

The University of Kentucky

*Si Se Podía*: A Case Study Analysis of Differential Student Participation in the National  
Taco Bell Boycott

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ABSTRACT

The Coalition of Immokalee Workers' (CIW) successful use of sophisticated coalition building tactics became undeniable in the wake of their boycott victory over Taco Bell and its parent corporation Yum! Brands. Taking direction from the CIW, student activists mainly fought to "Boot the Bell" from their campuses and undermine Taco Bell's brand image. This study looks at factors that lead to increased student commitment and activist involvement in the Taco Bell boycott using a survey, interviews and participant observation of student activists. Specifically, the CIW used master protest frames that resonated with student activists' experiences in anti-corporate globalization activities. Workers also visited campuses and invited students into their communities and workplaces, overcoming social and geographical distance between the two communities. Self-reported micro-level processes of "consciousness-raising," "collective empowerment," and "polarization" proved to be the highest indicators of sustained boycott activity as students were compelled to take on increased movement responsibility.

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In the wake of the Coalition of Immokalee Workers' (CIW) boycott victory over Taco Bell, it is valuable to ask how they mobilized nationally in a time when organized labor is facing decades of setbacks. Analyzing student recruits as conscientious constituents, we can better understand how the CIW and student allies mobilized dedicated activists who were socially and geographically remote from farmworkers. The following research is based on surveys and interviews with student participants in the Student / Farmworker Alliance (SFA). I have also been active in the movement as a local participant and organizer, highlighting specific processes from this vantage. This research indicates how movement actors became movement leaders with an eye to their subjective understanding of their boycott activity in relation to both their lives and other campaigns broadly within the "global justice movement" master frame from which most student activists were drawn.

## II – LITERATURE REVIEW

New social movement theory highlights "political organizing around a common identity," where personal transformation in building collective identities is central to movement work (Taylor and Whittier 1992: 505). Salient activist identities are created and strengthened by frame alignment, ideologically placing individuals within a "web of belief that binds members to the movement" using specific narratives (Steward 2002: 107). Such "schemata of interpretation" allows individuals to "locate, perceive, identify and label occurrences within their life space and the world at large" (Noonan 1995: 254). These frames are built by movement leaders and participants who are "actively engaged in the production and maintenance of meaning for movement constituents" (Steward

2002: 112). These are most effective for recruitment when they relate to identities which are already significant to potential recruits (McAdam 1993) but this meaning is also built through interaction with movement participants. Frames are then used to motivate people to action, especially when they address contradictions between cultural values and social practices (McAdam 1997).

Master protest frames operate more generally than movement-specific frames, and highlight ideological continuity between single-issue movements that may appear to have little in common. These frames provide a holistic worldview to adherents, serving as ideological resources which unite and inspire activists across issues, times and places, allowing activists to localize the frames of experiences and views of past movement traditions to their own struggles (McAdam 1997). Snow and Benford have thus described the relation between master frames and movement-specific frames as similar to that between paradigms and “finely tuned theories” (Noonan 1995: 255). A movement specific frame can evolve to incorporate elements of a master frame through consciousness-raising processes among activists that lead them to reconsider past-held beliefs and assumptions.

Consciousness-raising helps activists internalize and articulate frames which create ideological commitment to a cause and group tactics, leading to higher levels of participation. This process of reevaluation challenges rational choice arguments that understand action as based in cost / benefit calculations (Hirsch 1990). If a movement frame has “resonance” in the popular culture, it can challenge dominant cultural assumptions and will make it more likely that other movements will draw on the frame,

building a master frame. A clear example would be the civil rights movement, whose human rights frame has informed movements from LGBTQ equality and feminism to labor and welfare rights. This movement has also changed dominant American cultural beliefs concerning race. Frames, then, are not static, but evolve through dialectical relationships between social conditions, other movement frames, and ideology broadly.

