELL, CALL FOR END TO ‘SWEATSHOPS IN THE FIELDS.’” Coalition of Immokalee Workers, October 15, 2020. <https://ciw-online.org/blog/2001/03/recentactorlpressrelease/>.
- Cui, Xiurui, Zhengfei Guan, Kimberly L. Morgan, Kuan-Ming Huang, and A. Malek Hammami. “Multitiered Fresh Produce Supply Chain: The Case of Tomatoes.” *Horticulturae* 8, no. 12 (2022): 1204. <https://doi.org/10.3390/horticulturae8121204>.
- Marquis, Susan L. *I Am Not a Tractor! How Florida Farmworkers Took on the Fast Food Giants and Won*. Ithaca: ILR Press, an imprint of Cornell University Press, 2017. <https://www.degruyter.com/doi/book/10.7591/9781501714313>.
- Fair Food Standards Council. “Fair Food Program Report 2011-2013.” Florida: Fair Food Standards Council, 2013.
- Fair Food Standards Council. “Fair Food Program Report 2021.” Florida: Fair Food Standards Council, 2021.
- Hedges, Chris and Joe Sacco. *Days of Destruction Days of Revolt*. Toronto: Alfred A. Knopf Canada, 2012.
- Trafficking in Persons Report Heroes. “Laura Germino - U.S. Department of State: Trafficking in Persons Report Heroes.” Accessed August 9, 2024. <http://www.tipheroes.org/laura-germino/>.
- Vann, Karine. “MacArthur Fellow Greg Asbed on the Power of Organizing in Immigrant Communities.” *The Armenian Weekly*. January 15, 2018.

b. Secondary Sources:

- Akoh, Betty, Sean Hansen, Catriona Barr, Marcus Mitchell, and Mary Galstian. "Mapping the Impacts of COVID-19 on Farmworkers in Immokalee, Florida." *The University of Texas Austin School of Law*. The University of Texas School of Law, July 2020. <https://law.utexas.edu/humanrights/covid19/covid-immokalee/>.
- Appadurai, Arjun. "Grassroots Globalization and the Research Imagination." *Public Culture* 12, no. 1 (January 1, 2000): 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.1215/08992363-12-1-1>.
- Babb, Sarah. "The Washington Consensus as Transnational Policy Paradigm: Its Origins, Trajectory and Likely Successor." *Review of International Political Economy* 20, no. 2 (2013): 268–97. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09692290.2011.640435>.
- Bell, Beverly. "Florida Farmworkers Build Unity through Education and Action." *Race, Poverty & the Environment* 14, no. 2 (2007): 39–41.
- Blyth, Mark. *Great transformations: The rise and decline of embedded liberalism*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Boas, Taylor C. and Jordan Gans-Morse. "Neoliberalism: From New Liberal Philosophy to Anti-Liberal Slogan." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 44 (2009): 137-161.
- Brue, S. L., and R. R. Grant. *The evolution of economic thought*, 8th ed. South-Western, 2013.
- Cahill, Damien, Martijn Konings, Melinda Cooper, and David Primrose. "Introduction: Approaches to Neoliberalism." In *The Sage Handbook of Neoliberalism*, 2–10. London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2018.
- Cantril, Sarah. "Book Review: Tomatoland: How Modern Agriculture Destroyed Our Most Alluring Fruit." *Gastronomica: The Journal of Food and Culture* 12, no. 3 (2012): 107–8.
- Coalition of Immokalee Workers. "About CIW," December 6, 2020. <https://ciw-online.org/about/>.
- Cuevas, A. Transaction costs of exchange in agriculture: A survey. *Asian Journal of Agriculture and Development*, 11(1, 2014): 21–38. <https://doi.org/10.37801/ajad2014.11.1.2>.
- Dahlman, C. J. The Problem of Externality. *The Journal of Law & Economics*, 22 no. 1 (1979): 141–162. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/725216>.