#### *Frame Alignment & Identity Formation*

Identities are built around and articulated through frame-affirming narratives (Steward 2002). Frame alignment and identity formation describe a shifting worldview reinforced “in the course of movement activity,” which affirms common interest and informs collective action (Taylor and Whittier 1992: 509). Ties to other movement actors are strong predictors of movement participation when they “reinforce the potential recruit’s identification with a particular identity” establishing “strong linkage between identity and the movement” (McAdam 1993: 647). Structurally, Barkan notes that these social ties are most effective at building collective identities and increasing participation when a struggle is localized via local chapters and participants take part in group decision making (1995). “The ultimate network structure for a movement,” according to McAdam, contains “dense networks of weak bridging ties” in which “numerous local groups [are] bound together by means of strong interpersonal bonds” (1993: 655).

#### *Political Solidarity Model*

Frame alignment efficacy can be measured in movement solidarity. In building such solidarity, Hirsch delineates “consciousness-raising,” “collective empowerment,” and “polarization” as distinct yet interconnected and sequentially-building processes.

Consciousness-raising, a prerequisite for collective empowerment and polarization, has been described as “an ongoing process in which groups reevaluate themselves, their subjective experiences, their opportunities and their shared interests” (Taylor and Whittier 1992: 515). This is associated with frame alignment, as movement participants differentiate their beliefs from the larger society and frame their beliefs as morally positive. Consciousness-raising is thus crucial for developing movement saliency among participants, making movement activity more subjectively valuable and creating the ideological grounding for sustained activity (Taylor and Whittier 1992; Hirsch 1990).

Once consciousness-raising has been sufficient, collective empowerment, described as a movement’s “real test” at a protest site, can begin to reinforce frame alignment as movement actors take responsibility for movement tactics through collective action (Hirsch 1990: 245). While consciousness-raising works through educational events, group discussions and one-on-one interactions, collective empowerment is formed through group actions involving visible displays of power and group decision making. Collective action reinforces frame alignment, allowing participants to see themselves as being “in communion with others” while group decision making binds individuals to movement tactics and increases a sense of belonging (Hirsch 1990: 250). Collective empowerment moments serve as embodiments of the intellectual exercise of consciousness-raising, deepening the process through symbolic-laden ritual. Through this incarnation, participants become the players in new group narratives and actions, deepening commitment to the group and the cause.

Polarization, the ultimate process in solidarity building, involves movement threats being seen as threats or targets worthy of fighting to individual participants. If sufficient frame consciousness-raising and collective empowerment have occurred, conflict against an opponent strengthens movement solidarity while hardening boundary-limits of the group through the collectivization of costs. Consciousness-raising and collective empowerment are preconditions for effective conflict (Taylor and Whittier 1992; Hirsch 1990). If direct conflict occurs without sufficient frame alignment and identity building, however, increased risks may repel individuals from movement activity.

#### *Differential Participation*

Although studies of movement recruitment have often been based on a “simple, dichotomous measure” of “recruit” vs. “non-recruit,” Barkan finds that “it is difficult to know what it means to be a member of a social movement,” thus complicating such studies (1995: 114-115). Recruitment is not a single event, but rather a continual and deepening process creating greater involvement over time. Analyzing what individuals actually do will thus prove more helpful than asking about a subjective feeling of membership or organizational membership rosters.

#### *Summary*

Competing theories around social movements have analyzed both internal and external movement contexts and processes in their relation to movement development, recruitment, and activist participation. Collective identity formation and frame alignment theories address these questions by looking at micro-level group processes within social

movements, drawing on case studies of various movements covering different times, grievances, and geographies to uncover conceptual congruencies throughout social movement participation. The relationship between identity formation processes and frame alignment processes, both steeped in social interaction and webs of social ties, must be refined to better understand differential movement participation. Hirsch's Political Solidarity Model shows usefulness in analyzing the mobilization of conscientious constituents to movement activity, key to building the global justice master frame, which informs this study. This study looks to address the usefulness of this model by analyzing factors that lead to higher levels of participation among student activists working in solidarity with the CIW during the national Taco Bell boycott of 2001-2005.

### III – MOVEMENT CONTEXT

Farmworkers, often undocumented immigrants, are one of the most exploited groups in the US (Oxfam 2003) and are often isolated from language barriers, racism and perceptions of economic competition. Farmworkers in Immokalee, FL began meeting at a local Catholic Church in 1993 to discuss their working and living conditions, launching the CIW in 1995. Analyzing agricultural industry journals, the CIW concluded in 1999 that Taco Bell, which had stable buying patterns in their area, had an obligation to help them end both slavery and 'slavery wages' in the fields ([www.pcusa.org](http://www.pcusa.org)). As a subsidiary of the largest fast food company in the world, Yum! Brands, Taco Bell had significant resources to resist changing its business practices. Despite skepticism of a farmworkers' center's ability to take on a major corporation, the CIW presented the company with a list of demands. Overcoming structural disadvantage, the workers'

proved such doubters wrong in 2005, when the planned National Rally for Farmworker Justice at the Yum! Headquarters had to be quickly converted to a Farmworker Victory Celebration. Through careful framing and mobilizing key allies, notably students, the farmworkers and their allies successfully built a national movement.

The CIW has taken the lead in organizing in their community and mobilizing conscientious constituents through outreach and placing their struggle within the global justice movement. A CIW solidarity network of student activists, the Student/Farmworker Alliance (SFA) was launched in 2000. While student constituents have autonomy, SFA staff maintain constant contact with, and take direction from CIW members around both framing and tactics. Throughout the boycott, the main SFA tactic, “Boot the Bell,” involved removing Taco Bells from university campuses, forcing school administrators to break contracts with the fast food giant, and otherwise raising awareness among students.

Student boycott activists largely came of age after the 1999 “Battle of Seattle” where over 100,000 protesters, including unionists, environmentalists and human rights advocates successfully derailed a World Trade Organization (WTO) meeting (Petras 1999: 3,477). The CIW has strengthened its ties to such “alternative globalization movements” by linking their plight as workers and immigrants to international free trade agreements and global capitalism. In 2003, for example, the CIW organized a three-day march with other community organizations to protest the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) talks in Miami. These protests attracted over 1,000 marchers “calling

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for trade policies that respect human rights and the environment” and an end to “corporate-led globalization” ([www.ciwonline.org](http://www.ciwonline.org)).

Besides access to cultural and material resources, student recruits represented Taco Bell’s target market, 16 to 24 year olds. Sponsoring “x-treme” sporting events and catering to “The New Hedonism Generation,” as the corporation called this age aggregate in 1999, was Taco Bell’s marketing cornerstone ([www.ciw-online.org](http://www.ciw-online.org)). Attacking this carefully-constructed brand image was a central part of “Boot the Bell.” The importance of student recruits has been described by CIW members and in other studies (See Walsh 2005 and Claysmith 2007).

Given the significance of sustained student activism to the Taco Bell boycott success, questions about retention of these conscientious constituents are important both to activists seeking greater efficacy and researchers of movement activity. What factors lead some student participants to take on leadership roles and provide more material and human resources to the movement? Reflecting differential participation can provide insights on specific strategies social movement actors can use in creating a sustained activist organization or network. To address this question by analyzing ideological and social factors related to micro-mobilization processes that correlated to higher levels of activism among student boycott activists.