- Duffy, Michael. "Economies of Size in Production Agriculture." *Journal of Hunger & Environmental Nutrition* 4, no. 3–4 (November 30, 2009): 375–92. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19320240903321292>.
- Estabrook, Barry. *Tomatoland: How Modern Industrial Agriculture Destroyed Our Most Alluring Fruit*, 2011. <http://ci.nii.ac.jp/ncid/BB16173927>.
- Fine, Janice R. "Book Review: I Am Not a Tractor! How Florida Farmworkers Took on the Fast Food Giants and Won." *ILR Review* 71, no. 4 (2018): 947–49.
- Fourcade-Gourinchas, Marion, and Sarah L. Babb. "The Rebirth of the Liberal Creed: Paths to Neoliberalism in Four Countries." *American Journal of Sociology* 108, no. 3 (2002): 533–79. <https://doi.org/10.1086/367922>.
- Hall, Peter A. "Policy Paradigms, Social Learning, and the State: The Case of Economic Policymaking in Britain." *Comparative Politics* 25, no. 3 (1993): 275–96. <https://doi.org/10.2307/422246>.
- Hill, Jane S., and John F. Berry. "Immokalee Workers Protest Wages." *News-Press*. November 14, 1995, Cape Coral edition.
- Hing, B. O. *Ethical borders: Nafta, Globalization, and Mexican migration*. Temple University Press, 2010.
- Kersting, Stefan. *Modelling Industry Dynamics in Agriculture: An Equilibrium Approach*. PhD dissertation, Humboldt Universität, 2016.
- Kingston, Christopher, and Gonzalo Caballero. "Comparing Theories of Institutional Change." *Journal of Institutional Economics* 5, no. 2 (2009): 151–180, <https://doi.org/10.1017/s1744137409001283>.
- Kohn, M. An Alternative Theoretical Framework for Economics. *CATO Journal*, 2012. <https://doi.org/https://www.cato.org/cato-journal/fall-2021/alternative-theoretical-framework-economics>.
- Komarek, Adam M., Alessandro De Pinto, and Vincent H. Smith. "A Review of Types of Risks in Agriculture: What We Know and What We Need to Know." *Agricultural Systems* 178 (February 1, 2020): 102738. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.agsy.2019.102738>.
- Lange, Matthew. "Chapter 4 Within-Case Methods and the Analysis of Temporality and Inter-Case Relations." In *Comparative-Historical Methods*, 65–77. Los Angeles: SAGE, 2013.



- MacDonald, James M., Janet Perry, Mary Clare Ahearn, David Banker, William Chambers, Carolyn Dimitri, Nigel Key, Kenneth E. Nelson, and Leland W. Southard. “Contracts, Markets, and Prices: Organizing the Production and Use of Agricultural Commodities.” *Agricultural Economic Report Number 837*, November 2004. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.754986>.
- MacLaghlan, M., & Sweitzer, M. *Food price outlook*. Economic Research Service - U.S. Department of Agriculture, 2023. <https://www.ers.usda.gov/data-products/food-price-outlook/food-price-outlook/#Producer%20Price%20Index>.
- Mahoney, James. “Path-Dependent Explanations of Regime Change: Central America in Comparative Perspective.” *Studies in Comparative International Development* 36, no. 1 (2001): 111–41. <https://doi.org/10.1007/bf02687587>.
- Menchaca, Martha. *The Politics of Dependency: US Reliance on Mexican Oil and Farm Labor*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2016. <https://doi.org/10.7560/309407>.
- Mercier, S., & Halbrook, S. A. *Agricultural policy of the United States: Historic foundations and 21st Century issues*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2021.
- Miranda, Mario J., and Joseph W. Glauber. “Systemic Risk, Reinsurance, and the Failure of Crop Insurance Markets.” *American Journal of Agricultural Economics* 79, no. 1 (1997): 206–15. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1243954>.
- Mirowski, Philip and Dieter Plewhe. “Preface.” Preface. In *The Road from Mont Pèlerin the Making of the Neoliberal Thought Collective, with a New Preface*, by Philip Mirowski, ix–xxiii. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2015.
- O'Sullivan, A., Sheffrin, S. M., & Perez, S. J. *Economics: Pearson New International Edition: Principles, applications, and Tools*. Pearson Education Limited, 2014.
- Owens, R. E. An Overview of Agricultural Policy . . . Past, Present, and Future. In H. G. Vatter & J. F. Walker (Eds.), *A History of the U.S. Economy Since World War II*: 39–50. Routledge, 1996.
- Rosile, Grace Ann, David M. Boje, Richard A. Herder, and Mabel Sanchez. “The Coalition of Immokalee Workers Uses Ensemble Storytelling Processes to Overcome Enslavement in Corporate Supply Chains.” *Business & Society* 60, no. 2 (2021): 376–414. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0007650320930416>.
- Rucht, Dieter. “Social Movements.” In *Comparative Politics*, edited by Daniele Caramani, 281–296. Oxford University Press, 2020.

- Saxowsky, D. *Characteristics of Competition*. North Dakota State University - Agricultural Law and Management, 2013.  
<https://www.ag.ndsu.edu/aglawandmanagement/agmgmt/coursematerials/competition>.
- Sykuta, Michael E. The fallacy of “Competition” in agriculture. *The International Library of Environmental, Agricultural and Food Ethics* (2013): 55–73. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-007-6274-9\\_4](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-007-6274-9_4).
- Uhlin, H.-E., & Olson, K. D. Agriculture as an Almost-Constant-Cost Industry: Evidence and Implications. *Review of Agricultural Economics*, 21 no. 2 (1999): 409–423.  
<https://doi.org/10.2307/1349888>.