#### IV – METHODOLOGY

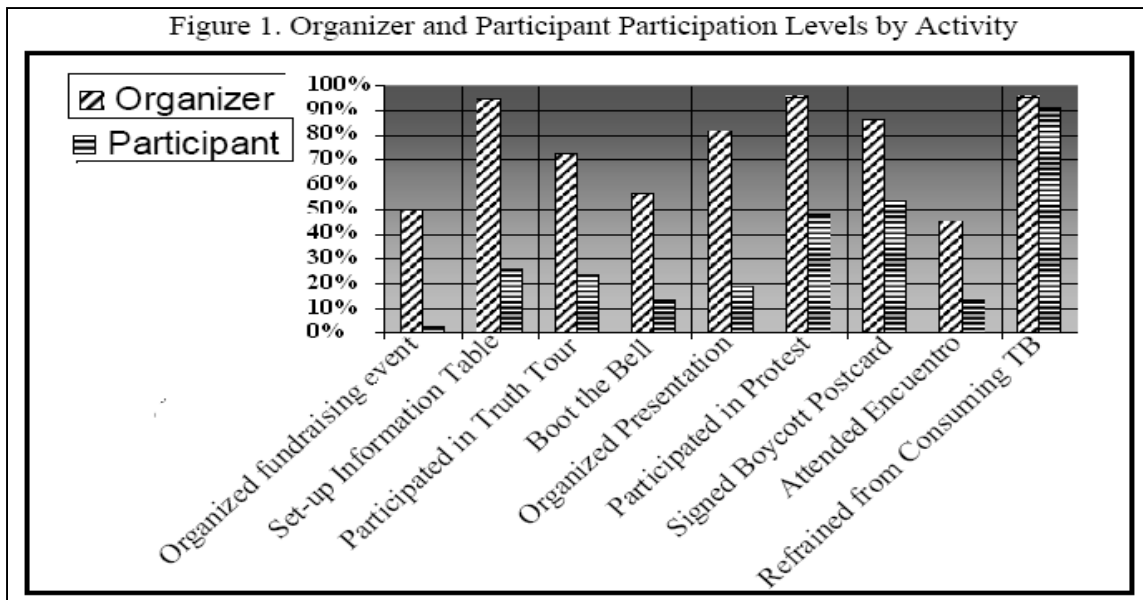
Following Hirsch’s insight that researchers should use “diverse research methods...to study the movement after it has begun” (1990: 246), data for this study were collected using participant observation, interviews, primary documents and a survey. A

survey was distributed both using the snowball method through SFA contacts at national events and also as an online convenience sample, using the SFA listserv and social networking websites including myspace.com and livejournal.com. Although response-rate remained low (93 respondents), the survey was designed to allow respondent flexibility and capture nuanced data by including both closed and open-ended questions.

Survey data was supplemented with four in-depth interviews to add depth to the survey topics. Three interviews were done with SFA leaders, each of whom played a central role in maintaining the student activist network at the national level and spent long periods of time in Immokalee. One interview was completed with a local participant in Hattiesburg, MS. Questions were designed to uncover factors that motivated respondents' movement activity, touching on personal transformations as boycott activists. I also spent over a year as a movement participant, gaining insight from that role into many of the processes described in this research.

The SFA is not a membership-based organization, but rather a network with no membership roster. The subjective notion of "membership" is thus complicated, with 13% of survey respondents reporting that they were "not active" in the boycott although self-identifying as "local participants" with a range of activities from "Attending a Truth Tour" to "Participating in a Direct Action." As all respondents reported some boycott activity, they were divided as "National/Regional Organizer," "Local Organizer," and "Local Participant." For most analyses, "Local Participants" were considered "Participants" while all others were aggregated as "Organizers." "Participants" made up 76% (N=70) of respondents and varied considerably in their level of involvement.

“Organizers” (N=23) had SFA leadership roles at either the national or local level, going beyond Participants in levels of involvement and taking on more diverse roles, including organizing presentations and fundraisers. Taken together, Organizers participated in these “organizing” activities 59.74% more than Participants. For all other activities, excluding refraining from consuming Taco Bell products, Organizers reported 41.58% more activity than Participants (see Figure 1 below). Aside from refraining from consuming Taco Bell products, Organizers dramatically outpaced Participants in all movement activity. The question then, is why, or better, how? How did some movement actors become Organizers, giving much more energy to the movement, while others remained lower-level Participants?



## V – DATA FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Demographics were insignificant indicators of differential participation after initial recruitment. Rather, activist’s approach to and participation in previous campaigns

were strong influences on students' roles in the boycott, with Organizers being 31% more likely than Participants to list themselves as being "very active" in other campaigns. Analysis of the relationship between levels of boycott activism and activism levels outside the boycott yield a  $X^2$  of 14.26, well beyond the critical  $X^2$  of 9.488 ( $p=.05$ ). Analyzing the strength of this relationship using Cramer's V yields a correlation coefficient of 0.415, indicating a strong relationship between these variables.

### *Consciousness-Raising & Aligning Frames*

Snow describes frame alignment is a "necessary condition for movement participation," with member retention depending heavily on how successfully this alignment has been "effected and sustained" (1986: 235, 250). Hirsch's concept of "consciousness-raising" may be likened to Snow's "frame alignment," with Hirsch focusing on the social production of that alignment rather than on individual conversion. This consciousness-raising is most effective when frames used already resonate with participants' worldviews or when they reinforce collective identities as they are built within the movement community.

Through frame alignment, people are drawn into accepting the assumptions and views advocated by movement communities or leaders, compelling individuals to action. Dr. Martin Luther King, for example, framed "civil rights activity in a way that resonated" within oppressed communities and mainstream society (McAdam 1997: 474). The CIW captured this dynamic through public education of their anti-slavery campaign. Undercover operations by CIW members led to five Justice Department convictions for "trafficking in slaves," freeing over 1,000 slaves in Florida (Cockburn 2003). Anti-

slavery victories lend the CIW moral authority, including official recognition such as the RFK Award for Human Rights. For the CIW, both slavery and Taco Bell's "slave wages" stem from the unjust "relationship between farmworkers and their employers" (Benítez 2002: 54). Gerardo Chavez, a CIW member, explains that the boycott can "change all of these situations of slavery" ([www.democracynow.org](http://www.democracynow.org)). Similar to feminist processes, the CIW based their protest frame in politicizing their personal lives. "The story we told was...our truth, the truth of our lives as tomato pickers" says one worker (Solnit 2005: 37). Such narratives increased cultural resonance of the CIW frame.

While this protest frame likely impacted recruitment, master frame mobilization – specifically global justice and anti-globalization – more deeply impacted post-recruitment levels of activity. The CIW used the global justice frame to understand their work and build relationships with other global justice activists through mass convergence protests. During these protests, they came into contact with activists who were ideologically predisposed to their message, and these activists more easily became movement leaders. As one Organizer, who encountered the CIW during one of these protests, describes:

We live in a society where the trade of goods and money doesn't factor in *human rights*... And so seeing people at the very bottom of the supply chain that provide produce for giant, empire, multi-national corporations, take on the top rung of the supply chain, that's something that just, it knocks my socks off, you know.

Focusing on global trade agreements, the global justice movement attempts to answer activists' calls for a "more universalistic ideology" to overcome issue-based and geographic fragmentation (Van Dyke 2003: 227). Dr. King's ideological shift from "civil rights" to "human rights," linking "the evils of racism, economic exploitation and militarism" in 1967 provides one historic example. National Organizers were more likely

than Participants to describe their SFA activism as reflecting broad master protest frames. Frames serve as a “cultural or ideological resource” that activists use in “mapping their understanding of their own situations into a general framework” and compelling them to increased movement activity (McAdam 1997: 476). As expected, survey findings indicate that Organizers are significantly more likely than Participants to gravitate toward holistic master frames and see their lives and work as a reflection of deeply-held values connected to such master frames. Those who saw their activism as reflecting a single-issue were likely to remain Participants. The tendency of Organizers to think in terms of master protest frames could be expressed as “radicalization” when asked about political orientation. Those with more radical orientations comprise the Organizers while the Participants were more politically mainstream. The obtained  $X^2$  for this relationship is 13.988, beyond the critical  $X^2$  of 12.592, while Cramer’s  $V$  yields a 0.375 between these variables, indicating a moderately strong correlation. Participants were also 16.61% more likely to list no political orientation, rejecting broad political narratives (See Figure 3). Participants were also more likely to list movement-specific activist issues including LGBTQ, farmworker rights, and labor; Organizers were more disposed to self-report interest in Anti-Globalization, Global Justice, Human Rights and Anti-Capitalism, with Regional/National Organizers showing an even stronger tendency toward these grand-narrative approaches to activism than Local Organizers. Organizers, especially at higher levels, are therefore more likely to see their boycott work as being informed by master frames. It can be inferred from National Organizers’ tendencies not to list “farmworker issues” among their interests, that their farmworker advocacy is imbedded in other

ideological frames. This finding is consistent with my own experiences and conversations with boycott Organizers, informally and in interviews. Each Organizer interviewed became increasingly active in a university setting, as they aligned themselves to the global justice master frame through activist projects. The three Organizers interviewed were had been exposed to the global justice movement within large university activist communities before learning of the boycott. Through both “consciousness-raising” and “collective empowerment” processes, each had internalized activist frames, describing activism as their lifestyle or an “ideology” that focuses on “anti-oppression” and “working toward a more just and sustainable world” in “*all aspects of life.*” Having internalized global justice, anti-capitalist, or human rights master frames eased both recruitment into the boycott and rapid integration into the boycott. For example, one Organizer had previously worked with an organization that was...

doing anti-corporate globalization work...and taught me about ...globalization, what is free trade, what is NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement), what is CAFTA (Central American Free Trade Agreement), you know what is the IMF (International Monetary Fund), stuff like...how global capitalism works.

Another Organizer more explicitly tied her earlier “anti-globalization” frame alignment to her work with the CIW. Her earlier work...

had to do mostly with our interference in other countries, such as globalization issues, the WTO ...NAFTA has really interfered heavily in... other countries. *You get people being forced out of their own country by us and then coming here and being blamed for their poverty. That's what anti-globalization is about.*

Survey questions also indicate that insufficient frame alignment might have limited some Participants’ boycott involvement. While time constraints were the main barrier for both Organizers and Participants (44.6% overall), Organizers were more likely

to expound on role strain as a students, whereas Participants (who reported lower levels of activism overall) were more likely to mention role strain with other activist concerns, hampering their motivation in the boycott. As Participants saw each campaign as discrete units without ideological cohesion, they were more likely to approach them as competing for energies rather than as building one another up. In contrast, one Organizer described his boycott activism as a way to “protest the system as a whole” while another highlighted “commonality between different struggles” based in economic inequality. Participants reported feeling less effective in their activism, including feelings of helplessness, burnout, or not knowing how to “become an activist.” These feelings can be understood as reflecting insufficient consciousness-raising and collective empowerment processes through which activists become more confident in their work and more committed to their cause. Survey questions concerning why respondents continued working with the boycott over time show that Participants were more likely to highlight their own values, while Organizers, in a move that is more closely tied to master frames that address “systems of oppression,” focused on their relationship to the CIW. Thus when boycott involvement stems out of a commitment to master frames, including global justice and human rights, activists are more likely to take on leadership roles. Consider these quotes by Organizers:

1. “I felt that it was a pure expression of *revolutionary anti imperialism*”
2. “It’s the CIW organizing model: people *directly affected* sidestepping the government to confront *those responsible for their oppression.*”

In contrast, Participants noted:

1. “My religious and moral values” (Unitarian Universalist)
2. “I never really ate at Taco Bell before the boycott”
3. “Just personal conviction.”

Finally, an important consciousness-raising activity among student activists was meeting CIW members. Each Organizer interviewed recounted personally meeting CIW members as their first significant contact with the boycott. For one Organizer, a CIW presentation on her campus elevated the boycott to her “central issue.” For another Organizer, repeatedly seeing the CIW at Global Justice events helped cement his interest:

It didn't really hold me at first but then I continued to see members of the Coalition at different national protests, like at the School of the Americas. Then I saw them at a WTO protest. So I started talking to them and I figured out what it was about. The fact that a bunch of poor farmworkers were going to take down a multi-national corporation...it seemed like a really cool struggle to collaborate on.

Another Organizer's realization that her CIW friends were “driving home so they can pick” after a protest together, propelling her to increased boycott activity. The Participant interviewed discovered the campaign through seeing a “Support Farmworkers” button, but says she only understood the campaign after meeting farmworkers. Other participants were more likely to have learned of the boycott through a print article or over the internet.

Survey data also show that Organizers are more likely to speak Spanish, the primary language of CIW workers, with 95.23% of Organizers listed at least some Spanish language ability, with an average spoken Spanish ability of 2.55 (On a scale of 1-5, 1 being the highest). Among Participants, 52.63% listed some Spanish language abilities with the average spoken ability of 2.92. It is unclear if Spanish acquisition was an outcome of interactions with the CIW or if Spanish speakers were more drawn to boycott activism. Regardless, Spanish speakers would clearly relate differently to CIW workers, and given the centrality that meeting a worker has shown for increasing boycott

activity, it seems reasonable that the qualitative difference that communication abilities would provide would make this meeting more inspiring for student activists.

*Collective Empowerment: Building a Collective Identity*

After individual activists have accepted movement frames through consciousness-raising, their frame alignment can be internalized and strengthened through collective action, such as “highly visible, dramatic” protests “where all involved see how many are willing to take risks associated with challenging authority” (Hirsch 1990: 249). Students involved in the Taco Bell boycott protested in several ways, including hunger strikes, in-restaurant actions and picket-lines. The CIW specified “days of action” where SFA groups around the country could perform local actions in an organized way, often coinciding with CIW protests, creating a sense of connection to the movement through highly-autonomous actions. These local protests reinforced the SFA network structure as local groups built “strong interpersonal bonds” among local activists while coordinating nationally through “weak bridging ties” to other local SFA groups and to the CIW. McAdam has described this model as the “ultimate network structure for a movement” (1993: 655). Survey data show that Organizers were 43.48% more likely to have been involved in localized campaigns. Local protests deepened the frame alignment process from simply conceptual agreement with a worldview to taking responsibility for publically and collectively defending that worldview.

Through Truth Tours and national convergences, the CIW also arranged more centralized collective empowerment experiences with SFA activists. Attending these events had a strong correlation to movement activity, with 90% of Organizers having

either travelled to Immokalee or spending time with the CIW at a national protest. Only 18% of Participants listed a national or regional rally in their movement experience. It is also likely that for student activists who encountered the CIW at national global justice events, who were most likely to have previous master frame alignment and to later become Organizers, went through both consciousness-raising and collective-empowerment processes in these initial meetings.

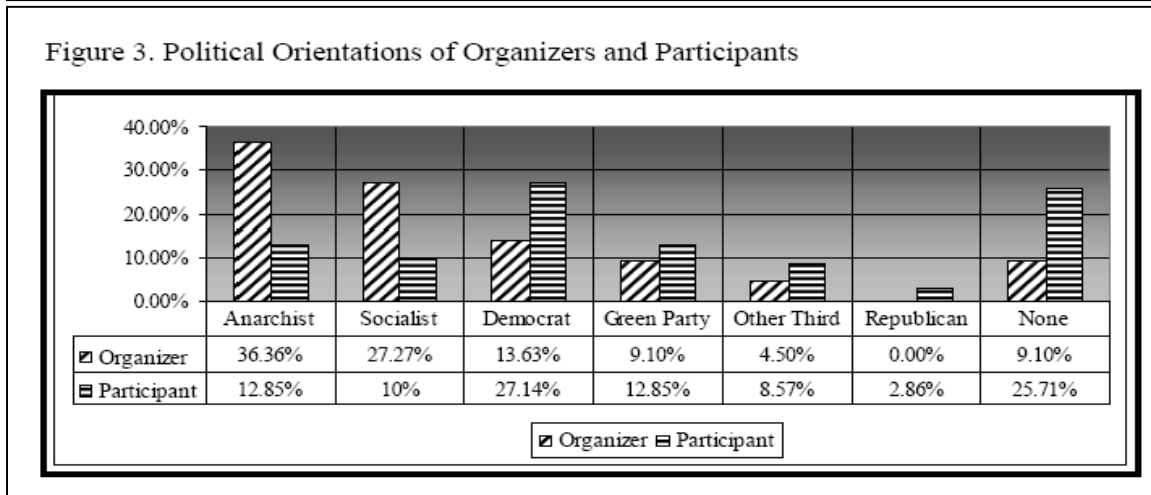
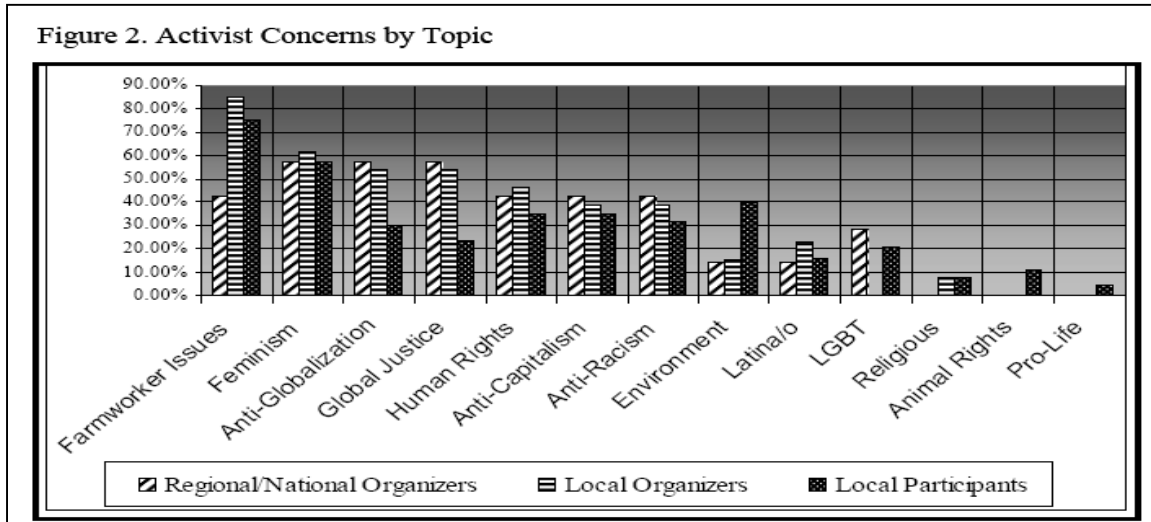
*Polarization: Enemies in High (& Local) Places*

Polarization, through which movement actors recognize a common adversary and become entrenched in movement views, grows out of collective action (Hirsch 1990: 249). A common adversary is important in building coalition activity (Van Dyke 2003: 228). Through “anti-branding” campaigns, a popular tactic of the anti-corporate movement, students began to see Taco Bell as a threat to farmworkers and students alike. Students learned to reject what they saw as Taco Bell’s corporate manipulation of student self-image and youth culture. For example, the SFA publicized a Taco Bell memo that maligned youth as “The New Hedonism Generation” and responded with their own document, “Our Minds are Not for Sale” which described Taco Bell as not only a threat to farmworkers, “but also a threat to the sovereignty of their own self imaging”. The anti-branding fight against Taco Bell came to be used as a case study of corporate operations. An internal SFA document entitled *How We Roll (Organizing Philosophy)* sets out this view concretely. According to this document:

The farmworkers’ struggle is our struggle, too. Both producers and consumers are objectified by the corporate agri-food industry: workers become machines that produce raw materials cheaply while youth become mouths that obediently consume image-laden products. In an increasingly insecure global labor market –

where declining wages and the growing concentration of wealth and corporate power affect everyone – it is only natural that we unite in this common struggle. An injury to one is an injury to all!

Localized threats are also important in solidifying a movement. Through Boot the Bell, students were not only fighting Taco Bell, but also university administrations and food providers on their campuses. Students demanded that administrations remove Taco Bell from campus and cut corporate sponsorships. These localized campaigns were highly correlated with becoming an Organizer, with 56.54% of Organizers working on Boot the Bell campaigns as opposed to only 13.04% of Participants.



## VI – CONCLUSION

This study highlights the importance of master frames in building ideological and social alliances with other movements in mobilizing constituent participants. In this case, increased participation was found among activists who were previously aligned with the global justice master frame, easing initial frame movement-specific alignment and leading to greater movement efficacy. The Taco Bell boycott became a case-study in global justice for many activists who became Organizers. Survey and interview data indicate that the success of micro-level processes of consciousness-raising, collective empowerment and polarization were highly predictive of participation levels. This is in line with Barkan's findings that movement participation is higher among activists whose ideologies are closely aligned with that of the social movement organization, who feel more politically effective, and who belong to local chapters within a federated network (1995: 115). The strong correlation between levels of action and local Boot the Bell campaigns indicate that localized threats and network structures associated with the campaign can increase movement actors' commitment and activity, compelling them to take on leadership roles. Firsthand experiences with farmworkers, CIW outreach throughout the global justice movement, and sustained relationships between SFA staff and CIW members all point to the importance of CIW input in mobilizing student activists. As students built on these resources within their own groups and experiences, they brought structural resources to the movement and helped successfully defend both farmworkers and their own community through a protracted ideological battle against the largest fast food conglomerate in the world.

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